

THE MILITANT

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SNCC Blasts Vietnam War

The following statement by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was presented at a Jan. 6 press conference in Atlanta, Ga., by SNCC chairman John Lewis.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the U.S. itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes.

The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Ala., is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

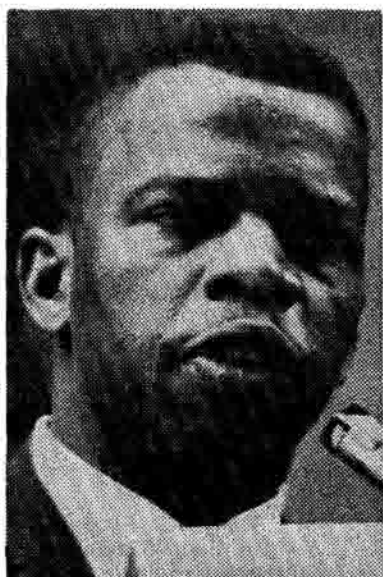
Samuel Younge was murdered because U.S. law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are being murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The U.S. is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires. We recall the indifference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

We know for the most part that elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1964 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and concern. We question the ability and even the desire of the U.S. government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of "preserve freedom in the world" is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashed liberation movements which are not bound and refuse to be bound by expediency of U.S. cold war policy.

We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to U.S. aggression in the name of the "freedom" we find so false in this country. We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of this supposedly free society where responsibility to freedom is equated with responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 percent of the draftees from this country are Negro, called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a "democracy" which does not exist for them at home.

We ask: Where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?

We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam.



John Lewis



SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATION. Scene at New York City Hall Jan. 10 as 15,000 transit strikers and their supporters picketed in demonstration of determination to win their just demands.

N.Y. Transit Strike: Rank-and-File Unity

As we go to press there are news reports of an imminent transit strike settlement. Union negotiator Douglas MacMahon said an agreement was near.

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 — The more than 36,000 striking members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), and the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), have shown no signs of wavering, and their solidarity continues to be a mandate to union negotiators not to settle for less than a decent contract.

This is the main reason that the jailing of Mike Quill and eight other union leaders failed to lead to a retreat by the unions. If anything the injunction only served to harden rank and file strikers and to force leaders of other unions to finally break their silence and publicly support the strike.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the two TWU vice presidents, Douglas MacMahon, and James Horst, who took over union negotiations after Quill's arrest have so far remained adamant behind union demands for wages and conditions comparable to other city workers doing the same kind of work.

According to economist Leon Keyserling, a former adviser to President Harry S. Truman, who was retained by the TWU to help prepare its contract demands, a majority of transit workers were not earning enough "to maintain an adequate health and decency standard."

"Even if the Transit Authority employees in various categories received a 30 percent increase in wages," he said, "they would still lag behind those in other com-

parable job classifications in New York City."

One of MacMahon's first moves on taking over negotiations was to call for a mass demonstration at City Hall on Jan. 10 to protest the strike-breaking moves of Mayor John Lindsay.

The demonstration at City Hall was an impressive display of rank-and-file transit worker and union support for the demand to release Quill and reach a fair settlement for the TWU. Although

THE STRIKERS' SIDE OF THE STORY. For interview with transit workers on why they are on strike see page 3.

called for 12 noon, pickets began arriving an hour early. By 11:30 a.m. they completely surrounded City Hall and by noon their picket line was six abreast with an estimated 15-20,000 workers participating.

Among the earliest arrivals were some 250 members of the Ironworkers Union who walked off their construction jobs at a nearby 52-story skyscraper to participate in the picket line. They marched for 90 minutes in work coveralls and steel safety helmets.

At least 20 other unions participated in the demonstration. They ranged from the better paid workers in Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to the low paid hospital workers in Local 1199. As chartered buses bringing demonstrators to the picket line arrived they were greeted with cheers by those already there. Most of the signs in the demonstration were TWU

placards saying, "No Contract, No Work." Many of these were altered to include the demands of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, AFL-CIO, to release the imprisoned strike leaders.

The militant spirit of the demonstration, however, was contained in the remarks of rank-and-file pickets and the slogans they wrote on the reverse side of TWU placards. Typical among these were: "Injunctions Mean Slave Labor," "I'm Tired of Being a Second Class Citizen — End Discrimination Against the Transit Workers," "We Shall Overcome," "All We Ask For Is Justice," "Quill Si — Lindsay No," "We Are Walking, the Subways Run Later," "O'Grady [head of the New York Transit Authority] Must Go," "O'Grady Gives Himself \$5,000 Raise — 3¢ for Transit Workers," and "The Quickest Way to Save

(Continued on Page 3)

Joseph Johnson Ordered Deported

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 11 — Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, received a notice of deportation today from the Immigration Service. The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson will now appeal the case in the courts.

The committee will hold a public meeting on Jan. 21. For more information call 333-7781, or write the committee at Box 8731, North Star Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

LBJ's 'Negotiation' Aim: Freedom to Crush Guerrillas

— See page 5 —

WITH JOHNSON'S OK

Steel Barons Boost Prices

By Tom Kerry

The recent steel price hike in which the government entered into collusion with the United States Steel Corporation to boost the price of structural steel by an average of \$2.75 a ton, completely demolishes the last pretense that the Johnson administration's "hold-the-line-wage-price-guidelines" could serve as an effective curb on the greed of the profit-hogs who own and control the nation's economic life.

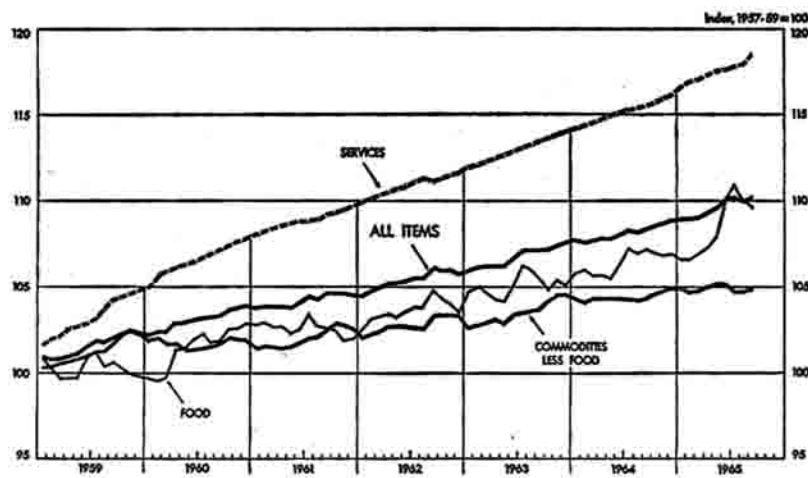
Taken by itself the price increase on a single steel product is of no great significance. But viewed in the context of a wartime boom it signifies the collapse of Johnson's "voluntary" price control "guide lines" and the acceleration of an inflationary trend already marked by a steady increase in the consumer cost-of-living index.

The steel price hike is not the first but merely the latest of a general price movement which bounded upward with the escalation of the war in Vietnam. A report on the financial page of the Jan. 2 *New York Times* records that after remaining stable for about seven years, "abruptly in 1965 the wholesale price index began to move up." (The wholesale price index is distinct from the consumer price index — also called the cost-of-living index — which has shown a persistent rise of about 1.5 percent a year. In 1965 it was almost 2 percent).

Johnson's sham battle against the steel corporations, touted as a last ditch stand to hold the line against inflation, ended in a complete victory for the price-gouging tycoons. "While the net effect in increasing the company's total dollar sales volume will be almost negligible," comments the Jan. 6 *New York Times* "U.S. Steel did preserve the principle that the industry can make changes in its prices from time to time without being condemned by the government."

Acting as the battering ram for Big Business the steel barons' victory opens the floodgates for a general price advance up and down the line. There is already talk of another upward price adjustment in copper and aluminum prices in line with the "new" Johnson administration policy of blinking at "selective" price increases. All the administration asks is that it be "consulted" in advance so as not to be suddenly confronted with a surprise announcement of major price boosts.

For American boys dragged to fight in the jungles of Vietnam in a dirty war, fought by dirty means for dirty ends, war means mangled bodies, disease and death. For the people of Vietnam, subjected to the most frightful weapons of mass destruction ever conceived by the mind of man,



RISING CONSUMER PRICES. The graph charts the rise in retail prices, using 1957-59 prices as a base of comparison. The Vietnam war will accelerate the general price rise. The line labeled ALL ITEMS is better known as the cost-of-living index.

war means horror without end. For the money sharks and stock-jobbers who rule the roost in Washington and Wall Street, war means lush profits and the insatiable greed for more. And it is the American people who will be called upon to foot the bill so long as they continue to tolerate this state of affairs.

What we are witnessing today is a repetition of the experience of the immediate post-war years and the period of the Korean war. With the steel corporations spearheading the price-gouging campaign then as now. All that has changed is the form not the essential content of the inflationary pattern. In the post-war period and especially in the period of the Korean war, it was the practice of the steel tycoons, mobilized behind U.S. Steel, to announce across the board increases in all steel products.

Each steel price hike was justified under the pretext that steel wage costs had gone up in the union contract. But figures showed that steel corporation price policy was based on a 3-to-1 ratio. That is, for each dollar increase in wages the price of steel went up three dollars. Steel corporation price-gouging sparked the run-away inflation of the Korean war years. The unions, some of them caught with long-term contracts without benefit of cost-of-living clauses took an awful beating. The soaring cost of living slashed the workers' standard of living.

Following a period of relative price stability due to the series of post-Korean war recessions, U.S. Steel suddenly announced in 1962 an across the board steel price hike of six dollars per ton. This was after President J.F. Kennedy had promulgated his "wage-price guideline" policy to stabilize the economy. Under pressure from the administration the steel tycoons were compelled to rescind the increase. The Wall Street fraternity were furious. The stock market took a nose dive and has gone down in history as the "Kennedy market."

It was following this experience that the steel corporations executed a change in tactics. In 1963, choosing one of the smaller corporations as bellwether, the tycoons announced a "selective" increase in a number of steel products. All the others fell into line, of course, and were praised by the Kennedy administration for their statesmanship. It was not long before the "selective" increases became general.

Writing of this period, a *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 10) columnist observes: "Later that year, the industry added boosts on other products, again without government condemnation. In all 1963, prices went up 75 percent of steel industry volume." And it didn't stop there. For, as the *WSJ* writer continues: "Between the summer of 1964 and last November, prices went up on other items accounting for about 17 percent of steel

business," without government objection, and "a more recent boost, made on tinplate in mid-October of last year, brought almost no comment whatsoever from government officials."

"Yet," the writer asserts, "that increase was almost as big as Bethlehem's action on structurals. Extra charges were raised in 1965 on many items, also without government protest."

To demonstrate that this benevolent attitude was not confined to the steel industry, the *WSJ* writer points out: "A similar pattern developed in other metals industries. Aluminum producers have raised the price of their basic metal, or ingot, four times in the past two years and posted several increases on fabricated products early in 1965. Copper producers have raised their domestic price four times since the start of 1964. Yet the more recent attempts of both industries to boost prices further were beaten down by Washington."

As a matter of fact, the recent hanky panky in Washington which substituted the U.S. Steel corporation's \$2.75 average increase for structural steel for Bethlehem's announced straight \$5.00 boost was little more than a public relations shell game. As the *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 10, observes, "a close look at both companies' moves suggests there was only a hair-splitting difference between them, at least as far as the steel industry and economy are concerned."

Why then all the fireworks? Wall Street is not fooled as witness the fact that the news of the steel price hike sparked a four-day upsurge in the stock market. Johnson is tickled pink. The Jan. 6 *New York Times* reports that the president, speaking through his press secretary, Mr. Moyers, "congratulated the company for acting 'in the national interest.'" Big Business is elated. They've been given the green light on prices and profits. The whole sham battle was staged for the benefit of the liberals and labor "statesmen" concerned with preserving the image of Johnson as "friend" of the working people.

The Johnson administration has intervened in every major labor dispute to pressure the unions into confining their wage demands to the fake "guide posts" that limit labor to the arbitrary 3.2 percent increase which is allegedly pegged to the rate of productivity rise. In order to keep labor hogtied Johnson and his lackies must try to continue the pretense that the so-called price "guide posts" are being applied to the corporations. Even the Little Napoleons of the New York Transit Authority insist upon Johnson's 3.2 percent as the holy ceiling beyond which they refuse to budge in their negotiations with the striking transit workers. What the recent steel price controversy discloses most clearly is that the Johnson "wage-price-guide-line" policy is so much boob-bait.

Milwaukee Parley Held By Antiwar Committee

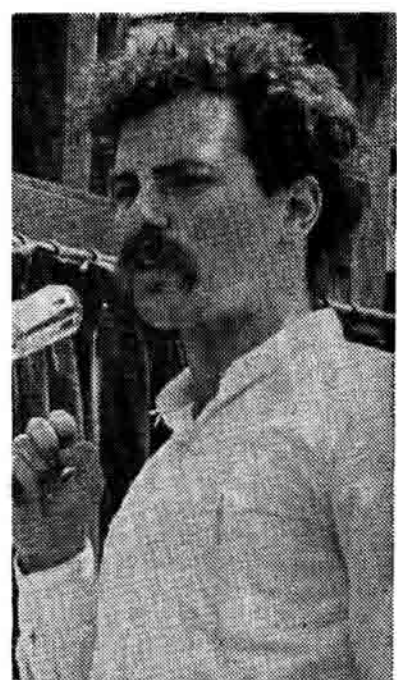
MILWAUKEE, Jan. 9 — The Standing Committee of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam met here this weekend and discussed the March 25-26 International Days of Protest, the antiwar demonstrations to be held in the South on Feb. 12, and problems connected with the structure and future of the NCC.

The meeting was attended by about 100 delegates and observers from local and national antiwar groups across the country. The meeting issued a statement supporting Staughton Lynd, Tom Hayden, and Herbert Aptheker, who were just returning from a fact-finding trip to North Vietnam and who face possible prosecution by the government.

The gathering also discussed issuing a press statement in the name of those present dealing with President Johnson's so-called "peace offensive." The proposed statement said the offensive "is not aimed at producing a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war which will guarantee the right of self determination for the Vietnamese people," but is designed "to disarm his [Johnson's] critics at home and abroad." The statement called for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam.

Speaking against issuing the statement, Edward Greer of the New Haven-Yale Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said he as well as "the overwhelming majority here is for withdrawal now," but that no such statement should be issued because it would alienate "moderates" to whom the movement should appeal.

Speaking for issuing the statement, Jerry Rubin of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, said the



Jerry Rubin

movement should "tell the truth" about the war and that this would have the broadest appeal. The vote by individual voting delegates present was 19 to 18 in favor of issuing the statement.

This result, however, was then overturned by the use of proxy and weighted votes. Weighted votes are additional votes held by committees claiming large memberships on the basis of one vote for each 100 members. Proxy votes were those held by some delegates in the name of some of the committees which did not send delegates. When the votes were counted this way, the result was 25 to 38 against issuing the statement.

That this gave a highly distorted result is clear from the fact that the delegates of the Berkeley VDC, which is by far the largest local group in the movement, had only four votes. Greer, on the other hand, cast eight votes. Five of his seven proxies were from a single high school group in New York which has had one public affair since its formation — a teach-in attended by some 500 persons.

Another major point of discussion was a proposal by Jerry Rubin on the future of the NCC in which he suggested the headquarters be augmented with additional staff and moved from Madison, Wis. to Chicago in order to "be located in an area of heterogeneous political tendencies, which offset one another and in which the opportunity for independent points of view is greatest."

A motion was adopted that this matter would be taken up at a Standing Committee meeting in April after a full discussion and when more of the several hundred local committees might be present.

Monroe Defendants Must Forfeit Bail

The North Carolina Supreme Court has ruled that \$37,000 put up as bail money by four civil rights defendants involved in the Monroe "kidnap" frame-up must be forfeited.

The defendants were convicted by the local court in Monroe, but their convictions were overturned by the state Supreme Court on the basis that their trial was unconstitutional since Negroes were systematically excluded from jury duty in Union County where Monroe is located. The defendants — Mae Mallory, Richard Crowder, Harold Reape and John Lowry — then petitioned for the return of their \$37,000. However, the money was not given back.

The defendants were reindicted after several months and the bail money was just applied to the new indictment. The defendants contend that this is an illegal procedure.

The defendants, who are no longer residents of North Carolina, did not appear in court for the new indictment. They intend to fight extradition procedures because they do not believe that they can get a fair trial in that state. When they did not show up, their bail money was declared forfeit. They appealed to the state Supreme Court which upheld the local court. The defendants intend to appeal the state Supreme Court's ruling.

Staughton Lynd To Speak in N.Y.

NEW YORK — The three Americans who just returned from a fact finding trip to north Vietnam will give an eyewitness report on the situation in Hanoi at a meeting in New York Sunday, Jan. 16 at 1:30 p.m. The meeting will be at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Ave.

Yale professor Staughton Lynd, Tom Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Herbert Aptheker, historian, returned Jan. 10 after a 10-day trip to Hanoi. The meeting is sponsored by the Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. A. J. Muste will be chairman.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

INDONESIA. Speaker: Rodney Holt. Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

BEHIND THE OIL CURTAIN: IRAN TODAY. The Iranian struggle for freedom and national sovereignty. Speaker: Mostafa Chaharmahali, Iranian Student Association. Fri., Jan. 21, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

WALTER SCHNEIR, co-author of "Invitation to An Inquest," will discuss the Rosenberg-Sobell "atom spy" case and how the FBI framed-up its victims. Fri., Jan. 21, 8:30 p.m. Note new address: 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

BRING THE TROOPS HOME PARTY! Entertainment and refreshments. 252 W. 85 St., apt. 8A. Saturday, Jan. 15, 9 p.m. Contrib. \$1.50. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

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SOLIDLY BEHIND SHUTDOWN

Interview With Transit Strikers

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK — "We will stay out until they get wise to themselves and come across with the scratch," a bus driver told *Militant* reporters Tom Leonard and myself in a bar on the Lower East Side, one of some 55 locations being used by the striking transit workers as headquarters.

The mood among the pickets we talked to was one of militant solidarity and a determination to fight in the face of an injunction against the strike and the jailing of Transport Workers Union leaders. Picket captain John Barrett, working out of Pete's Lunch Room on Audubon Ave., told us "We are behind Quill 100 percent. The injunction is not going to stop the strike. The longer they keep those guys in jail, the longer the men will stay out. If they want to put people in jail, they will have to put 36,000 men in jail. The men will stay out until we get a fair and decent settlement."

The strike is beginning to be an economic strain on the workers, since the union does not have a strike fund, but we found that if anything the lower-paid workers were the most militant. "The strike is getting tougher for me," said a subway-car cleaner with a Spanish accent, "but I will stay out to the end. As far as I am concerned, it is do or die. I will take a bank loan if it continues. If I have to, I'll go to jail. It was the workers who told the leaders to fight for these demands, and we're ready to go to jail with Quill and the others."

A Negro motorman said of the injunction, "You can't run a railroad with an injunction. No scabs are going to run the railroad, no-

"The Police don't need to go on strike to get raises. And those stinking judges, those bums, they can get a \$5,000 increase with no problem. We want equalization." — Striking busdriver.

body is breaking this union."

Another motorman, also a Negro, said that he could "hold out. I'll make a bank loan if necessary. We are ready to fight a long time. If we gave in now, we would have a whip over us — it would be like the '30s."

The same mood we found by talking to the strike pickets was reflected in an interview with Lee Trotman, a Negro bus driver, printed in the Jan. 9 *Herald Tribune*: "We are 100 percent for this strike and we won't go back until we get a decent increase. We won't accept a settlement from Mike Quill or the negotiators unless they get us what we need, not just what we want. Showdown time has come . . . Sometimes you hear that Mike Quill didn't do enough to get wage increases in the past, that he didn't do as much as he should, but he's definitely reflecting what the workers want now."

Here and there as we talked to pickets we would hear a red-baiting comment about *The Militant*, as might be expected after 20

years of cold war and witch hunt. But generally speaking, the workers were pleased to explain their side of the story to a sympathetic paper, and to counter the press charges that their demands are completely unreasonable.

The central issue to the transit workers is equality with the other city workers. "Motormen get less than sanitation workers," one of the Negro motormen referred to above told us. "We start at \$3.26 and our top pay is \$3.46 per hour. They get almost \$1 more. It's terrible trying to raise a family on this. Another issue is retirement — we want retirement after 25 years regardless of age, like the other city workers." Now the transit workers can't retire until they have both 25 years service and are 65 years old.

"Police and firemen and sanitation workers have indefinite sick leave with pay," he continued. "We have 12 days a year. The city pays 75 percent of police and firemen's pensions; we pay for the whole pension. They have 11 paid holidays, we have nine. They get a uniform allowance, we have to buy our own."

"Police mechanics get \$4.56 an hour," said a bus mechanic. "We get \$3.46. We want to go up to the prevailing rate of pay. Unlike many other city workers, we have to buy our own tools, our own overalls. Our equipment is old, and there is inadequate ventilation in the garages so we are poisoned by the monoxide fumes."

The subway-car cleaner pointed out that "The TA [Transit Authority] worker is the lowest worker for the city. I make \$2.57 per hour, although I do the same thing as the sanitation worker who gets much more. I have a wife and two children. It's very tough. I take home only \$80 a week, my rent is \$93, and I send my daughter to parochial school."

STATEMENT OF EARNINGS AND DEDUCTIONS
DETACH BEFORE CASHING OR DEPOSITING CHECK

GROSS PAY	FED. TAX	STATE TAX	SOC. SEC.	PENSION	MISC. DED.	NET PAY	PASS NO.	PERIOD ENDING
10290	713	70	373	1102		80325	103065	

CODE	RATE	TIME	CODE	RATE	TIME	YEAR TO DATE
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EXPLANATION OF CODES ON BACK

BEHIND THE STRIKE. Pay stub of a striking Transit Authority subway car cleaner. He can't support family on take-home pay of \$80.

Beside the demand for higher wages to match the other workers in the city, an issue we found to be a universal grievance of the workers was the use of spies by the Transit Authority. The workers call these spies "beakies."

"Money is the most important issue," John Barrett told us. "That and the beakies, who are nothing but a Gestapo."

Patrick O'Hara, picket leader along with Barrett at the 168th St. IND terminal, said, "Nobody wants to waste a sick leave. But they pay these beakies to come around and check up when a man is sick, to see if he's home. If he's out five days, the beaky comes around two or three times. You have to be home when you're sick. You can't leave home, or the hospital, unless you call the TA first, like you were a kid. If the beakies find you not home, for any reason, you won't get paid for the entire time you were sick and you get a reprimand."

A bus driver explained in a thick Irish brogue that he has been "caught by beakies twice for not wearing my badge. The third time will mean suspension for three days without pay. These beakies are bad for morale. They have beakies watching other beakies."

Another driver said, "They've got money for beakies, but no money for us."

The daily press, radio and television have tried to give the impression that the strike is the work of Mike Quill and a few of his men. The facts are that the power and drive behind the strike are the transit workers themselves, united, solid and ready to fight. This is evident in everything the workers told us.

Long years of grievances like the beakies, and resentment of low wages and unequal treatment compared to other city workers, have been piling up. Another factor is the Negro membership in the union — estimated at 40-45 percent — and the impact of the Negro struggle for equality in the society at large upon these black workers and the white workers too. "Among the voices that can be heard..." observes Francis Sugrue in the *Herald Tribune*, "is that of the Negro — and it is supporting Mike Quill and is solidly behind the strike." These factors have produced a change in consciousness among the transit workers, a new fighting mood which hasn't been seen in the labor movement for some time.

... New York Transit Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

the Day is Free Mike Quill and Raise Our Pay."

"Hey! Get a sign and walk," some pickets shouted at by-standers. Another shouted to office workers in a skyscraper, "Get out of there! Are you on company time? You haven't got a union? Come down and join us." Before the demonstration ended, several thousand workers attended a rally nearby where Mrs. Shirley Quill, wife of the jailed TWU leader, thanked them and told them to stand behind the strike "until hell freezes over." Later several hundred demonstrators marched in front of the city jail where strike leaders are imprisoned, demanding their release.

In the face of this display of solidarity, Mayor Lindsay abandoned all pretense of being a friend of labor. In a prepared speech, he called the strike "illegal" and urged "union leaders everywhere" to help him reach a "responsible" settlement. He also called upon the people of New York to support his refusal to give in to the "lawless demands of a single power group." He also claimed the city was willing to pay a price "fair to the employees, fair to the employer and fair to the public."

The truth is that the only ones who have been receiving "fair" treatment since the city bought the transit system from private operators have been the banks. In the last two years alone the payment on loans from the purchase of the subway system has been over \$100 million annually. Maintaining these astronomical interest payments over the years — which the bankers have pocketed as profits — is a major factor why subway fares have risen from 5¢ to 15¢ in that period.

If New Yorkers are forced to pay another fare increase, it will be to continue this profiteering. Another form of profiteering at the subway rider's expense has

been the "inefficiency" of the political hacks who run the Transit Authority in spending the public money while feeding at the public trough. A small part of this came to light in a suit filed at the Federal Court in New York on Jan. 9, charging five major steel companies of conspiring to fix prices on subway wheels.

While the present strike-breaking mayor of New York is a Republican, this profit-gouging at the expense of New York subway riders, has taken place until now with Democratic mayors in office.

Both boss parties share the guilt for depressing the wages of transit workers and ultimately forcing them out on strike after years of sweetheart deals with union leaders.

Mayor Lindsay's appeal for help from leaders of other unions to help break the transit strike is not surprising since the boss politicians have been getting this kind of help from sell-out union leaders for years.

AFL-CIO president George Meany reportedly offered to "help settle the dispute," shortly after Lindsay made his plea for a little finking by "labor statesmen." Meany even had the gall to praise the strike-breaking mayor's handling of the strike, and to joke about Quill's jailing.

In the meantime the corporation-owned news media continues its hysterical attempts to turn the public against the strike. Leading this assault is the *New York Times* which has now editorially called for the use of the National Guard to break the strike.

Some *Times* workers however, have expressed support to the transit strikers. A resolution adopted unanimously by the *Times* composing room chapel of the ITU "resolved, that we disagree entirely with the anti-labor sentiment of the *New York Times* as expressed by their editorial writers."

A BARBARIC PRACTICE

U.S. Steps Up Gas Warfare in Vietnam

By Ed Smith

A little-noticed fact about Washington's rapid escalation of the Vietnamese war in recent weeks is that U.S. troops are now regularly using tear and nausea-producing gases in counter-guerrilla warfare. This fact was revealed on the first day of the massive U.S. military invasion of the Mekong River delta region after the Christmas truce.

Although it was originally reported gas had never been used on such a large scale in Vietnam before the Jan. 2 attack, the *New York Times* revealed Jan. 4 that U.S. troops had used gas a number of times since General William C. Westmoreland gave the go-ahead last October. The *Times* attempted to play down the significance of this fact by reporting that the Jan. 2 attack "apparently had little effect on the Vietcong."

But the only thing that has prevented Washington from widespread use of gases in Vietnam has nothing to do with their military effectiveness. The Pentagon has at its disposal an arsenal of lethal nerve gases, ready for use in Vietnam on a moment's notice. What has stopped the Pentagon so far has been their hesitancy to provoke worldwide opposition to chemical warfare.

The real significance of this disclosure is that it indicates Washington strategists feel public opinion sufficiently neutralized to allow them to make a further step in their escalation of chemical warfare in Vietnam, and according to the *Wall Street Journal*, this question is presently being considered by the highest military echelon.

In the Jan. 5 *Journal*, staff-reporter William Beecher wrote from Washington that "The proposal to dig more deeply into Uncle Sam's bag of exotic weapons is now before the five-man Joint Chiefs of Staff. They are expected to favor and forward the idea to President Johnson within the next few weeks."

Beecher incidentally revealed that the gas in the Jan. 2 attack "was largely wafted away by prevailing winds." He then explained why the generals favored more "exotic" gases.

"Tear gas comes in various mixtures. Upon the first ugly reaction to its use last spring," Beecher explained, "Defense Secretary McNamara described three types that he said had been employed by Vietnamese forces: CN, CS, and DM. None had been very useful, he said, because their effects wore off rapidly."

Times Varies

"CN [the gas used Jan. 2] incapacitates for only about three minutes, he said; CS for five to 15 minutes, and DM (which strictly speaking, is not classed by the Army as a tear gas but a 'vomiting agent') for 30 minutes to two hours. Because of this brief effectiveness, a friendly force doesn't always have time to exploit its advantage over the weeping or retching enemy troops before they have recovered."

While Washington is carefully sounding out the pulse of public opinion to determine when it will be prepared to withstand the shock of an inoculation of more lethal gases, two physicians from the Harvard University medical school released a paper describing Washington's gas arsenal.

The report was described in the *Wall Street Journal* Jan. 7. "Of the various chemical weapons," the *Journal* states, "the hallucinatory drugs, tear gas and nausea gas and the mustard gas-type agents were classified by the Harvard physicians as 'incapacitating and usually nonlethal, although they can kill under certain circumstances.'"

"The highly lethal nerve gases are 'the newest, the most effective and the most likely to be used' in any chemical war, they said. These agents can enter the body through the lungs in gaseous form or through the skin in liquid form. They effectively interfere with the natural breakdown of certain chemicals at nerve endings."

"The doctors said," the *Wall Street Journal* continues, "it is known that one nerve gas 'has been produced and stockpiled in the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Denver, and it, or another of the nerve gases, was produced as recently as April 1964 in a plant in Newport, Ind.' The Indiana plant, they said, was supposed to have been operating 24 hours a day for more than three years . . ."

"The newer gases possess almost all the qualities that make an excellent chemical warfare agent," they said. "Being odorless and colorless, they give no warning." They called the gases as much as 30 times more poisonous than the gases used in World War I. "A few inhalations can cause a blood concentration sufficient to kill in one or two minutes, and at the concentrations attainable under field conditions, even a single inhalation can kill."

THE MILITANT

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Monday, January 17, 1966

NAACP Leaders and Vietnam

It was a cowardly, myopic thing for the NAACP officialdom to publicly attack SNCC for its fine action in condemning the reactionary U.S. war in Vietnam. (See SNCC statement, page 1.)

NAACP director Roy Wilkins declared the organization "disassociates" itself from the SNCC stand and that the public should be careful not to confuse SNCC with the NAACP.

NAACP program director Glouster Current chimed in with the snide assertion that SNCC leaders had been neglecting their civil rights work in order to be marching in peace parades.

The attack on SNCC is wrong from every viewpoint. The war of aggression by the U.S. against the colored people of Vietnam is certainly deserving of condemnation by every group that considers itself dedicated to the pursuit of human justice.

The continuation of the war in Vietnam can only mean a further strengthening of reaction in this country and corresponding difficulty for the civil rights movement in registering gains. (It is worth remembering, in this regard, that the racists are among the most enthusiastic supporters of the Vietnam war.)

Conversely, the development of a strong movement in opposition to Johnson's war strengthens the general movement for social progress and that in turn aids the civil rights movement.

Further, even the meager concessions made by the administration in the way of antipoverty funds, social welfare, etc., will be sharply curbed if the war continues. Here too, it will be the black people of this country who will be first and hardest hit.

Finally, if the NAACP officialdom is under the illusion, as it apparently is, that protestations of loyalty on foreign policy will put it in a better position to wheedle civil rights concessions from the administration, it couldn't be more wrong. A really militant movement that opposes the government's reactionary policies — domestic and foreign — is far more likely to wrest concessions from the wily racist in the White House.

A Lesson for Antiwar Fighters

There are a number of instructive aspects to the campaign in New York's 17th Congressional District to fill the place in the House vacated by John Lindsay when he was elected mayor.

One heartening aspect of the campaign is that it reflects the deep popular concern that exists about the Vietnam war. Three of the principal contenders for the Democratic nomination, as well as the Republican nominee, considered it politic to take a critical stance in relation to the war.

The campaign is also instructive in that it offers in capsule form a good example of the futility of opponents of the war trying to achieve their aims through the capitalist parties.

Many opponents of the Vietnam war were encouraged when Robert Schwartz entered the race for the Democratic nomination. A member of SANE, ADA and the ACLU, he has been considered an outspoken critic of the Vietnam war and he declared he would make it the central issue in his campaign.

The members of the New York County Democratic Committee, who were to select the nominee, took a dim view of Mr. Schwartz, however, and selected Orin Lehman, member of the powerful banking family.

Mr. Schwartz, promptly after the first ballot, asked his supporters to switch their vote to Mr. Lehman because, he said, Lehman's views on Vietnam were closest to his own.

Mr. Lehman's views on Vietnam were indicated, immediately after his nomination, when he attacked his Republican opponent, Theodore Kupferman, who said he thought we shouldn't be in Vietnam. "We can't just pull out of there," opined Mr. Lehman.

His stand should not have come as a surprise. Even prior to his nomination he told the New York Village Voice Dec. 9: "I think we have to bomb North Vietnamese military installations, bridges and railroads, but I am opposed to bombing civilian populations."

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.
CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.
CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.
DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver 80201.
DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.
LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.
MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 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.
NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, 982-6051.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party. Phone 562-4667.
PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 8412.
ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.
SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.
SAN FRANCISCO. Pioneer Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum, 1722 Page St. UN 3-2453. Open 2-5 p.m. Mon., Fri., and weekends.
SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

Malcolm X Speaks

In December, 1964, representatives of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party toured the country seeking support to block the seating of Mississippi's segregationist officials when Congress convened on Jan. 4, 1965. At a Harlem church rally on Dec. 20, 1964, the chief speaker was Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of the MFDP, whose testimony about racist brutality had attracted wide attention at the national Democratic Party convention earlier in the year. Malcolm X spoke too, after Mrs. Hamer's address and after the Freedom Singers had presented various songs, including "Oginga Odinga of Kenya."

Installment 13

LEARN TO SPEAK THEIR LANGUAGE

Rev. [Joseph] Coles [Jr.], Mrs. Hamer, honored guests, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies; also ABC and CBS and FBI and CIA:

I couldn't help but be very impressed at the outstart when the Freedom Singers were singing the song "Oginga Odinga" because Oginga Odinga is one of the foremost freedom fighters on the African continent. At the time he visited in Atlanta, Ga., I think he was then the minister of home affairs in Kenya. But since Kenya became a republic last week, and Jomo Kenyatta ceased being the prime minister and became the president, the same person you are singing about, Oginga Odinga, is now Kenyatta's vice president. He's the number-two man in the Kenya government.

The fact that you would be singing about him, to me is quite significant. Two or three years ago, this wouldn't have been done. Two or three years ago, most of our people would choose to sing about someone who was, you know, passive and meek and humble and forgiving. Oginga Odinga is not passive. He's not meek. He's not humble. He's not nonviolent. But he's free.

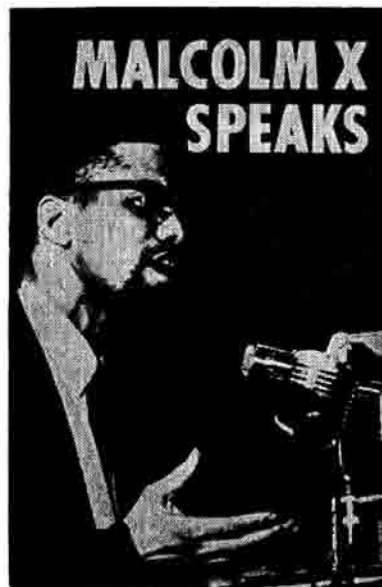
Mau Mau

Oginga Odinga is vice president under Jomo Kenyatta, and Jomo Kenyatta was considered to be the organizer of the Mau Mau; I think you mentioned the Mau Mau in that song. And if you analyze closely those words, I think you'll have the key to how to straighten the situation out in Mississippi. When the nations of Africa are truly independent — and they will be truly independent because they're going about it in the right way — the historians will give Prime Minister, or rather, President Kenyatta and the Mau Mau their rightful role in African history.

They'll go down as the greatest African patriots and freedom fighters that that continent ever knew, and they will be given credit for bringing about the independence of many of the existing independent states on that continent right now. There was a time when their image was negative, but today they're looked upon with respect and their chief is the president and their next chief is the vice president.

New York Too

I have to take time to mention that because, in my opinion, not only in Mississippi and Alabama, but right here in New York City, you and I can best learn how to get real freedom by studying how Kenyatta brought it to his people in Kenya, and how Odinga helped



Excerpted from the book, Malcolm X Speaks, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

him, and the excellent job that was done by the Mau Mau freedom fighters. In fact, that's what we need in Mississippi. In Mississippi we need a Mau Mau. In Alabama we need a Mau Mau. In Georgia we need a Mau Mau. Right here in Harlem, in New York City, we need a Mau Mau.

I say it with no anger; I say it with very careful forethought. The language that you and I have been speaking to this man in the past hasn't reached him. And you can never really get your point across to a person until you learn how to communicate with him. If he speaks French, you can't speak German. You have to know what language he speaks and then speak to him in that language.

When I listen to Mrs. Hamer, a black woman — could be my mother, my sister, my daughter — describe what they had done to her in Mississippi, I ask myself how in the world can we ever expect to be respected as men when we will allow something like that to be done to our women, and we do nothing about it? How can you and I be looked upon as men, with black women being beaten and nothing being done about it, black children and black babies being beaten and nothing being done about it?

No, we don't deserve to be recognized and respected as men as long as our women can be brutalized in the manner that this woman described, and nothing being done about it, but we sit around singing "We Shall Overcome."

A Choice

We need a Mau Mau. If they don't want to deal with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, then we'll give them something else to deal with. If they don't want to deal with the Student Nonviolent Committee, then we have to give them an alternative. Never stick someone out there without an alternative. [Or] we waste our time. Give them this or give them that. Give them the choice between this or that.

When I was in Africa, I noticed some of the Africans got their freedom faster than others. Some areas of the African continent became independent faster than other areas. I noticed that in the areas where independence had been gotten, someone got angry. And in the areas where independence had not been achieved yet,

no one was angry. They were sad — they'd sit around and talk about their plight, but they weren't mad. And usually, when people are sad, they don't do anything. They just cry over their condition.

But when they get angry, they bring about a change. When they get angry, they aren't interested in logic, they aren't interested in odds, they aren't interested in consequences. When they get angry, they realize the condition that they're in — that their suffering is unjust, immoral, illegal, and that anything they do to correct it or eliminate it, they're justified. When you and I develop that type of anger and speak in that voice, then we'll get some kind of respect and recognition, and some changes from these people who have been promising us falsely already for far too long.

Bestial Language

So you have to speak their language. The language that they were speaking to Mrs. Hamer was the language of brutality. Beasts, they were, beating her — The two Negroes, they weren't at fault. They were just puppets. You don't blame the puppet, you blame the puppeteer. They were just carrying out someone else's orders. They were under someone else's jurisdiction. They weren't at fault; in a way they were, but I still won't blame them. I put the blame on that man who gave the orders.

To Communicate

And when you and I begin to look at him and see the language he speaks, the language of a brute, the language of someone who has no sense of morality, who absolutely ignores law — when you and I learn how to speak his language, then we can communicate. But we will never communicate talking one language while he's talking another language. He's talking the language of violence while you and I are running around with this little chicken-picking type of language — and think that he's going to understand.

Let's learn his language. If his language is with a shotgun, get a shotgun. Yes, I said if he only understands the language of a rifle, get a rifle. If he only understands the language of a rope, get a rope. But don't waste time talking the wrong language to a man if you want to really communicate with him. Speak his language — there's nothing wrong with that. If something was wrong with that language, the federal government would have stopped the cracker from speaking it to you and me.

Next week: The Cracker Party.

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LBJ's 'Negotiation' Aim:

Freedom to Crush Guerrillas

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 11—One fact above everything else emerges from a close examination of Johnson's now two-week-old, worldwide diplomatic foray. This is that the central aim of the United States in Vietnam remains what it has been for the past five years — to crush the National Liberation Front in south Vietnam.

This main design on Washington's part was underlined with the blood of south Vietnamese civilians only four days after the peace-propaganda campaign began. On Jan. 2, U.S. troops launched the first full-scale attack on the Mekong River Delta region, burning peasant farms in their wake and spraying quantities of incapacitating gas on guerrillas; by Jan. 9 this attack had become the largest ground operation of the Vietnamese war.

The Mekong-region attack was preceded, according to the Jan. 10 New York Herald Tribune by B-52 bombing and "the strongest artillery barrage of the war" which had "pulverized the area." Furthermore it signaled a complete take-over of the military operations in Vietnam by U.S. commanders. "The operation began in such secrecy," the Tribune continued, "that the Vietnamese high command was not notified about it until the last minute."

Even before the Mekong-region attack began, another U.S. drive, bringing the First Cavalry Division one mile from the Cambodian border, had begun secretly. "It was not announced earlier," the New York Times stated Jan. 11, "because of a rule that forbids news on operations before 'significant contact' with the enemy was reported."

"There was little contact, even today . . ." the Times continued. And parallel to these two major U.S. drives, the South Korean divi-

sions in Vietnam were involved in what the Times described as a "vast operation, employing many thousands of men."

While these three campaigns are underway in Vietnam, each one of which stacks up to be larger than any previous military drives of the war, U.S. planes have been bombing Laos on an average of 250 times a day since the Christmas truce began. "This information has been withheld from reporters in Saigon," CBS correspondent Murray Fromson reported from Bangkok Jan. 7, "possibly in the hope that the less said about it the better chance of bringing Hanoi to the conference table."

"But it also suggests," Fromson continued, "that the strikes may be a prelude to a larger operation against Communist supply lines in Laos."

Fancy Maneuver

The abundant lack of clarity in the American press about what Johnson's foreign representatives are actually saying on the diplomatic front, accompanied with a glaring disparity between what Johnson is saying at home and what he is actually doing in Vietnam, appear to make Johnson's so-called peace offensive one of the most complex political maneuvers of the decade.

In reality, however, there is very little mystery either about what Johnson tried to accomplish on the diplomatic front, or why he was forced into this elaborate maneuver to begin with. The essence of the diplomatic proposals was revealed by the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, in a press conference, Jan. 5.

Reporters in the conference put the question to Goldberg three separate times, "Is the U.S. willing to negotiate with the National Liberation Front itself?" In his third attempt to dodge the ques-

tion, Goldberg gave the show away: "I said," Goldberg stated, "that if there were a desire on the part of Hanoi — which is the government concerned, and whose activities are being felt in the south — to go to the conference table, the problem of having the voice, the views, of the Viet Cong heard can be handled." (U.S. Mission to the UN, Press Release No. 4782)

In other words, if Hanoi admits to Washington's charge that the popular revolution against the U.S.-bolstered landlord regime in Saigon is really the result of "subversion" by Hanoi, and if Hanoi can persuade the NLF that this hoax is in their best interest, Washington is willing to talk. If not, the U.S. threatens to bomb the industrial centers of north Vietnam.

In less diplomatic language, Johnson's proposal to Hanoi is pure and simple blackmail. Even if Hanoi agrees to enter into talks, which has not been the case to date, there is no guarantee of any kind that U.S. troops will withdraw from Vietnam. Goldberg told the reporters, "we are not going to be forced out of south Vietnam by force of arms." There is nothing mysterious about this position.

The fact of the matter is that Washington is under tremendous pressure both around the world and in this country to end the war in Vietnam — much more pressure than the administration is ready to admit — and the White House found it absolutely necessary to cover a continuation of the war with an elaborate show of "peaceful" intentions.

But it is not simply a question of continuing the war at its present level. The United States is losing the war in south Vietnam. Even to establish its minimum objective, namely the safeguarding of a ring of military bases in that country, it will be necessary for Johnson

Hanoi Statement on 'Peace' Offensive

"The United States is thousands of miles away from Vietnam. The Vietnamese people has never laid hands on the United States. The United States Government has no right to send troops to invade south Vietnam and to launch air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It has no right to impose on the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam any condition whatsoever in exchange for stopping its air raids on north Vietnam."

"United States aggression is the deep root and the immediate cause of the serious situation now prevailing in Vietnam. With the ending of this aggression peace will be immediately restored in this country." — From the text of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's answer to Johnson's "peace offensive," Jan. 4.

to send in hundreds of thousands more troops.

This was the sum and substance of the report by Senator Mike Mansfield's five-man team after an extensive tour which included a long stop in Vietnam. The report was made public Jan. 8, and the full text was printed in the Washington Post of the following date.

First of all, the Mansfield report explained the escalation of U.S. commitment which took place in 1965: "This augmentation," the report states, "was a response to a near-desperate situation in early 1965. There is no question that the government of Vietnam in Saigon was faced with a rapidly deteriorating position at the time . . . A total collapse of the Saigon government's authority appeared imminent in the early months of 1965."

The report then pointed out the difficulties which still confront the U.S. military, even after eight months' escalation of forces. These include the following:

- "A substantial increase" cannot be expected in the forces of the Saigon government army in the coming year because "the sources of expanded recruitment are not great and . . . are shared with the Vietcong. Moreover, a high desertion rate continues, despite determined efforts to reduce it."

- "The magnitude of the expanded U.S. military effort has required a vastly enlarged support complex" which "has strained the facilities of the new logistic system to the utmost, with long delays in unloading and moving equipment . . . and shortages of important items of supply despite efforts to eliminate these shortages."

- The U.S. has established several large bases, like the one in Danang, but "the bulk of the U.S. Marine forces" there "is now preoccupied in defense within that perimeter." And even so, "it is still possible for the Vietcong to bypass the defenders and penetrate the area in sporadic hit-and-run raids."

- "Communication between the base areas along the coast are still subject to Vietcong ambush and attack." Even in Saigon, "heavily defended as it is . . . Vietcong ability to carry out terroristic attacks within the city itself is from time to time made evident."

- "Observers believe that perhaps not more than 25 percent of the villages under government control . . . would be free from intimidation at an election at the present time."

- The strategic hamlet program "was allowed in large measure to collapse." A new program of "pacification" is being undertaken, but "teams in the priority areas chosen by the government" will not be available until the end of 1966.

- "About 22 percent of the population is under Vietcong control," according to the report, "and . . . about 18 percent inhabits contested areas. About 60 percent is, at the present, under some form of government control, largely because of its hold on Saigon and other cities and towns."

The conclusions of the Mansfield Report are unequivocal: "A rapid solution to the conflict in Vietnam is not in immediate prospect. This would appear to be the case whether military victory is pursued or negotiations do, in fact,

materialize." (Emphasis added)

"Despite the great increases in American military commitment, it is doubtful in view of the acceleration of Vietcong efforts that the constricted position now held in Vietnam by the Saigon government can continue to be held for the indefinite future, let alone extended, without further augmentation of American forces on the ground."

"Indeed, if present trends continue, there is no assurance as to what ultimate increase in American military commitment will be required before the conflict is terminated . . . All of mainland Southeast Asia, at least, cannot be ruled out as a potential battlefield."

"Negotiations at this time," the report bluntly stated — and this is the crucial point — "if they do come about, and if they are accompanied by a cease-fire and standstill, would serve to stabilize a situation in which the majority of the population remains under nominal Government control but in which the dominance of the countryside rests largely in the hands of the Vietcong."

The Mansfield Report, it should be noted, which many news analysts interpreted as a criticism of Johnson's policy of escalating the Vietnamese war, nevertheless clearly set forth the boundaries of any negotiations which the U.S. might enter into. These boundaries allow an indefinite U.S. occupation of south Vietnam, and give U.S. troops the freedom to continue their forays against the revolutionary guerrillas.

What the Mansfield Report makes crystal clear is that the Johnson administration is faced with a double-edged problem in Vietnam. U.S. policy in Southeast Asia is highly unpopular on a world scale. There is growing opposition within the U.S. and this is occurring at a time when Johnson intends to demand congress to support a greater war, with more men and more money.

It is these factors which prompted Johnson to undertake the "peace offensive." Its purpose was nothing short of neutralizing world opinion against the war while freeing the United States to attempt to crush the NFL.

Rosenberg Book Author To Speak at N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK — Walter Schneir will speak at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, Jan. 14, on how the FBI manufactured evidence in the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

Schneir is co-author with Miriam Schneir of the widely discussed new book on the case, *Invitation to an Inquest*. A wide variety of critics agree that the book does a remarkable job of dissecting the evidence under which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were convicted in 1951 of "conspiracy to commit espionage." The Rosenbergs were executed and Sobell is serving a 30-year prison term.

Many reviews in the capitalist press have stated that the book has caused them to reconsider their previous belief that the trio were guilty.

Schneir will speak at the Militant Labor Forum's new hall at 873 Broadway, corner of 18th St.

World Events

Peronism Still Strongest

Peronism remains the strongest single political movement in Argentina. "One third of the nation maintains stubborn loyalty to the doctrine of social revolution" they feel Peron proclaimed, reports Arthur J. Olsen in the Jan. 2 New York Times. All attempts by middle-class politicians to absorb the Peronist movement have failed, even though the movement itself is split into at least five factions. "The industrial proletariat of Buenos Aires and the rural proletariat of the provinces sense that the [Argentine] 'oligarchy' has not yet come to terms" with the revolutionary aims of the workers. The "sullen masses," as Olsen calls them, will almost certainly cast a resounding Peronist vote in provincial elections in 1966 and 1967, or stage an equally impressive boycott.

Highest Law of Land

Article 10 of Chile's constitution guarantees the "inviolability of all property, without exception." The reformist Christian Democrats are trying to change this so that they can vote for an agrarian reform law. This moderate and legal approach is meeting heavy resistance from the society's entrenched conservative interests. The reform law would limit landholding to 200 acres per person and distribute any land over that limit to poor peasants.

Lysenko Blasted as Fraud

A commission of Soviet scientists has declared Trofim D. Lysenko, the notorious Stalinist biologist, a fraud. Lysenko's claims to have bred a new strain of cattle that produces more milk, it seems, were based on falsified

statistics. The commission's findings were approved by the Ministry of Agriculture and published in detail in special 128-page editions of three agricultural journals, including one formerly controlled by Lysenko. His supervision of an experimental farm was also ended. Lysenko accused the commission of "distortions" and "slander." What we wonder, though: Does the report explain how this quack professor rose so high and lasted so long in the land of the Soviets?

FALN Holds 'Large Sections'

The Venezuelan government denies that the guerrilla movement there is at all substantial. But here's how the Jan. 10 Christian Science Monitor describes the situation in areas where the guerrillas are strong. "In the remote western regions of Venezuela . . . FALN [Armed Forces of National Liberation] activists control large sections of this coffee-growing region. There are few roads, the terrain is steep, and peasant poverty exists on a wide scale. It is difficult for Venezuelan police and army units to ferret out the terrorists, much less maintain order."

Image Suffers in Sweden

Criticism of the U.S., especially over the Vietnam war, rose sharply in Sweden in 1965. The newspaper *Stockholms-Tidningen*, organ of the ruling Social Democrats and of the Confederation of Labor, devoted its pages to ten articles by prominent individuals to explain some typical criticisms. One contributor, Jan Myrdal, son of the famous Prof. Gunnar Myrdal, made three points on U.S. policy in Vietnam:

"The first is that through its present policy the USA is trying to check a necessary process of national and social liberation . . . The second point is that the USA has set itself above international law through its bomb raids on north Vietnam and its undermining of the Geneva convention. The third point is that by allowing the execution and torture of prisoners and not respecting conventions, the USA contributes to destroying respect for law."

The only apologist for Washington in the series was a former ambassador to the U.S., a prominent capitalist politician.

The 'Daily Blah'

Britain's Communist Party is looking for a new name for its paper, the *Daily Worker*. The party executive is asking its members to help think of one. The present name, they explain, "gives an incorrect impression of the scope" of the paper's appeal and is "therefore needlessly restrictive in its effect." Last week we reported on the *Worker's* brochure seeking advertisers, which told of its high-income readership and included a photo of a comfortable-looking "typical *Daily Worker* family." Guess they need a respectable handle to keep up with that prosperous image.

False Image?

Surveys in West Germany, Britain, France, and Italy show that more than half of the well-educated think of the U.S. as completely capitalistic, reports Ralph K. White, a psychology professor, in the current *Foreign Affairs*. White thinks something should be done to explain that we have a "mixed economy."

LABOR CHAPTERS FROM WORLD WAR II

The Workers' Capacity for Militant Struggle

(The following are excerpts from talks on the revolutionary potential of the working class by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The talks were given in August 1964 at a Chicago summer school for socialist youth.)

When the United States entered World War II President Roosevelt — who was almost as nimble as Walter Reuther in gulling the workers with "statesmanlike" schemes having about as much substance as a wisp of smoke — called for "equality of sacrifice" in support of the war effort. The capitalists were to take a price freeze, the workers a wage freeze. An Office of Price Administration was set up to police prices and a government-imposed wage settlement in a union contract with the smaller steel companies which became known as the "Little Steel Formula," was made the criteria for the wage freeze.

What happened? In no time at all a black market appeared. People who had the bucks could get most anything, despite shortages of goods on the open market, provided they paid the robber prices levied by the black marketeers. More and more goods moved onto the black market and the shortages increased in areas where price controls were maintained. Then step by step the government allowed the capitalists to punch holes in the official price ceiling on the grounds of "hardship." In short, price control soon became a fiction.

On the wage side it was the other way around. You never saw such diligent efforts by the government to carry out its policy to the letter. So the workers found themselves caught in a bind. Prices were climbing, wages remained frozen and their standard of living was being ground down while the war profiteers got richer and richer. They couldn't see where there was much "equality of sacrifice" and there was a good deal of restiveness in the ranks of the unions.

Finally in 1943 the restiveness broke into the open and the



John L. Lewis

United Mine Workers led the battle. They challenged the "Little Steel Formula," which was the counterpart then of today's "guidelines" by President Johnson to prevent "inflationary" wage increases. The government insisted the miners would have to abide by the wage-freeze formula and the miners said "No."

Then something took place that was unprecedented in American labor history. Right in the middle of World War II the coal miners went on a series of nation-wide strikes in a running battle against the Roosevelt government that went on for months. They'd strike a while, then return to work, then go out again. They fought under two main slogans: "Equality of opportunity" and "You can't dig coal with bayonets."

The Communist Party finked on the coal miners in 1943, denouncing them as "agents of Hitler," and they weren't the only ones to fink. The union bureaucrats generally weasled out on the striking coal miners. They were as timid then in the face of a government assault on the workers as they are today in the victimization of Hoffa in which the government's real target is the Teamsters Union and the whole labor movement.

Rare Specimen

Here is something to note about John L. Lewis who led the embattled coal miners. As he has demonstrated throughout his life, Lewis is a class collaborationist. He does not base himself upon class struggle principles. But one thing about Lewis made him stand head and shoulders above the average union bureaucrat. He stood as a rare specimen within the union bureaucracy who had the capacity to conceive of the union movement as a power and who had the guts to use that power. I have many criticisms of Lewis but I'll never forget that in the middle of World War II he led a long, hard battle against the strikebreaking of the Roosevelt administration, a battle that busted open the wage freeze and won some class justice for the coal miners.

One good example in the class struggle, like the "begats" in the Bible, often leads to another. By 1944 wildcat strikes were developing throughout basic industry as the union rank and file followed the example set by the coal miners. They fought to take advantage of the gap the miners had rammed in the wage-freeze wall. Some unionists also drew the political lesson of the Roosevelt administration's strikebreaking and sentiment for a labor party gained significant momentum, especially within the CIO.

With the end of the war there

came an unprecedented strike wave. Before going into that I want to mention briefly another thing that happened, something that in the last analysis was intimately related with the general labor upsurge. Soon after V-J Day, which marked the Japanese surrender, U.S. troops began demonstrations in the various theaters of war demanding that they be demobilized and brought home. The demand was echoed by their families at home and, as usually happens in mass movements, somebody came up with a slogan that soon caught on. It was, "No boats, no votes." That was language even the capitalist politicians could understand: either get us home or don't expect to be re-elected.

In the main the organizers of the troop demonstrations were men with experience in the labor battles that gave rise to the CIO, men who had been picket captains, job stewards, union officers. It was a case of putting union know-how to work for a good working class purpose under changed conditions. They were applying the slogan we used in organizing the over-the-road drivers in the central states during the Thirties. When the young Teamster militants would ask, "Can we do this or that," revolutionists within the leadership would keep repeating to them, "You can do anything you're big enough to do."

Not Overawed

The seasoned unionists among the leaders of the troop demonstrations were no more overawed by the military brass than the coal miners had been by Roosevelt's threats to use bayonets against them. And don't think there weren't plenty of brass hats around at the time who would have liked to put the firing squads to work against the leaders of the demonstrations. The worker-soldiers showed the capacity of the working class to assert itself, to be creative, bold, determined when the workers decide that the time has come to act.

One more thing. Not only were the 1943 miner's strikes unprecedented in U.S. labor history, the troop demonstrations were without precedent in the history of mankind. Never before had a conquering army faced mutiny in its ranks the day after victory and that's what the troop demonstrations added up to. It is also an iron fact that the forced demobilization of the main contingents of the U.S. imperialist army at that time gave a major boost to the colonial freedom fighters who are today battling to throw off their imperialist oppressors.

Workers Held Power

The workers manifested tremendous power in the strike wave that began with the General Motors walkout shortly after V-J Day. Although the GM strike turned into the longest showdown struggle of the time between the workers and corporations, the full scope of the strike wave can be measured only in additional terms of the parallel walkouts by steel workers, coal miners, electrical workers, rubber workers and many others. In basic industry alone at the crest of the 1945-46 strike wave over two million workers were on the picket lines at one time. What a power! It was so great that the bosses thought it better in the given circumstances not to try to break the picket lines.

The capitalist ruling class had gotten a big disappointment in its attempts to whip up anti-union



HISTORIC ACTION. U.S. soldiers stationed in Paris at end of World War II stage demonstration to spotlight their demand to be sent home. Such demonstrations were held by GI's around globe and were instrumental in forcing U.S. demobilization and consequent postponement of time table for World War III.

sentiment during the war. In the armed forces the brass hats had been holding those "political orientation" sessions designed to brainwash the troops with capitalist propaganda. They tried their best to convince the rank and file of the armed forces that unions are no good. "Look here," they would say in effect, "You're fighting and dying in these trenches, fox holes, submarines, battleships, bombers while those union guys have got it soft. All they have to do is shovel a little coal and they're stabbing you in the back by striking for more pay when the war effort needs coal."

Despite the "orientation" efforts of the capitalist propagandists the worker-soldiers came out of the army to step forward in support of the union picket lines. They showed themselves fully prepared to slap down any would-be strikebreakers and, after all, they had just gotten quite a college education in slapping people down with the U.S. government picking up the tab.

Objective Editorials

I remember well a plaintive editorial that appeared in the *New York Times*. That paper's editorial writers are very objective, you know, people who can see on which side justice lies in every dispute, so long as it is the capitalist side. They deplored what they called "This modern concept that it's a crime to cross a picket line." Actually that was the mood that permeated the embattled working class and the demonstrated power of the workers was so great that large sections of the middle class were pulled into support of the workers like people are sucked into the wake of a mountain avalanche.

It was abundantly clear by now that pure and simple unionism could not go far enough in itself to solve the workers' problems, that labor must break with the capitalist two-party system and take the road of independent class political action. But the union bureaucrats were able to block the way to an independent labor party. As a result the 1945-46 labor upsurge gave way to a climate of cold war and witch hunt, a climate with which you young people are familiar because it has existed throughout your whole conscious life. Realizing that, I have tried throughout my talks to demonstrate that the seeming passivity of the labor movement does not stem from lack of struggle capacity within the working

class, it stems from a crisis of labor leadership.

Let me try to illustrate in another way why I have repeatedly stressed the importance of thinking in terms of the history of the working class. Although I'm not well enough versed in science to name a particular kind, I've heard that there are insects that are born, mature and die of old age within two or three hours. Let's say one of these insects goes through his life span during the hours from 1:00 a.m. to 4:00 a.m. When he gets to wherever insects go when they die, he is asked, "What are people like?" From direct observation he replies, "Most of them sleep all the time." The insect's conclusion would be no more superficial than it would be for a person to make snap judgments about basic social forces on the premise of direct observation during one's own limited life span.

Apathy is a relative thing and change can be taking place at the moment without your being able to perceive it on the surface. Even while you see a relative equilibrium between capital and labor internal alterations are occurring that generate potential class struggle explosions. Changes in working class moods are building up under various pressures... economic attrition... the threat of nuclear war... the dehumanizing features of decadent capitalist society... a sense of insecurity... fears about the future... all these and other pressures are building toward a social explosion.

In this situation the union movement is going to be impelled toward a new upsurge of struggle. The unions are going to be pushed in the direction of an independent labor party, breaking with the capitalist two-party system. The need for a change in union leadership is going to become more imperative in the eyes of the rank and file, the need for a fighting leadership with a class struggle program that genuinely serves the interests of the working class.

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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.]

New York Transit Strike

San Francisco, Calif.
As a student and subscriber to *The Militant*, I have for a long time enjoyed and appreciated your coverage of the student movement and the antiwar movement, and your continuing exposure of John-

son's dirty imperialist wars in Vietnam and elsewhere.

As a socialist, however, I have known that Johnson will not be stopped until the workers and soldiers use the immense power that they could wield to bring down the structure of capitalism finally. Imagine my pleasure, then, on opening my paper this morning to find Tom Leonard's front-page article on the New York City transit strike. The article makes clear the causes of the strike, the refusal of the city to conduct honest negotiations, the strike-breaking attempts, and the fact that the monumental tie-up of the city could have been avoided by accepting the union's offer to operate the subways for free during the strike.

When labor sees that it has its hands on the levers which make the world-wide capitalist system work, and that the system works in direct opposition to labor's interests, the day of reckoning will be at hand. I welcome the transit strike as the next step toward this realization, and I think that the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* will continue to be in the forefront of the battle. Thank you for continuing to be true to your masthead, "In the Interest of the Working People."

G. P.

Malcolm X Supporter

Springfield Gardens, N.Y.
I have been an avid reader of your paper for quite some time. I used to attend all of your Friday night lectures and participated in some of your antiwar movements.

I love your paper, and above all, the philosophy you advocate for a better way of life for all. Your articles on Malcolm X are a great treat for me because I felt him as my leader. His name will live with me forever and his life and light shall not be in vain. He is the only modern-day leader of us so-called Negroes.

I must confess to you I am anti-capitalist and anti a system of racism. I believe in doing whatever is necessary to change a bad system to a good system for the benefit of our coming generations.

In order to have just bare necessities for my family, I've had to work 16 to 18 hours. Not for luxuries like a TV or a car (I haven't got one) but for a bed for my baby to sleep, and food and clothes.

I refuse to let the capitalist fatalism called religion blind my eyes. This minimum salary is not enough to provide me with food, clothing and shelter adequately. So you can well understand I have no fixed opinion about the plight of 180 million Americans under the rotten system of capitalism. However, I do say whatever is to be done, especially by black people who suffer the most, must be in the interest of justice, and must be for the common good and welfare of all.

I intend to participate more fully since my night work will be terminating and I will have more time.

Enclosed is money to renew my subscription to *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* before my old subscription runs out. For the balance I would like a copy of the pamphlet *Malcolm X Speaks to Young People* and back issues of *The Militant* with the first five installments of *Malcolm X Speaks*. I wish to give them to a friend.

Hilliard Gathers

Thought for the Week

"A Labor Member of Parliament who is most sympathetic to the United States spoke privately, just before the current peace moves started, of the trouble he was having with his constituents. 'I have never found it so hard to defend the United States,' he said. 'It's a hard thing to say, but people just do not seem to believe President Johnson when he says he wants peace in Vietnam.'" — Dispatch to the Jan. 6 *New York Times*.

From New Zealand

Wellington, New Zealand
I enclose herewith a clipping taken from one of the two main papers here revealing how the U.S. juggles and distorts its Vietnam casualty figures.

This paper is regarded as being almost the furthest right of any in the country. It is often regarded as being the mouthpiece of the Nationalist Party, the present conservative government of New Zealand.

I think you will agree the clipping throws some new light on the extraordinary communiques that come out of south Vietnam from time to time.

As you know, New Zealand has 120 artillerymen in south Vietnam giving aid and comfort to U.S. forces, so a report such as this one is very much "an admission against interest," to paraphrase legal jargon.

Recently we had a demonstration here which brought slightly more than 1,000 people into the streets. This does not sound like much but in proportion to population it is about up to the average for larger countries.

Hope you can continue with the good work of telling people the truth about this sordid, pro-fascist war.

Plebs

Offers Criticism

Ann Arbor, Mich.
Somehow, a great many of your examples fall short of the mark and fail to convince. For instance, in the Jan. 3 issue:

a) The item in the National

Picket Line column on the lady tomato picker. Yes, she is underpaid, but not to the tune of over \$1,000. Do you think tomatoes "just happen"? They have to be planted, weeded, tended, watered — and after picking, sorted, washed, packaged and transported. Other workers get paid too. It takes a lot of hands to get them to your dinner table.

b) On page seven, the *It Was Reported* in the Press "fillers" column is pretty bad, every week. To most of them my reaction is "so what?" Particularly when you fuss about some menu (you didn't in the Jan. 3 issue, for a change). You sound like you think ordinary people live on beans. We eat chicken and steak too! Sometimes you write as though you think ordinary people are real slobbs. This is socialist humanism?

B.S.

Sees War with China

North Bend, Ore.
A recent issue of *The Militant* asks the question, "Are Johnson and His Generals Aiming Toward War with China?"

It has seemed to me since the bombing began that that was the intention of the regime.

First, the bombing, or for that matter, land invasion of North Vietnam would not stop the war in the south. Hanoi does not control the "Viet Cong" and Johnson knows this perfectly well. Therefore his purpose has to be sought elsewhere than simply stopping resistance in the south.

He has proven by repeated refusals to negotiate that he is not

even interested in knowing what proposals, if any, north Vietnam might make.

He is constructing facilities throughout south Vietnam whose size can only be reconciled with war with China, not simply an occupation of Vietnam, north and south.

And finally, the continual pre-occupation of the American press with the Chinese reaction — the amount of aid to north Vietnam, Chinese aid in transportation repair, speculation on volunteers, the continual repetition of the lie that "Peking controls Hanoi and Hanoi controls the Viet Cong" — all point to a propaganda build-up for an attack on China. I think we may count on American troops being in China by this time next year, and certainly the bombers.

This will be the beginning of the end of imperialism, but first many millions of dead will be added by Johnson's chapter to the millions in the chapter Hitler wrote.

M.W.S.

In our last issue we published an appeal for help from the Committee for a Liberal Library in Providence, Ky. The group is seeking material on peace, civil rights, social problems, etc. to establish a progressive library for residents of the area. Through an error, we did not publish the complete address where contributions should be sent. It is: Richard Chinn, Committee for a Liberal Library, 600 Third Ave., Providence, Ky. 42450.

It Was Reported in the Press

Objective View — In the first six days of New York's transit strike about one third of the men slated for induction into the army didn't show up at induction centers. They were obviously community-minded citizens abiding by the mayor's plea that all those not engaged in essential activity stay home.

Standard Procedure — Patrick Nugent who is slated to join the LBJ dynasty via marriage to daughter Lucy Baines will serve his two-year Air National Guard hitch behind a desk in Washington, D.C. An Air Guard officer said there was nothing unusual in the transfer and that the young man was being treated just like anyone else.

Sweet Reason — LBJ's favorite biblical quotation, "Come let us reason together," concludes with the following: "If you are willing and obedient then you shall eat the blood of the lamb; but if you refuse and rebel, you shall be devoured by the sword."

One Word from Him — Mayor Lindsay asked New York employers to pay workers who couldn't get to their jobs because of the strike. The mayor's announcement was followed by one from the City Transit Authority. It said that non-striking employees of the authority who didn't report for work wouldn't be paid. The mayor's office declined to comment.

A Ford in His Future — The Ford Motor Company was upset because New York's Mayor Lindsay was going to have to get around in a beat up old 1962

Cadillac limousine. So the company is going to lend the mayor one of its new luxury models, the LDT. The mayor first said no to the offer but then he gave in. When he did he asked that a few extras be included. The car will be equipped with air conditioning, television, telephone and a radio transmitter and receiver.

Piece-Work Informers — Florida education officials have protested the Tallahassee police using Florida State University students to entrap homosexuals. The students are paid \$10 for each conviction obtained. A police spokesman said some of the students took on the work because they were interested in police careers while others merely needed spending money. He said the work

doesn't pay enough nor is it regular enough to provide a steady income.

Male Make-Up — Manufacturers of cosmetics for men racked up \$400 million worth of business last year and anticipate sales of over half a billion this year, with face creams making a big splash on the male market. According to a *New York Times* dissertation on the question, the current in thing for dating high school couples is to smell alike. But older men, like designer Raymond Loewy, don't go for the sexy kid stuff. He also doesn't go for anything that's pre-packaged. He purchases essence of lavender from blossoms grown high in the French Alps and dilutes it with alcohol to get just the right fragrance.

—Harry Ring

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THE MILITANT

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20 Years Ago

WORLD-WIDE GI DEMONSTRATIONS SHOUT DEMAND: "GET US HOME!" — Wall Street's plans for global domination have been dealt a staggering blow by the sweeping world-wide protest demonstrations of the American GIs.

In actions unprecedented in the history of victorious imperialist armies, hundreds of thousands of battle-scarred veterans have shaken their mighty fists at Washington, shouting: "Get Us Home!"

These troops have defiantly denounced the American plutocracy's scheme to use them as tools for subjugating conquered peoples in other lands.

The angry, bitter protests against the delay in demobilization came from all over the world. The press publicized only the most spectacular — Philippines, Germany, Hawaii, France, Japan, Korea, China, India, England, Alaska and "dozens" of other places.

This colossal new wave of protests was provoked by a January 4 War Department announcement that demobilization would be slowed-down. This reversed a December 26 promise to speed up demobilization.

The GIs reacted with a swiftness that stunned official circles. On January 6 in Manila thousands of GIs demonstrated at separated points shouting their resentment.

Simultaneously, on the other side of the world at Camp Boston, France, 2,000 GIs demonstrated.

In the Pacific theater, 6,000 men on Saipan wired protests. — Jan. 19, 1946.

Aftermath of Student Murder

Protests Mount in Tuskegee

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, called on President Johnson to send federal marshals to Alabama.

Lewis' statement was made after a 21-year-old Negro student at Tuskegee Institute who was active in the civil rights movement was shot to death by a white man. Some 2,000 students and teachers at the predominantly Negro college marched through the business district of Tuskegee Jan. 4 to protest the shooting of Samuel L. Younge, Jr., the day before. Since then there have been repeated demonstrations by the students demanding punishment of the murderer and an end to all forms of discrimination.

Leaders of SNCC, including James Forman, went to Tuskegee to attend Younge's funeral and to meet with a student civil rights organization.

Younge had been helping Negroes register to vote at the Macon County courthouse earlier on the day he was murdered. He was

pushed by one of the registrars, who threatened him with a knife. A registrar told Younge's co-worker, James Rogers, "I'm tired of fooling around with you, I'm going to spill your guts all over the floor."

SNCC workers in Atlanta reported the incident in the courthouse to the FBI and the Justice Department and urged federal intervention and protection — before the murder occurred — but federal officials did not appear.

Later that night Younge went to a service station to get gas. When he asked to go to the restroom, the attendant told him to go to the back hole where Negroes go. Younge refused. He asked the attendant if he'd heard of the Civil Rights Act. The attendant pulled a gun, fired one shot but missed.

Younge got into a car and drove to the police station five blocks away and asked for an investigation. It was reported that he went back to the station when he realized the police would not help.

His body was found in an alley near the station with a single bullet wound in the head.

John Lewis, SNCC chairman, issued the following statement:

"We call upon the President of the United States to make the presence and the forces of the federal government visible in the state of Alabama by ordering federal marshals to the following counties in Alabama: Macon, Greene, Barbour, Lowndes, Dallas, Hale, Wilcox, Bullock, Marengo, Sumter, Perry, and all others where violence and terror are the order of the day. These federal marshals should have the power to make on-the-spot arrests, in order to protect, not just the civil rights, but the lives and limbs of the Negro people and civil rights workers of Alabama.

"If the federal government cannot provide protection for people seeking civil rights guaranteed by the constitution, then people will have no protection but themselves. We find it increasingly difficult to ask the people of the Black Belt

Georgia Legislature Bars Negro Member

The Georgia House of Representatives barred Julian Bond, one of eight Negroes elected to the House last year, from taking his seat. The action was begun after the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee issued a statement against the war in Vietnam. (See page 1.)

Bond is a member of SNCC and refused to repudiate the statement. He said that although he would not burn his own draft card he respected those who did, and he favored alternative service for those who opposed the draft.

to remain nonviolent. We have asked the President for federal marshals for over three years. If our plea is not answered, we have no choice."

On Jan. 6, 200 Tuskegee Institute students marched to the Standard Oil station when Younge had been killed and then to city hall where they presented the City Council with eight demands for ending segregation in Tuskegee. Student leader Gwen Patton issued the following statement:

"The students at Tuskegee Institute find the situation horrible, deplorable, and unbelievable. . . . Sammy will be forever remembered by us because he did so much to crack the walls of segregation in his own backyard. The students at Tuskegee Institute will tear this town to bits if justice is not served. If a brick is thrown we shall retaliate. If there are any people out there who wish to take us on, remember we are approximately 3,000 strong. We want action, freedom and justice now. We will be moving downtown daily if necessary with the entire student body, staff, administration and faculty if this action is not forthcoming . . ."

200 Antiwar Protesters Picket Helicopter Plant

By Arthur Maglin

About 230 people demonstrated in Morton, Pa., on Dec. 29 to protest United States involvement in the war in Vietnam. Morton is the site of helicopter production for the war by the Vertol division of the Boeing company.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Philadelphia and national organizations of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA). Demonstrators came from many East Coast areas.

Seventeen demonstrators were arrested during the protest. Thirteen were arrested for staging a sit-in at the main entrance to the Vertol plant. Four others were taken into custody when they tried to distribute leaflets.

Time to Stop

A. J. Muste, CNVA national chairman, said the protest was conducted because "for 20 years the people of Vietnam have been shot at."

"Somebody ought to stop the killing," Muste said. "No country is in a better position to stop it than the U.S."

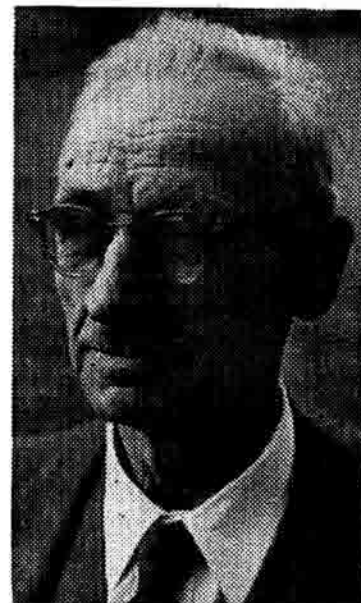
Throughout the three-hour demonstration, the protesters were pelted with eggs thrown by some of the 350 counter-demonstrators standing across the street, many of whom wore American Legion uniforms.

Among those who attempted the sit-in was Thomas Rodd, 19, of Pittsburgh who has been on federal probation the past year for refusing to register for the draft.

Didn't Make It

Rodd, who had announced that he would try to climb onto a helicopter inside the plant grounds as a symbolic act of protest, never got to the gate. He was stopped and taken into custody by waiting federal probation officers. He faces a five-year jail term for violating the conditions of his probation.

The youth told a reporter, "People are willing to risk death to



A. J. Muste

go to Vietnam and engage in a mad, futile war. Certainly, in the face of that, my risking five years to stop the war is no big thing."

The arrested demonstrators included Dr. William Davidson, chairman of Haverford College's physics department, and Dr. Edward Gottlieb, a New York City high school principal.

Several leaders of the demonstration charged that police used excessive force in removing the sit-inners from the plant entrance. The demonstrators, mostly young people, were dragged and shoved across the street to a waiting bus. One policeman was seen kicking a young man who had been thrown aboard the bus.

CNVA said the protest was held at the Vertol plant because the helicopter manufactured by the company "stands today as the foremost symbol of the U.S. effort to make distant people behave as we think they should and, often, to thwart their revolutionary aspirations."



James Forman

Why St. John's Teachers Went on Strike

By Stephen Hillary

NEW YORK, Jan. 11 — During an interview granted at the time of his appointment to the office of president of St. John's University, the Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill stated that he would not allow an admitted Communist or anyone else opposed to Catholic doctrine to speak on campus, but he added that he would talk with the "university rebels" because as he noted, "I found if you sit down and explain things, most people will be reasonable."

Apparently finding it impossible to "explain things" to 31 faculty members about five months later, Father Cahill fired them. No explanation was offered other than a registered special delivery letter which stated the accomplished fact and mentioned a university statute under which faculty could be "legally" dismissed.

These firings were the final insult which led to the strike at St. John's University, now in its second week. More than one-third of the entire faculty and more than one-half of the College of Arts and Sciences are out.

Maintain Picket Line

Several hundred faculty members, students, and trade unionists have been maintaining picket lines at every entrance to the university. An instructor in the fine arts department, Dr. R. Marino, told me that his salary, after ten years

of teaching was \$7,000 and he had no tenure. Another picket, an instructor in his first year at Hunter College, added by way of contrast that his salary was better than \$8,400.

The question of salary has been a sore point for many years at St. John's. The university maintains the lowest wage scales among the ten largest Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. The issue was brought into sharper focus when it was revealed by Dr. Andrew Robinson, chapter president of the American Association of University Professors, that St. John's had submitted a budget for 1964-1965 showing a surplus of \$2,500,000.

Academic Freedom

The most heated debates have taken place over the issue of academic freedom. One of the founders of the one and one-half year old chapter of the United Federation of College Teachers, which has called the strike, Dr. Lauer, reported that, "academic freedom is virtually non-existent at St. John's. Faculty members have no part in the selection of department chairman, and are excluded from decisions relating to content of the curriculum and educational policy."

One biology professor was recently "called in" because he had not taught the "religious qualification" to the theory of evolution.

A fired faculty member from the department of philosophy objected to the fact that philosophy had to be taught from the Catholic point of view and pointed out that the administration had even gone beyond this limitation in requiring that only Thomism, a particular philosophy within Catholicism, be presented to the students.

Different Teaching

Dr. Lauer expressed the belief that there should be no difference between the content of a philosophy course at St. John's and that of non-sectarian universities.

The administration has consistently refused to recognize the UFCT and had taken the same position towards the St. John's AAUP — until it was announced some 18 months ago that the UFCT had been formed on the campus and the administration belatedly recognized the AAUP as the "lesser evil."

Those faculty opposed to the strike made an attempt to ram through a resolution condemning it at the last AAUP meeting held on Jan. 2. In describing the tactics used, Dr. Andrew Robinson, former president for the AAUP at St. John's, told me, "20 new members came to the meeting with five dollars in hand (AAUP membership fee) and intended to present a resolution opposing the strike. The chairman announced that the meeting had been illegally called

since no notice had been given and since the executive committee of the AAUP hadn't called it. At that point they walked out in protest and adjourned to another meeting where they passed another resolution against the strike."

The University has been continually picketed since Jan. 4 with lines being manned by teachers and other workers from all over the metropolitan area and several of the states.

Leonard Lurie, a teacher at John Bowne High School, said while picketing, "A man's right to earn a living shouldn't be judged by what brand of religion or philosophy he supports."

A teacher from Berner High School in Massapequa argued that "labor unions have helped high school teachers, it's about time the colleges were unionized."

IBEW Helps

Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have been among the staunchest supporters of the picket lines. Workers from this union have been asked by their foreman on the job if they wanted to take some time off and join the line at St. John's. "What is an individual today? You're nothing. This way when they talk they're not just one person." This was the comment of one IBEW worker who gave up a day's pay to march on the line.

At a rally on Friday afternoon, Jan. 7, over 500 students booed Father Tinnelly, a university administrator, when he tried to assure the students that they would get their grades on time. He explained that it was not uncommon when sickness or death of a faculty member delayed grades and told the students that the administration would get them out. At that point one student shouted, "But the faculty aren't sick, you fired them."

Mass Rally

On Monday, Jan. 10, over 1,700 students attended a mass rally on the St. John's campus in support of the strike. Although the Student Senate voted 12-7 against a student boycott a few days before, there seems to be a growing awareness upon the part of the students that the administration has not explained the issues fairly. Student support for the picket lines has increased considerably and a small group has boycotted classes at the risk of expulsion.

Thus far, the administration has showed no signs of a willingness to negotiate with the striking faculty and has patently stated that there is nothing to discuss. An instructor from Hunter College felt that the strike would be settled when the faculty and students at St. John's united on the issues involved. "The administration would have a tough time running the place without the faculty and students," he said.