

THE MILITANT

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LBJ Talks 'Peace' But Aims To Keep Troops in Vietnam

— See Page 3 —

New York Transit Workers' Strike Shows Power of Organized Labor

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — The overwhelming power of modern organized labor when it is mobilized in a just cause has been made dramatically clear by the first 100 percent solid city-wide transit strike in the history of the country's largest city. All the concentrated pressure of the employers' government, the employers' courts, the employers' press and the other boss-controlled media for molding public opinion has not been able to create the slightest break in the strikers' solidarity or to move a single bus or subway train since the strike for a new contract began Jan. 1.

Completely Solid

The power of the workers is so great and so solid that no one even raises the idea that the transit system could be made to move again by the use of strikebreakers or a back-to-work movement. This is in dramatic contrast to previous strikes on the city-wide transit system, which either took place in the early decades of the century before the union was strong, or involved only sections of the workers who struck without the support of the top union leadership. But now there is no question about the tremendous potential power of New York labor which has been kept asleep by the political deals for sweetheart contracts between union leaders and the liberal politicians.

This time the sweetheart pattern broke down, at least momentarily. The arrest today of Michael Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), and eight leaders of the city's striking bus and subway workers was the crassest strike-breaking move directed against an established union in recent New York labor history. The 60-year-old Quill suffered a heart attack in jail hours after his arrest and was taken to the hospital.

Arrested with Quill were TWU Local 100 President Daniel Gilmartin, Executive Vice President Matthew Guinian, Director of Organization Frank Sheehan, Financial Secretary Ellis F. Van Riper, and Recording Secretary Mark Kavanagh. The five TWU leaders represent some 35,000 strikers. The three remaining arrested leaders are from the Amalgamated Transit Union, which represents 1,800 striking bus drivers and maintenance workers from Queens and Staten Island. They are International Representative John Rowland, Local 726 President William Mangus, and Local 1056 President Frank Klees.

All of them were found in contempt of a N.Y. State Supreme Court anti-strike injunction obtained by the City Transit Authority on Dec. 30, two days before the strike began, while Democratic Mayor Wagner was still in office. Quill tore up the injunction before the TV cameras.

Phony Negotiations

This year, the City Transit Authority has refused to seriously negotiate with the unions. The *New York Times*, which has viciously attacked the TWU, reported on Dec. 31 that 24 hours before the strike deadline "the Transit Authority had made no offer, direct or indirect" to either the TWU or the ATU.

In an article in the union newspaper before the strike, Quill made the point that the bargaining was not proceeding as in the past and that "we are steeling them [the membership] for battle, not for political handouts."

The union demands were made abundantly clear weeks before the strike and were motivated by what Local 100 President Gilmartin termed "our case for equality with all other city workers." An example of the wage inequities between city employees is the \$4.56 an hour paid to police department mechanics compared to the



IN CUSTODY. As reporters and photographers press in, New York County Sheriff takes Transport Workers Union President Michael Quill (arrow) to jail for defying anti-strike injunction obtained by Lindsay administration.

\$3.30 paid transit mechanics.

The December TWU *Express* outlined and further motivated the chief union demands stating that they were necessary "for the improvement of the living standards of our membership in accordance with our country's thriving economic health." Included were a four-day, 32 hour work week, 30 percent pay increase with top rate after one year, 52 pay checks a year, three additional paid holi-

days, double-time for holiday work, five percent shift differential, \$100 a year uniform allowance, and a two year contract.

The *Express* rejected the idea that subway and bus fare would have to be raised to meet these demands. "The union," it said, "has dismissed increased transit fares with a demand for 'free fares' — for transportation to the public on the same basis as police, fire and sanitation service." The

TWU also offered to operate the subways for nothing during the strike if the Transit Authority would cover up the pay turnstiles. The inconvenience to the riding public, then, rests squarely on the Transit Authority and the city administration which ignored this offer.

More significant than the demands of the TWU leaders is the militant backing they have received from the rank and file. An example is a meeting held in Manhattan Center the day after Christmas when 8,000 workers jammed the hall and voted unanimously to strike if necessary on Jan. 1. During the meeting many raised the demand for a

(Continued on Page 2)

China Reduces Trade With Cuba

By Harry Ring

China is making a sharp reduction in the volume of its trade with Cuba and this will result in a curtailment of the amount of rice available to the Cuban people. This was reported by Fidel Castro in his Jan. 2 speech in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución celebrat-

ing the seventh anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

According to a *New York Times* report of the speech, a Cuban trade delegation to Peking was abruptly informed last November that in 1966 China intended to reduce its trade with Cuba from \$250 million to \$170 million. This

includes, the report said, a reduction of sugar purchases from 800,000 tons to 600,000 tons and a reduction in the amount of rice shipped to Cuba from 285,000 tons to 135,000 tons.

The *New York Herald Tribune* reported that Fidel told the Cuban people he had understood last year's trade pact to be a long-term one. "I thought this was a long-term proposition," he reportedly said, "but the other party did not understand it thus and limited the agreement to one year which has now terminated."

"We now find," he added, "that we have only one half the rice we had in 1964. We did not grow more rice ourselves because we were concentrating on other agricultural production."

The Cuban delegation to Peking reportedly sought to persuade the Chinese to renew last year's agree-

ment but were informed the present offer was "the maximum and definite."

The Mao regime is said to have told the Cubans that they were cutting the sugar-rice exchange because their own sugar production had increased; a half-million-ton loan of sugar from the USSR has been repaid; and, finally, last year's larger exchange had been an exception made in response to a request by Castro.

The report by Cuba's trade delegation from which Fidel read excerpts, also reportedly said the Chinese government had told them they were making the cut in rice shipments because of "the necessity of building up its reserves in case of an imperialist attack; in order to help Vietnam, and because the deficit of other staples made it necessary to buy them

(Continued on Page 5)

Fourth Int'l Greet Havana Parley

On Jan. 2 the Fourth International sent the following message to the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Conference currently being held in Havana, Cuba;

"The Executive Committee of the Fourth International, in the name of 35 sections, warmly greets your Congress. We express complete support to the freedom struggles of all oppressed peoples and appeal to you to organize actions to assure the victory of the Vietnamese revolution."

The cable was signed by Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan, two leaders of the world Trotskyist movement.

Our New Address

NEW YORK — We are now located at our new address, 873 Broadway, corner of 18th St. The Militant Labor Forum and the National and City Offices of the Socialist Workers Party are at the same address. Our zip code is the same, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Our phone number is 533-6414. The number of the SWP National Office is 982-5932. The City Office number is 982-6051.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

What happened to the 10,000 workers laid off by the Republic Aviation Corp., of Farmingdale, L.I., between Nov. 1963 and Dec. 1964? According to a recent survey by the New York State Department of Labor's Division of Employment, 21 percent of them are still out of work, eight percent have relocated, and 65 percent have found new jobs.

Of those with new jobs, 70 percent were unable to find manufacturing jobs and were working mainly in the service industries. The average pay for these workers was \$101 a week, or 25 percent less than the \$135 they received at Republic.

A union power fight in District 9, International Association of Machinists, is sparked by a dissident faction in Lodge 837, which has 16,000 members working at the McDonald Aircraft plant in St. Louis, Mo. This is the same rank-and-file group that led a four day wildcat strike at McDonald's last November. Later the defense plant was closed by a second authorized strike lasting six days. Both walk-outs expressed dissatisfaction with a proposed new contract and opposition to old guard District 9 leaders.

Last month, the dissident faction ran a slate in local Lodge 837 elections. Its candidate for president, Gene O. Branvold, won the post by a four-to-one margin but only 11 percent of the members reportedly voted.

Faction leader Bruce D. McCarthy claims that his group is not the only one complaining against do nothing District 9 leaders. "We just happen to be the largest and loudest," he said.

AFL-CIO President George Meany's \$25,000 a year raise voted on at the recent AFL-CIO convention, raises his salary to \$70,000 a year. The only union leader said to receive more than Meany is James R. Hoffa of the Teamsters whose salary is \$75,000.

Comparative salaries received by other union presidents for 1964 were: George Harrison of the Railroad Clerks, \$65,000; Hunter P. Wharton of the Operating Engineers, \$55,000; and Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union who got a whopping \$102,637 — \$37,342 of Curran's salary was

allegedly for unused vacations prior to 1964.

Thirty-five percent of all mothers of children under 18 work for a living, according to the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Labor Department. This amounts to 9.5 million of the 25 million women workers in the U.S. as of last year. Seventeen percent of these had husbands who made less than \$3,000 a year, and 25 percent had husbands with incomes between \$3-5,000. The report shows that the percentage, as well as the number, of working mothers has increased sharply in the last 25 years.

Mrs. Merle Green, a former housewife with two children, turned truck driver in 1958 because it paid better than the local 5-and-10. She now drives a 13½ ton truck and is a member of Teamster Local 7 in Kalamazoo, Mich.

A new beef slaughter plant, owned by Swift and Company, has been opened in Grand Island, Neb. The modern plant is expected to employ about 150 workers at a starting rate of only \$1.90 an hour. According to The United Packinghouse Workers, which is attempting to organize the non-union workers, this compares with a starting rate of \$2.72 an hour which Swift pays new employees at plants under the contract with the UPWA.

Local 1408 of the Steel Workers recently adopted a resolution on unemployment urging the federal government to "totally subsidize workers indefinitely until such time as they are needed in production."

The resolution also recommended payment equal to straight time union wages for employees laid off because of automation "until such time as they are called back to their place of employment or other suitable employment."

Nearly 1,000 Local 1408 members were recently laid off by the National Tube Works of U.S. Steel in McKeesport, Pa. The company claims the layoffs were merely an "economy move" but the union charges that they were the result of automation and that a total of 1,500 would eventually be permanently laid off by the company.

—Tom Leonard

... New York Transit Strike

(Continued from Page 1)
wildcat strike and chanted "Strike Now! Strike Now!"

Up until Jan. 3, however, leaders of other unions had refused to publicly support either TWU demands or the strike. As a matter of fact, one labor faker, Edward Swayduck, president of Local 1, Amalgamated Lithographers of America called the strike sabotage and said he was examining the possibility of suing Quill and the TWU for wages lost by members of his union.

Another labor "leader," Alec Rose, president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, and vice chairman of the Liberal Party which supported the election of Republican John Lindsay, said it was "unfair" to put a new mayor in Lindsay's present position.

Other union leaders were so silent on the transit strike that by Jan. 3, the Times made a strike breaking editorial appeal to "hundreds of thousands of other unionists who are being locked out of their jobs by the transit union chiefs' sabotage."

It wasn't until the third day of the strike that some 13 major union leaders sent messages of support to the transit strikers. Among these was Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the New York City Central Labor Council. This meant in effect that the local AFL-CIO was officially behind the strike.

Hate Campaign

In the meantime every avenue of the boss controlled mass news media did its best to vilify and isolate the strikers just as they had during negotiations.

Local 100 president Gilmartin had tried to expose this in the TWU Express. "They belong to the publishers," he said, "the same publishers of the Herald Tribune, Daily News, World Telegram and Sun, Journal American and Long Island Star Journal, who locked out 5,000 workers when the Guild struck the New York Times for job security last September."

On Jan. 4, the boss press continued its anti-union tirade and the World Telegram not only supported the arrest of strike leaders but urged Mayor Lindsay to request "mobilization of TA Personnel in the National Guard to get the busses rolling — and next the subways."

Republican Mayor Lindsay, however, is not the only capitalist politician guilty of opposing the transit workers' legitimate demands. Democratic Mayor Robert



John Lindsay

Wagner could have reached an agreement with the unions before he left office and took a quick trip to Mexico nine days before the strike started.

And what about the New York City Council, and the Board of Estimates — both controlled by the Democrats.

The truth is that union workers don't have to rely on boss politicians to support their demands. After all it was the refusal of rank and file transit workers to work without a decent contract that closed New York's transportation system down — tight as a drum! That's the biggest political

fact of life to millions of New Yorkers — inside and outside of the union movement. It is to Quill's credit that whatever his past union record, he went to jail rather than give in to a strike-breaking injunction.

While waiting arrest in the Americana Hotel, Quill said, "Personally, I don't care if I rot in jail. I will not call off this strike. We will have a second line of leadership with full power to negotiate a contract while the strike is on. Our going to jail does not mean that we will settle for a penny less."

"It's about time," he continued, "that someone, somewhere along the road of labor ceased to be respectable. Many good Americans before us took this road, and if they didn't half of you would be on home relief."

Quill's widely publicized remarks have been more than matched by the militancy of rank and file TWU members. As of today, not one transit worker could be quoted as being against the strike. A typical reaction by two pickets to questioners was "Who are they (the Transit Authority) to set themselves up to be the saviors of the people? Where were they when the price of milk shot up to 27 cents a quart, and a loaf of bread to 43 cents?"

When Mike Quill was sent to jail and shortly after suffered the heart attack that required his being sent to a hospital, a transit striker was asked what he thought and replied, "there are 30,000 transit workers in that hospital bed with Quill right now."

Anti-Vietnam-War Newsletter Publishes Its Second Issue

BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW NEWSLETTER. Edited by Jens Jensen and Judy White. 10c or 13 issues for \$1. P.O. Box 317 Mt Auburn P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

This publication grew out of the much discussed convention of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam held in Washington last Thanksgiving. It is published by a caucus which was formed at that convention around the idea of the eventual formation of a national organization of anti-Vietnam-war committees standing for withdrawal of U.S. troops now, which would be part of the NCC.

As of this writing, two issues have appeared, dated Dec. 4 and Dec. 25. Both are musts for students of the convention about which there has been so much heated comment. For in addition to the position of the caucus in its own words — which is quite different from what has been attributed to it in a number of articles in the liberal and radical press — these issues contain documents and statistics from the convention which have not been published elsewhere.

Dawson Article

In the first issue, an article by Kipp Dawson explains the importance of the withdraw now position: "The idea that the U.S. should get out of Vietnam is part and parcel of the idea of self-determination. On the other hand, the 'negotiations' approach... implies that the U.S. has the right to negotiate the future of Vietnam. The U.S. does not have the right to negotiate what kind of government the Vietnamese people will have, or to negotiate any of the affairs of the Vietnamese people... The presence of U.S. troops, even if a cease-fire were arranged, would preclude real self-determination for the Vietnamese. The only just demand is that the U.S. get out of Vietnam now, and allow the Vietnamese people to decide their own future."

The second issue contains an

article entitled "Reflections on the NCC Convention's Credentials" by Jens Jensen, who was a member of the credentials committee. According to Jensen, there were a total of 378 persons who claimed delegate status. Of these 189 were listed as from local CEWV's and VDC's, 79 from national organizations (including local chapters), and 110 from other types of organizations and individuals. All but four, says Jensen, were eventually seated though 145 were challenged.

50-50

"Only half the convention participants who claimed delegate status," comments Jensen, "were actually from independent committees to end the war in Vietnam."

In addition to material on the recent convention both issues also contain articles on building the movement generally and on the war itself, and presumably future issues of the Newsletter will lean more heavily in this direction.

An article in the Dec. 25 issue by Judy White on the U.S. troop buildup in Vietnam quotes the Dec. 12 *New York Times* which said: "For most of the 170,000 United States troops now serving in Vietnam, the overwhelming desire is to go home as soon as possible. Any soldier can tell you to the day — in some cases even to the hour — when he is due to leave. Some have worked out elaborate charts to tick off the days."

Judy White comments: "The effect of this very normal 'let's get home' sentiment... is revealed in the generally low fighting intensity of American troops." After citing evidence to this effect, she says this sentiment "will continue to grow among the American troops in Vietnam, just as it did in Korea, and it is this feeling coupled with mounting opposition at home that will ultimately force the United States government to get out of Vietnam and let the people of Vietnam decide their own future."

—William Bundy

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

CHICAGO

WHAT IS INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION? An analysis of the debate among antiwar activists and radical organizations on coalition politics versus independent political action. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, Rm. 204, 302 S. Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VERSUS NEGOTIATIONS. A socialist view of the debate in the antiwar movement. Speaker: Lew Jones, of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 14, 8:30 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 S. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Tues. Jan. 18, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., Jan. 19, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

HOW CUBA AFFECTED ME AFTER 10 YEARS AS A PRIEST IN BOLIVIA. Speaker: Felix McGowan. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. Note NEW ADDRESS: 873 Broadway (at 18 St.) Contrib. \$1, students 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Muslim Mosque in Newark Raided by Police on Pretext

Newark police chose the Christmas season to stage a raid on the Black Muslim temple at 257 South Orange St., in Newark, N.J. They claimed their purpose was to obtain the names of two suspected bandits alleged to be members of the Muslims.

The police confiscated the books of the mosque, according to an account in the Jan. 1 *Afro-American*. Leaders of Muhammad's Mosque protested the police raid and the use of excessive force by the police in smashing doors and doing other damage. A delegation of Muslims went to City Hall to file protests.

Police Fire?

A fire started in the mosque during the raid, and according to the *Afro-American* report: "Members of the sect claimed the police set the fire to create the impression that the members were destroying evidence or burning records."

"In the meantime police were making a thorough search of all known gathering points Muslims are known to frequent in Newark, New York and Jersey City. They

staged searches of restaurants and clubs and private houses," the story continues.

The events began on Dec. 17 with the holdup of a bank by four men. That afternoon, two men, Albert Dickens and James Washington, alleged to be Muslims, were picked up as suspects and confessions were beaten out of them. In challenging these "confessions," their court-appointed attorney cited the fact that one of the defendants was covered with blood when he was arraigned. The two men were held in \$100,000 bail each.

The police claimed that the two defendants, who pleaded not guilty, gave the names of their accomplices. These names, "Nackim" and "Raghib," were their Muslim names, the cops claimed. So the cops raided the Muslim temple, ostensibly to obtain their legal names.

This story by the cops would not justify their raid on the mosque even if it were true. All who believe in civil liberties should join in the protest against this attack on the Muslims.

JOHNSON'S 'PEACE' TALK

Aims to Keep Troops in Vietnam

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 4 — Lyndon B. Johnson reached a new height of hypocrisy when he released a resumé of his 1965 "achievements," New Year's Day. "President Johnson's greatest personal disappointment in the year just ended," Johnson's release informed Americans, "was the failure so far of the United States to convince Hanoi and Peking of the sincerity of its desire for peace in Vietnam."

This release, of course, was only one step in Johnson's carefully timed and much publicized worldwide "peace offensive," but it gives the flavor of the whole campaign and indicates its major points.

First of all, the administration's "peace offensive" is designed to assure opponents of the Vietnamese war that Johnson really is sincere in his efforts to end the war. It is to a highly skeptical world that Johnson now offers the image of sincerity about ending the war — a war which the U.S. started, which the U.S. has escalated into one of the bloodiest and dirtiest wars in history, and which Johnson has been caught lying about and over and over again, even on the question of peace proposals from Hanoi.

Secondly, the peace-propaganda campaign is designed to help sell the official basis of U.S. policy in Vietnam, namely that Hanoi and Peking are responsible for this war, when the facts are that the war is a popular revolution against the U.S.-backed landlord regime in Saigon and against U.S. aggression. And thirdly, the campaign paves the way for a further U.S. escalation of the war, by attempting to shift the onus for war onto Hanoi and Peking's shoulders, should they refuse to come to the bargaining table.

An Analogy

A pointed analogy to this situation was made by Carl Oglesby, a leader of the Students for a Democratic Society, in his speech at the November 27 March on Washington. It is as though King George III had offered to negotiate an end to the Revolutionary War, only he refused to discuss the matter with George Washington, refused to allow Washington to take any part in forming the new government, and demanded that the French under Lafayette

Guerrillas Enjoy Support in Saigon

The National Liberation Front enjoys considerable support in areas like Saigon which the Ky regime is supposed to control. This was reflected in a dispatch from Saigon to the New York Times by Charles Mohr:

"Even Government controlled areas like Saigon are riddled with active or passive Vietcong supporters who shield guerrilla cells operating there . . . If the people were more overwhelmingly committed to the Government, they would inform on these cells, which everybody knows exist in every neighborhood . . . Nor is it [informing] enough to prevent the Vietcong from using cities such as Saigon and Da-nang as rest and recreation centers . . . The Saigon zoo is . . . a particularly popular attraction for the Vietcong..."

stop the Revolution, Oglesby might have added, "and then threatened to bomb Paris if Lafayette didn't succeed."

What really bothers Johnson about 1965, however, is that 25,000 air strikes against north Vietnam, 83,000 bombing attacks on south Vietnam and 180,000 U.S. troops failed to bring the revolutionary populace to its knees.

In the Jan. 2 "News of the Week in Review" section, the *New York Times* listed the main points of Johnson's diplomatic offensive as explained at a State Department press briefing. These points make it crystal clear that the United States is not making any concessions on its present Vietnamese policy, and that any claim by Johnson or anybody else that the U.S. government is "sincere" about bringing peace to Vietnam is as phony as a nine dollar bill.

First off, the "new" proposals give no indication whatever of any willingness on Johnson's part to alter the basic condition of his offer of "unconditional negotiations" — that they be held with Hanoi and/or Peking, not with the

National Liberation Front. *Times* columnist Max Frankel indicates what this means in his authoritative dispatch from Washington, Dec. 26:

"Settling South Vietnam's affairs 'in accordance with' the Liberation Front's own program" Frankel explained, "is the only really unacceptable condition for the Johnson administration." Washington rules out any role for the NLF in its plans for keeping control over south Vietnam in any settlement it is willing to accept. So long as the U.S. maintains this course, it will be necessary for U.S. troops to occupy the country.

Three Lies

Three of the points listed in the "News of the Week in Review" summary are outright lies. "The United States," the *Times* was told, "accepts the 1954 and 1962 Geneva accords as a good enough basis for negotiations . . . It wants no military bases in Southeast Asia . . . It does not want a continuing American military presence in South Vietnam."

It is hard enough to believe that anyone in the world could be fooled by the assertion that Johnson doesn't want U.S. bases and troops in Vietnam when every day brings news of more troops and bigger bases; but it baffles the imagination completely to believe that U.S. diplomats would make these assertions in high-level conferences.

Crooked Deal

If there was one iota of honesty in the Johnson offers, they would have been preceded by the withdrawal of a substantial number of U.S. troops from Vietnam, rather than being accompanied as the offers were by the dispatch of the first 2,500 troops of the 20,000-man strong 25th Infantry Division.

As far as the 1954 Geneva accords are concerned, the very nature of the negotiations offer shows how little respect the U.S. has for the Geneva agreement. Part and parcel of Washington's aim is to establish a separation of governments between north and south Vietnam. But the 1954 treaty didn't even use the words "north" and "south" in discussing Vietnam, and the 17th parallel was mentioned simply as a "military demarcation line." This is not to mention the elections which the treaty promised the Vietnamese people for 1956, but which the Kennedy-Spellman-Dulles-inspired Diem clique did not allow.

The Crux

On this point the Johnson offers come to the crux of the question. The ninth and tenth points of the *Times* summary state: "Free elections will be supported . . . The reunification of the two Vietnams can be decided by the free vote of the people." The United States has gone out of its way in the post World War II epoch to demonstrate what it means by "free elections" — not only in Vietnam, but in South Korea, the Congo and the Dominican Republic, to mention a few pertinent examples.

In Washington's parlance, "free elections" means militarily-policed pro-U.S. puppet dictators. Sometimes there is a choice, like between a Tshombe and a Mobutu; usually the generalissimo is stuffed down the people's throats. If necessary, Washington will throw in tens or hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to make sure it stays that way, and all diplomatic missions to London, Warsaw and Moscow aside, this is precisely what Washington has in mind for Vietnam.

Threatened with the doubling and tripling of U.S. bombing of north Vietnam, the destruction of the industrial cities of Hanoi and Haiphong, and the demolition of



VIETNAMESE WOMAN IN TERROR. Her home was invaded by U.S.-backed troops of puppet government. This is the kind of thing Johnson plans for all of Vietnamese people.

the dams which protect millions of peasants from floods, Ho Chi Minh may be forced to open negotiations with Johnson, even in the context of U.S. military occupation of south Vietnam.

But even if Hanoi does agree to this course, there is absolutely no guarantee whatsoever that Washington will cease to escalate the war in south Vietnam. On the contrary. According to the Dec. 30 *Wall Street Journal*, just the opposite is true:

Will Push for Cash

"No matter how the Hanoi regime responds to the U.S. pause in the bombing of North Vietnamese targets," *Journal* staff-writer William Beecher stated from Washington, "the Johnson administration plans to go to Congress next month with double-barreled requests for more money so the war can be pressed harder if necessary."

"First it will submit a multi-billion dollar request for funds to pay for the bombs and bombers already streaming off the assembly lines. Then it will follow with a prodigious new defense budget that, along with more money for weapons, probably will call for a further expansion of the armed forces via enlistments and the draft rather than any sizeable call-up of reserve and National Guard units . . ."

"Shortly after Congress convenes on Jan. 10, Mr. Johnson is expected to send an urgent request for a supplemental appropriation of at least \$7 billion, possibly much more, for the current fiscal year which ends June 30 . . . It's understood the Army has urged the President to increase its authorized force level by another 100,000 men."

Public Opinion

Beecher's article not only gives one some idea of how big Washington's escalation plans for 1966 are, but Beecher also puts his finger on Johnson's main concern, and the basic force which motivated his present diplomatic maneuvers.

This is the fact that Congress is about to convene, at a time when Johnson needs huge sums of money to escalate the war and when it is evident that masses of Americans are opposed to the war and congressmen face a year-end election.

"If Hanoi fails to rise to the opportunity for a peaceful dialogue," Beecher continued in the *Journal*

article, "then the President will have gone a long way to disarming his critics at home and abroad who have raised doubts about the sincerity of his interest in a negotiated settlement. He will have no end of other good-faith evidence to point to: Roving Ambassador Averell Harriman's flying trip to Warsaw to talk to Polish officials, UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's flying trip to the Vatican to talk to Pope Paul, and probably diplomacy still undisclosed."

Johnson's primary intention is to offset public opinion which opposes the war, and if this means going back to the 1964 Democratic election-campaign public relations manual, this is what Johnson will do. In his Dec. 30 column "Today and Tomorrow," Walter Lippmann advised, "There is a large majority which trusts the President to find a decent way out of a war which is immensely unpopular. It is because the President has succeeded in identifying himself with a moderate settlement by compromise that he retains a large majority."

Sure Fire Setup

The only problem for Lippmann and Johnson's other liberal-minded apologists is that Washington does not have a "moderate settlement" in view. In plain English, Johnson presented Hanoi with a "heads I win, tails you lose" proposition. Talking peace out of one side of his mouth, he bombed south Vietnam the day after the Christmas truce expired and every day since. On Jan. 2 thousands of U.S. troops were ordered into the Mekong Delta region for the first time in the war.

He is going to take to Congress the largest defense budget in recent years, and he is going to saddle Americans with the war in Vietnam, whether congressmen can get off the hook or not. If Johnson gets his way, American boys are going to be seeing Vietnamese soil for a long time to come.

Americans can give only one answer to Johnson's latest maneuver, and that is the only way to end the Vietnamese war once and for all: "Get U.S. Troops Out of Vietnam."

The capitalists generally act harmoniously, and in concert, to fleece the people. — **Abraham Lincoln.**

The American Way of Life

How to Get a Public Job

If you're out of work and looking for a job consider this inviting ad:

"You can be elected attorney general. Leading public relations firm with top-flight experience in statewide campaign wants attorney general candidate. Write in complete confidence for free folder and reprints."

This ad appeared in the Los Angeles *Daily Journal*, a newspaper directed at local lawyers. The man who placed the advertisement is Hal Evry, a political publicity specialist whose firm has managed a number of successful campaigns.

Evry operates on the theory that the candidate is superfluous to the campaign. "Before I take a client, I ask them to agree that they will deliver no speeches, make no public appearances and never get into a discussion of the issues. All I want them to do is stay out of sight," he says.

Evry has had about 60 replies

from eager attorney general applicants, and he expects to select one shortly. He says, "The man we choose will do no campaigning at all. He'll just run on the slogan: 'Stop the Parking Meter Racket.' We did a survey and found that parking meters are a major annoyance to most voters."

Evry adds, "People are generally unsophisticated. The issues just confuse them. The best way to manipulate them is with a simple slogan they can understand. And it's better if they never see the candidate."

The method seems to work. For example, Evry managed the successful race in 1958 for congressional candidate George Kassem, a Democrat who won in a district that had previously been the Republican territory of people like Richard Nixon.

"Every time Kassem wanted to make a speech," says Evry, "I'd give him some tickets to Disneyland."

—Arthur Maglin

THE MILITANT

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Vol. 30 - No. 2

345

Monday, January 10, 1966

An Illegal Curb on Dissent

The growth of reaction and the erosion of civil liberties in this country have provided fertile soil for authoritarian-minded officials to use their power in illegal ways. They do so to victimize people whose political viewpoints or actions they don't like. A current outrageous example of this is the practice of draft boards to slap 1-A classifications on students who participate in anti-draft demonstrations.

This practice began in Michigan, where a totalitarian-minded ex-brass hat heads the state selective service system. But now it is national policy as arbitrarily decided by Lt. Gen. Lewis Hershey, national selective service director.

When the Michigan boards first began pulling this stunt, Hershey maintained a public silence, trying to suggest it was a purely local matter. His silence, however, could only be construed as assent. Finally Hershey affirmed that reclassification of draft protesters was not local but national policy.

In a letter to Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, who objected to the practice, Hershey stubbornly insisted that students who burn their draft cards or stage sit-ins at local draft boards would be reclassified.

Celler declared that Hershey's statement confirmed that the draft was being used as a club to discourage political dissent. There can be no question this is the case.

Apart from the fact that demonstrators for peace are engaging in a just and honorable effort and not one deserving of punishment, the obvious fact is that if there is to be punishment it should at least be through duly constituted courts where there is some opportunity for defense. Use of the draft as a penalty clearly violates the constitutional guarantee that no one shall suffer punishment without due process of law.

Even without this new excess, the whole machinery and administration of the draft has traditionally been arbitrary and discriminatory. From the outset, it has been a bitter, commonplace joke about receiving "greetings" from a board "composed of your friends and neighbors."

It is to be hoped that an effective legal challenge will be made of this new infringement on constitutional rights.

The U.S. Wall

Washington has opened a crack in the iron curtain it has erected around a number of non-capitalist countries. Deferring an iota to world opinion, the U.S. will now permit physicians and medical scientists to visit China, Cuba, Albania, North Korea and north Vietnam, areas on the *verboten* list.

Almost simultaneously with the announcement of this new policy, a State Department spokesman suggested to newsmen that criminal prosecution might possibly be initiated against Staughton Lynd, Herbert Aptheker and Tom Hayden for traveling to north Vietnam without State Department authorization. Under the law forbidding travel to proscribed areas, they would face maximum penalties of five years imprisonment and \$5,000 fine. This is in addition to the prospect of having their passports lifted. There have even been muttered threats of possible prosecution under the Logan Act which bars unauthorized individuals from "negotiating" with other states.

An interesting aspect of the trip is that Staughton Lynd is in Vietnam as an official correspondent for *Viet Report*, a magazine that seeks to provide information about Vietnam developments.

John McDermott, editor of the magazine, said they had sent Lynd to Hanoi because of misinformation in the U.S. press which, he said, springs in good measure from newsmen accepting Washington's press releases rather than digging out the facts themselves.

We think that in saying this, Mr. McDermott pointed toward the key reason for Washington's unconstitutional curb on freedom of travel. What U.S. citizens would see in these countries is a far cry from the false picture presented by the propaganda machine here.

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

The following is from the concluding remarks by Malcolm X at a Harlem rally on Dec. 13, 1964. While waiting for the guest speaker, Muhammed Babu of Tanzania, who had been detained, Malcolm discussed the press and the Congo, and persuaded Dick Gregory to speak. That week anti-Castro Cuban refugees had shelled the UN building, where Che Guevara was to speak, and efforts to indict the killers of three civil-rights workers in Mississippi had collapsed.

Installment 12

I LOVE A REVOLUTIONARY

I'm very thankful that Dick has been able to come out with us tonight. As I said, he is a freedom fighter, you see him on the forefront of the battlelines. And in this country, wherever a black man is, there is a battleline. Whether it's in the North, South, East or West, you and I are living in a country that is a battleline for all of us. And tonight, I'm more than honored with the presence of a person who has been credited with being responsible for correcting the governmental system in an area of this earth where the system wasn't too good prior to the efforts put forth by him.

Describes Zanzibar

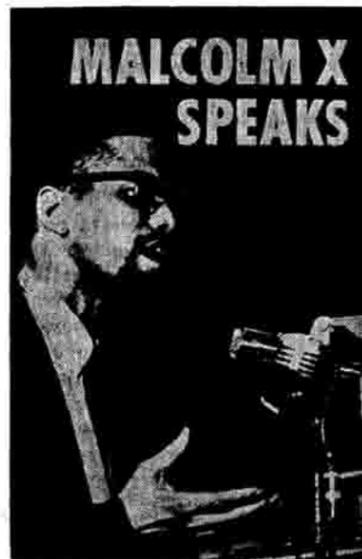
Many of you have heard of the island called Zanzibar. Zanzibar was famous for its headquarters as a slave-trading post; in fact, many of us probably passed through there on our way to America 400 years ago. And it was on this island some time last year, I think it was, that the government was overturned when the African element on the island got fed up with the situation that existed. Overnight they did what was necessary to bring about a change. So today Zanzibar is free.

And as soon as it got its freedom, it got together with Tanganyika, where President Nyerere is. And the combination of Zanzibar and Tanganyika recently became known as the Republic of Tanzania: two countries that united and are one of the most militant and uncompromising when it comes to the struggle for freedom for our people on the African continent, as well as over here and anywhere else on this earth.

Twisted Facts

When the revolution took place on Zanzibar, you and I read about it in this country. They tried to make it appear that it was something that was Chinese or Soviet, or anything but what it was. They tried again to build that image that would make you and me react to it negatively. And the one the Western press said was the guiding hand behind that successful revolution is with us on the platform tonight. I have the greatest honor to introduce to you at this time the minister of cooperatives and commerce from Tanzania, the one who was responsible for bringing freedom to the people on the island of Zanzibar and linking themselves up with Tanganyika and developing it into the Republic of Tanzania. He's known as Sheikh Abdul Rahman Muhammed Babu.

And before he comes forth: he's just left a dinner with another very good friend of ours, and I say a very good friend of ours. I want to point this out to you, I don't let anybody choose my friends. And you shouldn't let anybody choose your friends. You and I should practice the habit of weighing people and weighing situations and weighing groups



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.

and weighing governments for ourselves. And don't let somebody else tell us who our enemies should be and who our friends should be.

I love a revolutionary. And one of the most revolutionary men in this country right now was going to come out here along with our friend, Sheik Babu, but he thought better of it. But he did send this message. It says:

"Dear brothers and sisters of Harlem, I would have liked to have been with you and Brother Babu, but the actual conditions are not good for this meeting. Receive the warm salutations of the Cuban people and especially those of Fidel, who remembers enthusiastically his visit to Harlem a few years ago. United we will win." This is from Che Guevara.

No Anti-Castroites

I'm happy to hear your warm round of applause in return, because it lets the man know that he's just not in a position today to tell us who we should applaud for and who we shouldn't applaud for. And you don't see any anti-Castro Cubans around here — we eat them up.

Let them go and fight the Ku Klux Klan, or the White Citizens Council. Let them spend some of that energy getting their own house in order. Don't come up to Harlem and tell us who we should applaud for and shouldn't applaud for. Or there will be some ex-anti-Castro Cubans.

[Babu speaks.]

African Sympathy

Brothers and sisters, we're going to dismiss in five minutes. We want to thank His Excellency, Abdul Rahman Muhammed Babu, for taking the time to come up this evening to give us a good clear picture of how our people back home feel about us. It is very important, as he pointed out — please give us five minutes before you go, we'll let you go in five minutes — it's very important for you and me to realize that our people on the African continent are genuinely interested and concerned with the troubles of our people on this continent. It is important that we know that, and then our battle strategy, our plan of battle, will be much different.

As long as we think we're over here in America isolated and all by ourselves and underdogs, then we'll always have that hat-in-hand begging attitude that the man loves to see us display. But

when we know that all of our people are behind us — as he said, almost 500 million of us — we don't need to beg anybody. All we need to do is remind them what they did to us; that it's time for them to stop; that if they don't stop, we will stop them. Yes, we will stop them.

You may say, "Well, how in the hell are we going to stop them? A great big man like this?" Brothers and sisters, always remember this. When you're inside another man's house, and the furniture is his, curtains, all those fine decorations, there isn't too much action he can put down in there without messing up his furniture and his windows and his house. And you let him know that when he puts his hands on you, it's not only you he puts his hands on, it's his whole house, you'll burn it down. You're in a position to — you have nothing to lose. Then the man will act right. He won't act right because he loves you or because he thinks you will, you know, not act right. He will only act right when you let him know that you know he has more to lose than you have. You haven't anything to lose but discrimination and segregation.

[Malcolm makes several announcements and then concludes:]

Congo Issue

Next Sunday night, and we will start on time next Sunday night and end on time and we want all of you to be sure and be out, we're going deeper into the Congo question. The Organization of Afro-American Unity intends to spell out its own program in regards to how we feel we can best take advantage of the political potential of the black man in this country and also how we can work with other groups to make sure that quality education is returned to Harlem.

Also, I believe, brothers and sisters, and I say with all my heart, we should start a defense fund in Harlem. We should start a fund in Harlem so that we can offer a reward for whoever gets the head of that sheriff in Mississippi who murdered those civil-rights workers in cold blood. You may think I'm out of my mind. Anytime you have a government that will allow the sheriff, not only one sheriff but some sheriffs and their deputies, to kill in cold blood men who are doing nothing other than trying to ascertain the rights for people who have been denied their rights, and these workers are murdered, and the FBI comes up with all of that pretty-sounding language, like they're going to arrest them and then do nothing but turn them loose — why, then it's time for you and me to let them know that if the federal government can't deal with the Klan, then you and I can deal with the Klan. This is the only way you are going to stop it.

Do It Yourself

The only way you're going to stop the Ku Klux Klan is stop it yourself. As Dick Gregory said, the government can't stop it because the government has infiltrated the Klan and it has infiltrated the government. You and I have got to stop it ourselves. So let's put a reward on the head of that sheriff, a reward, a dollar, for whoever gets to him first. I know what they're going to do — if something happens, they're going to blame me for it. I'll take the blame.

[Next week: Learn to Speak Their Language]

We learned Marxism in books, but above all we learned it in life. — Fidel Castro

REVIEWS and REPORTS

DOMINICAN DIARY by Tad Szulc. New York, Delacorte Press, 1965. 306 pages, illustrate with map and photos. \$6.00.

On April 24, revolution erupted in the Dominican Republic. The military officers leading the rebel force declared that the dictatorship of Donald Reid Cabral had come to an end. The people of Santo Domingo responded vigorously and by the next morning the capital city of the Dominican Republic was in the hands of the rebels.

Dominican Diary is a detailed account of what happened in the following five weeks. The book is authored by Tad Szulc who covered the events as they happened for the *New York Times*. Szulc is an acute observer and his book is highly informative.

When the rebels captured the presidential palace, Reid Cabral's resignation was demanded and obtained. In response, counter-revolutionary generals at the San Isidro air force base set up a military junta government headed by General Wessin y Wessin. Planes were sent to bomb and strafe targets with the capital.

The lines of struggle were becoming more and more sharply drawn. The rebels took decisive action, Szulc reports what happened:

"Possibly as a reaction against the air raids and in anticipation of attacks by Wessin's tanks and infantry, the rebel military command issued orders Sunday afternoon [April 25] to begin arming the pro-rebel civilians. At first weapons ranging from pistols and rifles to submachine guns and .50-caliber machine guns were issued only to veterans of the armed

Dominican Officers Told to Leave

President Hector Garcia-Godoy of the Dominican Republic announced that he would ship a number of military leaders out of the country to diplomatic posts and on "training missions." According to the Jan. 4 *New York Times*, he sought to "ease tension" between the opposing sides in the country and thought the officers leaving would "benefit the country."

If Garcia-Godoy is genuinely interested in easing tension and benefiting the country he should demand that the U.S. troops leave the Dominican Republic. It is they who disrupt the country by preventing the people from establishing a government of their own choosing.

forces and each recipient had to sign a receipt.

"By late Sunday night, however, arms depositories in the city were thrown open to anyone who wanted to grab a weapon. It has been estimated, but can never be proved, that as many as 20,000 weapons were given out to civilians. Filling stations in Santo Domingo began giving away gasoline free for the manufacture of Molotov cocktails. The rebel city was arming itself against the assault by the Wessin forces."

It was at this point that the United States government began to call the Dominican revolution "Communist" and to work towards

defeating it. Szulc reports:

"Meanwhile the events of the last 24 hours seemed to have convinced the United States Embassy in Santo Domingo of two things. One was that a return of Dr. Bosch [Juan Bosch, the constitutional president deposed by Trujillo generals] would mean 'Communism in the Dominican Republic in six months.' The second was that U.S. forces would have to be used in support of General Wessin's troops if the pro-Bosch rebellion was to be defeated."

The "Communist" theme became the Johnson administration's mainstay in justifying its subsequent intervention into the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic. Szulc makes it quite clear that whatever changes Lyndon Johnson made in the counter-revolutionary puppet government, the American armed forces were used consistently to aid the junta against the Dominican revolutionaries. Szulc demonstrates over and over that the State Department's declarations of "neutrality" in the Dominican civil war were lies.

On April 29, the U.S. Embassy in Santo Domingo produced the famous list of "53 Communists." This list was supposed to back up the U.S. government's assertion that the rebel movement was "Communist-dominated." Of this list, Szulc observes, "Several of the Communists on the embassy's list were not even in the country during the revolution. In general, then, the list was more of a catalogue of the names of Communists and pro-Communists, than a compilation of leftist extremists who might have been active among the rebels."

On May 5, the State Department and the CIA produced a second list of 54. This list Szulc



U.S. MARINE IN SANTO DOMINGO. Such marines with their enormously lethal weapons stand between the Dominican people and their freedom. Withdrawal of U.S. troops would allow the Dominicans to determine their own destiny.

calls "a streamlined and more detailed version" of the first one. Szulc points out that neither list offered any proof that any of the people on the list had any influence with the rebel command.

Sad to say, in actuality the rebel leadership was a conservative one. Far from taking the road to socialism, this leadership merely wanted a return to bourgeois democracy à la Bosch. Bosch's kind of democracy was the kind that had a wealthy landowner, Silvestre Antonio Guzmán, as the Minister of Agriculture entrusted with carrying out land reform!

The Johnson administration could have had no particular fear of the Caamaño leadership. What it did fear was the armed revolutionary people of Santo Domingo. How long, Johnson must have asked himself, will the moderate rebel leadership be able to withstand the pressures of the armed people? Johnson's answer can be seen today, in the continued presence of American troops on Dominican soil.

Dominican Diary presents a mass of evidence that seems to cry out for radical conclusions.

But the author of the book doesn't reach the conclusions that his facts warrant. Szulc is inclined to think that the Johnson administration's policy in Santo Domingo was due to "the breakdown of human and political communications between Americans and Dominicans ever since the eruption of the revolution, despite so much goodwill on the part of so many."

Szulc notwithstanding, Johnson's Dominican policy was neither irrational nor an incomprehensible error. Johnson, as the authentic representative of American capitalism, is interested in protecting the investments and markets of U.S. big business in the Dominican Republic and all over the world. An armed revolutionary people will always pose a threat to these lucrative enterprises. The Cuban example is a constant proof that liberation from foreign exploitation can be brought about. Johnson's policy is to prevent this from happening. This is perfectly rational and comprehensible. It is not and never will be commendable.

—Arthur Maglin

World Events

Find Britain Not So Affluent

Poverty is on the rise in Great Britain, contrary to what has generally been supposed. Two British sociologists have concluded from a study of government economic surveys that the number of poor in Britain grew from at least 4 million in 1953 to 7.5 million in 1960, which means one out of seven Britons. Whereas 7.8 percent of the population lived in poverty in 1953, 14.2 percent did in 1960. (Poverty was defined as an income less than 140 percent of the low weekly scale of British welfare payments — about \$7 per person — plus housing costs.)

The sociologists reported that some part of the poverty increase was due to the greater proportion of aged in the population, as well as of chronically ill among the later middle-aged, and of families with four or more children. This report explodes the myth of gradually expanding affluence since World War II reaching out to all the people in the new British "welfare state." If you're too old or sick to work, the "welfare state" throws you on the poverty heap, and if you have too many children, the "affluent society" starves you and them on insufficient wages.

'Daily Worker' Makes Pitch

The organ of the British Communist Party, the *Daily Worker*, apparently hasn't heard about the new poor in Britain. Still geared to the myth of affluence, it is sending around a glossy brochure to advertising agencies, trying to pick up some advertising from broad-minded capitalists. According to the *London Observer*, the brochure

states that 13 percent of *Daily Worker* readers belong to the high-income AB class. No other workers' paper can make that claim, it seems, for the *Daily Express* has only 10 percent in that class and the *Daily Mirror* only 4 percent. (Those are large circulation papers, generally pro-Labor Party, and aimed at a working class audience.)

"It is worth noting," the brochure continues, "that the *Worker* is particularly strong in the heavy-spending 35-45 age group and it is well above the national average for families with two or more children."

The brochure includes a photo of a typical *Daily Worker* family, in a dream kitchen, with galloping-horse pictures on the walls, and a well-fed cat.

Don't Knock Those Bells

The canceling of a popular show of political satire has created a stir over TV censorship in West Germany. "Hello Neighbor," which appeared on the Hamburg state television station, was apparently quite irreverent from the start. But it went beyond the bounds on Dec. 29. It made fun of the plan of West Berlin newspaper publishers to send "miniature freedom bells" to widows of GI's killed in Vietnam.

Spain Eases Strike Ban

The Spanish government has found it increasingly difficult in recent years to enforce its anti-strike law — dating from Franco's defeat of the Spanish revolution in 1939. The workers just keep striking, and often winning, in spite of the most extreme police repressions. So the government has decided to modify the law. It has

declared economic strikes legal, although political ones are still banned. There's one catch still. The wording of the law is purposely vague. And the decision on which kind of strike it is in each case is left, of course, to the government.

Says Soviet Aid Made Mao

A Soviet historian has taken issue with the Maoist thesis that each country has to rely on its local resources to make its revolution. He cites the Chinese revolution itself as an example. A. M. Dubinsky in the Dec. 1965 issue of *Voprosy Istorii*, the official Soviet historical journal, argues that the Soviet Red Army played the decisive revolutionary role through its occupation of Manchuria, northeast China, in 1945.

Dubinsky asserts that the People's Revolutionary Army of the Chinese Communists, fighting the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek's U.S.-backed forces, was near collapse. Red Army occupation, he claims, revitalized the People's Army, and also the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Thus, when the Soviet troops withdrew in 1946 "all the conditions existed for the triumph of the Chinese revolution."

One little detail of Soviet "assistance" Dubinsky left out: When in 1948-1949 the Chinese masses were rising up everywhere and Chiang's armies crumbling, Stalin advised the CCP not to take power. The revolution was made in spite of the Soviet "peaceful coexistence" line. But of course the Chinese, who still idolize Stalin, aren't likely to hurl that back in Dubinsky's teeth.

—George Saunders

... China Cuts Cuba Trade

(Continued from Page 1)
abroad and to sell rice to obtain foreign exchange."

The Cuban delegation was informed by Peking that trade between the two countries would be limited to the 1964 level and that the trade must be balanced. According to the Cubans, the Chinese refusal to extend credit means the volume of trade between the two countries will actually fall to the 1961 level.

While the Chinese decision will mean a reduction in Cuba's rice ration the cut in China's sugar purchase may turn out to be a gain for Cuba. Fidel reportedly told the Cuban people that because of temporary difficulties this year's sugar crop would only be six million tons, not the 6.5 million tons originally anticipated. With a lower amount allocated for China, Cuba will have more sugar available for sale on the world market.

Commentators have assessed the Chinese move as punishing Cuba for allegedly lining up with the Soviet Union in the Moscow-Peking rift. But the fact is that despite the enormous pressures it is under, Cuba's revolutionary regime has steered an independent course between the two warring factions and, where it deemed it necessary, has openly scored false policies of both.

Early in 1965, for example, Fidel delivered two speeches in which he assailed blind, divisive factionalism in the face of a vital need for unity against imperialist

aggression. Before the entire world he indicted both Moscow and Peking for failing to unite in defense of the Vietnamese victims of U.S. aggression. He bluntly declared that if Cuba were in a position to it would give Vietnam whatever weapons it needed to defend itself, regardless of the risk.

He also publicly declared on several occasions that the Cuban leadership would not permit their country to become a battleground in the Moscow-Peking struggle.

The Soviet regime has apparently responded with greater flexibility than the Chinese to Cuba's insistence on pursuing an independent revolutionary course. There have been a number of reports in the past year of increasing coldness in the Chinese treatment of the Cubans including several sharp rebuffs to leading Cuban delegations in Peking.

In his Jan. 2 speech Fidel is reported to have referred to "those in the revolutionary camp" who are charging that Cuba is seeking an accommodation with U.S. imperialism.

"The last nation that will make peace with imperialism will be our," he declared.

"The Yankee imperialists," he said, "have offended, humiliated and harassed and threatened us as they have no other country. There is no country that hates them as we do."

He added: "What we profoundly desire is that all would be united in hatred of that enemy."

What Mass Movements Are Made Of

2 Rank-and-File Fighters

By Harry Ring

During the depression of the 1930's I was an active member of the Workers Alliance, an organization of people on public welfare or working for WPA, the federal public works project. The suffering that the unemployed were subjected to and the capacity that they showed to fight against their miserable conditions in an effective, militant way, did much to deepen my socialist convictions. Two individuals, in particular, remain strongly in my memory in this regard.

A principal activity of the Workers Alliance was to handle individual grievances at the local welfare stations. The great bulk of the people who joined the organization did so because they needed help with a specific problem. Many of them then became educated to the purpose of the organization and remained active members even after their own individual grievances were settled, participating in the picket lines, sit-ins and other activities of the organization.

Unusual Types

The first thing I noticed about the two men I want to describe was that, contrary to most, they joined the organization even though they didn't have a specific grievance that they wanted the organization to take up.

The night Jack K..... walked in and joined, we all thought he was a cop. He was a tall, well-built man and was well-dressed. The fact that he wanted to join even though he didn't have a grievance was even more curious.

From the outset he was active in the organization, participating in the picket lines and demonstrations. He was a shy person and so it took a number of weeks to draw his story out of him.

Jack was a highly skilled structural iron worker but had developed silicosis as a result of doing extensive sand-blasting. Struck down by the disease at the depth of the depression, he was saved by the company he worked for. Since he didn't have the strength to continue his regular work but was so skilled in the field, they made him a foreman with only supervisory duties.

Union Drive

Then the trouble came. The outfit was non-union and a representative of the structural iron workers union showed up to talk to the men about organizing. The company reacted quickly with plans to set up a phony company union. Jack was called into the front office and asked to sign up and to get the other men signed up. He refused and found himself unemployed.

When I asked why he had taken this firm stand, he explained that as a boy in Holland, he had followed with deep interest the activ-



DEPRESSION SCENE. During depression of the '30s it was common to see long lines of jobless at soup kitchens and breadlines or waiting to apply for rare job openings.

ities of his older brother who was a socialist and union organizer.

"I remember how many times he came home with his head bloody from fighting scabs and cops," Jack said. "I couldn't do anything anti-union."

So with a wife and young daughter to care for, and unable to get work because of his illness, Jack went on welfare. He not only was active in the Workers Alliance but soon also became active in the Socialist Workers Party, despite the fact that his wife, an ultra-patriotic member of the DAR, vociferously opposed his activities.

Several Years

Despite his health and family difficulties, Jack carried on his activities for several years. Then the possibility of a job took him out of town and we lost touch, so I've never known what finally happened to this wonderful man.

The other man who joined our local of the Workers Alliance without a grievance was Sam G..... He too immediately became active in the organization, never missing a picket line or a demonstration. Sam was an Italian-American and was inhibited about his broken English so he was a bit hard to talk to, although I noticed that he would carry on long, earnest conversations with other Italian-speaking members and they seemed to listen to him with respect.

One night Sam came in for a meeting and there was a stack of leaflets on the table announcing a meeting of the Workers Defense League where the famed Italian

anarchist leader, Carlo Tresca, would be the principal speaker.

Sam read the leaflet and then, pointing to Tresca's name, said to me, "That's my man." He then went on to explain that as a youth in Italy he had been active in the big Anarchist movement there and had known and worked with Tresca.

One night as we were filling out grievances to take to the welfare station, I was surprised to see Sam waiting in line. When his turn came he explained that he had finally been called to go to work on WPA but that the outside work would be difficult because he didn't have a warm jacket and his welfare investigator had denied his request for one.

Since Sam had fought so hard to win things for other members, I felt pleased that the organization could finally do something for him. But it didn't turn out that easy.

When we met with the welfare supervisor that week and Sam's grievance came up, she provided us with a list of figures showing that Sam had already used up his yearly clothing allotment and thus couldn't get the jacket until the beginning of the next year, several months away.

Difficult Problem

We were faced with a difficult problem. When we met each week with the supervisors the members of the local would fill the waiting room outside. If the supervisor balked at settling a legitimate grievance, we would stage a sit-in, refusing to leave until the grievance was settled. More often than not this would work.

At that particular time, however, this supervisor had been giving us a hard time, refusing to settle one grievance after another, forcing us to call sit-in after sit-in. It was beginning to have a wearing effect on our members.

We knew we would have other grievances to fight, urgent ones of people being denied welfare, and so on. The committee had to decide if it would call another sit-in in order to try to win Sam's lumberjacket. It was decided, in the situation, not to.

That night at the membership meeting, after reporting on the disposition of the grievances, I painfully tried to explain to Sam why we had decided not put up a fight on his case and indicated how badly I felt about it.

Sam listened and then patted me on the shoulder in a reassuring way. "It's all right, Brother Ring," he said. "I don't fight for a lumberjacket. I fight for humanity."

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and capitalism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

I have heard socialists use the terms "capitalist democracy" and "bourgeois democracy" disparagingly. What do they mean by "capitalist democracy" and how would it differ from "workers democracy"?

The term capitalist or bourgeois refers to an economic system, and the term democracy to a political form. It is possible to have elements of the political form of democracy in different economic systems, and it is possible to have different political forms with the same economic system. The U.S. cold-war propagandists like to pretend that democracy and capitalism are the same thing, or at least are inseparable. This is nonsense.

The word democracy is itself derived from the ancient Greeks who had an economy based on slavery. The Greeks had a slave-owner's democracy. Democracy for the slave-owners, but not for the slaves.

In the modern world, there are capitalist countries with many different political forms. Spain, for example, has a fascist dictatorship. Brazil has a military dictatorship. England has bourgeois democracy. And so on. They are all capitalist countries in which the state apparatus is controlled in every key feature by big business interests, but this rule is accomplished through different forms in each case.

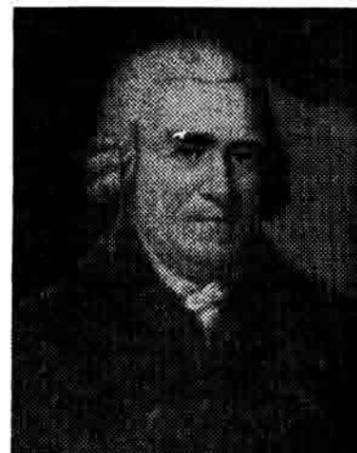
Best Suited

In the classic period of the rise of capitalism in Western Europe and the United States, the political form best suited to the development of capitalism was bourgeois democracy. Revolutionary socialists do not disparage bourgeois democracy in this sense. For it developed on the basis of the small businessmen and artisans of the towns as a political system which allowed a freer flow of commodities and ideas. It removed the feudal breaks on the development of commerce, industry and science and contributed to man's mastery over nature and to the development of human freedom. Indeed many of the greatest ideals of human development were born the struggle for bourgeois democracy, as in the American Revolution of 1776 and the Great French Revolution of 1789.

But capitalist society itself proved incapable of realizing these ideals — which were summed up in the slogan of the French Revolution: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Bourgeois society, beginning with small business, free exchange of equal values, the recognition of human equality, national sovereignty, equality before the law, etc.; grew into big business, monopoly, control of the state by financial oligarchy, imperialism and its system of international racist oppression and world wars.

Private profit, rather than individual human freedom, has proved to be the main driving force and the inviolable rule of capitalist society. The capitalists generally prefer to rule and to arbitrate disputes among themselves by bourgeois democratic means, but if these forms interfere seriously with private profits of big business, then the democratic forms go by the boards.

Bourgeois democracy has become a mass of hypocrisy and as far as the ordinary working people are concerned, largely an empty form. Most people in the U.S., for example, have the right to vote, but the average person has no more control over government



SAM ADAMS, a founder of American democracy.

policies than he has over the stars. The American people voted against Goldwater's policies on Vietnam, but President Johnson proceeded to carry out essentially those policies. That's because it is the capitalist class, not the people, who tell the President of the United States what to do.

With regard to the big corporations which dominate the economy, the big stockholders are dictators in form as well as in substance. Except for a few union rights won in the class struggle, the workers are entirely subject to the dictation of the capitalists on the job, a most important section of their lives.

Revolutionary socialists respect, defend and seek to enlarge the civil liberties and individual human rights — such as free speech, the right to travel, the right to privacy, the right to keep and bear arms, etc. — once associated with bourgeois democracy at its best. But they also seek to overcome the degeneration of these rights imposed by the blood-sucking capitalist economic system, and to enlarge democracy and individual human rights to the economic and military, as well as the political sphere.

We struggle for an industrial democracy in which the common people participate effectively and meaningfully in the decisions affecting their daily lives. In which, for example, foremen are elected, plant management subjected to approval of the workers in the plant, etc. And in which the salaries of officials would not exceed the wages of skilled workers.

Revolutionary socialists also advocate democratization of the armed forces. Soldiers have the right to vote now. They should also have the right to discuss among themselves, to demonstrate, to participate in the determination of matters of policy, to elect or approve of officers under whom they serve. Such workers democracy would not in the least undermine discipline and effectiveness. On the contrary, it would increase it. But it would, of course, make it virtually impossible to send such an army into an imperialist adventure which was obviously not in the interests of the common people.

—Fred Halstead

Announcing the Winter 1966

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

- Che Guevara on Socialism and Man
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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.]

2 Antiwar GIs

West Hartford, Conn.
The following is a letter that I sent recently to President Johnson:

I am writing you regarding the two American sergeants, George E. Smith and Claude McClure, who have been charged with "aiding the enemy."

I do not know the exact nature of the evidence that the government intends to present against these two patriots. Some have stated that they doubt that the government has enough evidence to try these two men. But it is certain that the government will do all in its power to prosecute Smith and McClure.

I enter my protest against this mockery of justice. What have these two men done to warrant prosecution? What crimes have they committed?

Upon leaving captivity, rather than go back into comfortable obscurity, they had the courage to

declare their intent to help in the massive movement against the war in Vietnam. They felt that the policy for which they had fought was wrong — and wished to protest it.

The claim that these two men were brainwashed came over the mass media on the day of their release. In reality, nothing that the National Liberation Front of Vietnam could do to these men could equal the massive brainwashing that they and all Americans get from the time that they are born until the time that they die. We are taught to believe and even risk our lives for our government — in reality nothing more than the "executive committee" of the tiny capitalist class.

You, Lyndon Johnson, have unleashed a war in violation of our Constitution, in violation of the interests of the people of Vietnam, in violation of the interests of the great majority of the people in the United States. You have committed a crime against mankind. You are guilty of aggression against the people of Vietnam.

The government must call a halt to all efforts to prosecute Smith and McClure. It must call a halt to its policy of aggression against the people of Vietnam.

Paul Basch

French in Indo-China

New York, N.Y.
I have just been reading a new book called *Lost Soldiers — The French Army and Empire in Crisis — 1947-1952* by George Armstrong-Kelly. I wouldn't recommend the book to anyone because it is filled with all the jargon of contemporary political science, and at points is nearly impossible to follow. Essentially, the author seems to be interested in apologizing for the role of the French army after World War II, first in Indo-China, and then in Algeria.

The problem, according to him, is that they lost these wars because the Army didn't understand the politicians in France, and the French politicians didn't understand the Army. The possibility that France lost Algeria and had to get out of Indo-China because the revolutionary peoples of those two countries defeated the French armies, doesn't seem to have interested the author.

And so it also doesn't seem to have occurred to him that maybe the French armies were carrying out the grand designs of the French rulers, only that in the end, when things got too tough in Algeria, the French backed out and used the army and the right-wing as a scapegoat.

Besides glorifying the Algerian terrorists, however, the book does bring out some interesting facts, and it could prove useful to the antiwar movement. For instance, in the early history of the Indo-Chinese war, the author points out that Ho Chi Minh played a conciliatory role with the French government, and that the excuse used to turn against the Vietnamese in 1946 and spark up a new war of oppression was cooked up by the French, and did not represent a betrayal of agreements on Ho's part.

Here's one amusing quotation from the book. It was written by a French Marshal, Louis Lyautey, in "Letters from Tonkin" in 1920. "If we are going to have any colonial policy at all," Lyautey wrote, "let us have one that brings us something, not for the purpose of adding one more subprefecture to all the vegetating subprefectures of France, but so as to get to the good places first, the places where one will have to be tomorrow, over which, the day after tomorrow, if one has not gone, he will bite his nails."

Ed Smith

A Correction

New York, N.Y.
Your World Events item, "Rich Lands Richer," in the Jan. 3 *Militant* contained an obvious error which should be corrected. The item read: "The report shows that per capita production in the non-industrial countries grew less than 2 percent; that is, it failed to keep pace with population growth..."

But "per capita" figures take population growth into account; so the growth of production exceeded the growth of population by less than 2 percent.

That of course is exceedingly slow growth, especially when you consider that the average income in the non-industrial countries is little more than \$130 a year. Moreover, income is very unevenly divided; so a large proportion of the people can be getting poorer while production grows at less than 2 percent per capita annually.

H.P.

No Season's Greetings

New York, N.Y.
Dear readers: Because of the monstrous crime against humanity being committed by our millionaire rulers in Southeast Asia, I have not thought of any

Thought for the Week

"... the fact has to be faced that President Johnson has an uninspiring, perhaps even a downright bad moral style... He has an uninspiring moral style... simply because he is not forthright, either with his country, or his associates, or even, one suspects, with his nearest and dearest." — Columnist Joseph Alsop.

It Was Reported in the Press

Most Touching News of the Week — Presidential aide Jack Valenti, who has said he sleeps better at night because LBJ's hand is on the helm, and who has also said it's not his job to try to build the presidential image, now confides: "The President wants men around him who will cry when they see an old lady fall down in the street." Like in a bombed-out Vietnamese village?

It Figures — "War Cost May Cut City's School Aid — 2 U.S. Bills Would Shelve \$9-Million Plan, Freeing Funds for Vietnam" — Headline in the Dec. 29 *New York Times*.

Crazy, Man! — A 30-year-old Nebraskan ripped up his draft card because the army refused to reenlist him. He's going to try to make it in Australia. "If the United States doesn't want a combat soldier," he fumed, "maybe the Australians will." News accounts didn't say why he was rejected.

How Low Can They Get? — An inmate at the Mineola, L.I., jail charges he paid a jailer \$15 for a pipe and some tobacco. He claims the jailer gave him a used pipe and no tobacco. The inmate lodged a complaint with authorities and the jailer has been asked to resign for violation of prison rules.

Post-Xmas Note — We wish to advise our critics now that it is now perfectly feasible for practically everyone to buy those items from Tiffany's, Cartier's, etc., that we have occasionally called attention to. Both of these shops, along with a number of others of similar quality, now accept installment purchases. At Tiffany's you can arrange for time payments on any item over \$200 and at Cartier's on any item over \$500. Tiffany's recently disposed of a little \$12,000 trinket on Easy Kredit.

Hospital Care — The American Association for the Advancement of Science says hospital patients may be the victims of medical errors one of every six times they are given a pill, an injection, etc. The Association is working on methods of reducing the rate of error. We have a suggestion: Stop

the Vietnam war and use the money saved to end hospital overcrowding and to hire adequate staffs at decent wages.

Our Free-Enterprise System — A federal grand jury in Miami indicted ten milk firms on charges of collusion to fix prices in South Florida in violation of antitrust laws.

Unfair — We recently reported that Gov. Haydon Burns of Florida spends a good bit of his time flying around in a king-sized plane provided him by the Wynn-Dixie supermarket chain, with the state footing the gas bill. We now wish to note that this is unfair to the governor's tire-dealing friends. Florida does not require competitive bids on the state purchase of tires and they come from companies that contribute to the governor's election campaigns. "I believe in doing business with my friends as long as it doesn't cost the taxpayers any money," Burns declares. The tires are purchased under "maximum price" regulations. But how does the governor help wear out tires traveling by air?

Walk? — Describing a turkey shoot at the Locust Valley, N.Y., home of James French Baldwin, Eugenia Sheppard of the *New York Herald Tribune* reports: "People who are good with guns know the Baldwin place as one of the best trap shoot walks in the country... The shoot covers about four acres with 12 stations wagons scattered along the course."

Warning on Florida — If you're thinking of retiring to Florida bear in mind a recent report that the state is suffering a shortage of bomb shelters. In the event of atomic attack, the state has shelters for only about 18 percent of the population, says the state civil defense director. He doubts if they'll ever have enough.

Conflict of Interest? — A Madison Avenue ad agency has announced that it is giving up plugging Laddie Boy Dog Food. Instead it will be beating the drums for Figaro Cat Food.

—Harry Ring

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FROM THE NEGRO PRESS

Why Black Cubans Don't Leave

[The following article by Charles H. Loeb appeared in the Dec. 25 issue of the Michigan Chronicle, a Detroit Negro newspaper.]

I would be a great deal more comfortable about our involvement in the Cuban situation if somebody would be good enough to show me at least one black Cuban family among the hundreds of refugees we are now floating and flying into this country. I have suffered a sustained bit of eyestrain peering closely at television screens, movie newsreels, and the front page of assorted newspapers and magazines, in the hope that I am wrong in a disturbing thought that has persisted in my mind for many months.

Can't Take Change

It is the belief that most of the dissatisfied Cubans under Castro are upper class Cubans who simply cannot adjust to the change in status quo that has virtually eliminated a monied and landed class of fair-skinned Cubans while at the same time extending a better living and a wider hope for thousands of black Cuban peons who never knew much except hard labor and deprivation.

Not being able to get into Cuba for any long period of time, and with only the blatantly slanted press releases of the American periodicals to peruse, it is most difficult to get more than an occasional look at what is actually going on inside the troubled (or troublesome) little Latin American island. Certainly it has been demonstrated that the majority of the Cuban people think they are better off under Castro and his regime than they were under Batista and his North American buddies.

Hard Sledding

Equally as unquestionable is the fact that Cuba is suffering some hard sledding. The U.S. is certainly not pouring its millions into the country in a grandiose aid program, and the island just has



BIAS-FREE CUBA. A 16-year-old member of the voluntary militia does guard duty at a sugar mill.

to be in the economic doldrums that resulted from our refusal to buy their principle crops, sugar and rum.

They also have much catching up to do, and worn out machinery to repair or to replace entirely. What we accomplished through our tight economic boycott (which

we probably won't duplicate in the Rhodesian situation) was to push Castro and Company right into the loving arms of the Russian and Chinese reds, and to take over the job of moving out Cuban malcontents from the island at our own expense.

Not Unsympathetic

Please do not get the impression that we are unsympathetic to the growing number of refugees coming into this country, though we wonder how we are going to feed, clothe and get jobs for all of them without denying jobs to some of our own hard-pressed colored citizens. If indeed, we are right in assuming that the incoming Cubans have little love for their darker brothers, it would seem that we are importing into this country a superabundance of racial antagonism when we are already in over-supply of same.

We can only guess the reason for Castro's sudden decision to permit these Cuban malcontents leave to depart for the U.S.A. We read that most of them are permitted to bring along only the clothes they wear on their backs, but this has never really been documented. Castro and Company, if they are the tyrants we paint them, could very easily have done the same thing by liquidating them and saving all U.S. agencies, welfare, state and transportation, the trouble they are now encountering in the Cuban airlift.

Grave Doubts

What I am trying to say (or to say without saying) is that I have grave doubts that it is the quest for pure democracy that brings a large majority of the Cuban refugees to our shores.

And I am not going to be entirely satisfied that I am wrong in my impressions unless, one sweet day, a plane lands at the Miami airport just loaded with Cubans who are darker than I am.

Voter Registration Workers In Ala. Set Up 'Tent City'

The Lowndes County Christian Movement (LCCM) has set up a "tent city" in Lowndes County, Alabama, west of Lowndesboro on Route 80, for Negro families evicted from their homes. Stokely Carmichael, a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee field worker in Lowndes County, said that more than 20 families have been evicted from the farms they rent because they were active in the Lowndes County voter registration drive.

The tents are being erected on land owned by the LCCM not far from where civil rights workers Viola Liuzzo and Jonathan Daniels were murdered.

Grown Rapidly

Voter registration of Negroes in Lowndes County has grown rapidly in the past year. As recently as last March no Negroes were registered. Lowndes County was one of the first nine southern counties to be designated for a federal examiner under the voting rights act of 1965. There are now about 2,000 black people registered, out of 5,123 who are eligible to become voters. Although there are 2,240 whites registered, records show that there are only 1,900 whites old enough to vote living in the county.

Recently the black community has responded to the racist mur-

ders and terrorism with organized self-defense. Mass meetings are now guarded and a chapter of the Deacons for Defense and Justice has been organized, Carmichael pointed out in a news interview.

Plan Slate

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) was formed recently to run a slate of candidates in the Nov. 8, 1966 elections. It hopes to become an officially recognized party after the 1966 elections. Alabama law requires that county-wide parties get 20 percent of the vote for official recognition. Candidates for the November elections will be nominated at a mass meeting on May 3.

Members of the LCFO are seeking an injunction in the U.S. District Court in Montgomery requiring that a complete slate of county officials be elected in November. They charge that "the white population of that County (Lowndes), constituting a small minority of the total, by unlawful and unconstitutional means, has seized and retained all political power and has by such unlawful and unconstitutional means prevented the majority of the population, being the Negro people, from participating in any manner in the administration of County affairs or the selection of its government."

St. John's U Teachers Fight for Free Speech

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — The dismissal of 31 professors from St. John's University Dec. 16-18 has developed into a major struggle for academic freedom supported by the 115,000 member American Federation of Teachers and led by an ad hoc National Citizens' Committee for Defense of Academic Freedom at St. John's University. The co-chairman of this committee are Richard T. Hofstadter, famed Columbia University historian and John Leo, editor of *Commonweal*, a liberal Catholic magazine.

On Jan. 4 the United Federation of College Teachers local at St. John's went on strike. UFCT leaders say that 200 members of the faculty did not cross the picket lines set up by the teachers and sympathetic students. The strike was originally scheduled for Jan. 3, but the college administration postponed opening of the school because of the transit strike.

The spirit of the picket line was evidenced by one of the slogans used by the strikers: "Pope John, si; Cardinal Spellman, no!"

Long Smoldering

The issue of academic freedom at St. John's, which with 13,000 students is the largest Catholic university in the country, has been smoldering for several years, but it flared up in December after some members of the faculty took public positions in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Five of those originally dismissed Dec. 16, including Msgr. John J. Clancy, associate professor of theology and canon law and a former member of the Vatican Secretariat, had signed a recent newspaper advertisement protesting the transfer to Mexico of the Rev. Daniel Berrigan, an outspoken critic of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

But another prominent faculty member who was dismissed, Rev. Peter O'Reilly, was the chairman of the campus chapter of the United Federation of College Teachers — and the right of the teachers to form their own union is one of the major questions at stake.

Four Points

In a half-page advertisement in the Jan. 2 *New York Times*, the National Citizens' Committee listed the following four-point program of demands:

"1. The immediate restoration of the dismissed professors to their positions without any reprisals.

"2. The institution of contractual tenure for those who have served for a specific period of time.

New York Forum To Hear Ex-Priest

NEW YORK — Felix McGowan will speak at the Militant Labor Forum on Jan. 14 on the topic "How Cuba affected me after ten years as a priest in Latin America."

McGowan was a Maryknoll Missionary priest in Bolivia from 1950 to 1960. He worked among American college students from 1960 to 1963.

McGowan visited Cuba in 1963 and became a supporter of the revolution. As a result he was exiled by Church authorities to Tanganyika for a year-and-a-half. He was granted a release from the priesthood in June 1965.

The meeting will be the first one at the Militant Labor Forum's new location, 873 Broadway at the corner of 18 St. It will start at 8:30 p.m.

Catholic Hierarchy Silences Priests

Since June 1964 15 American priests have been silenced by the Church in one way or another, either by being re-assigned, disciplined or restricted in what they can say or do in public. Ave Maria, a Catholic weekly, published a special issue giving the case histories.

"Most of these men have been restricted in their action or in their teaching because of some involvement in the struggle for civil rights or in what is loosely and carelessly called 'the peace movement,'" the magazine said.

While most of the clergymen were victimized because of their statements in support of civil rights, two brothers, Revs. Philip and Daniel Berrigan, were transferred from their posts because of their activities opposing the U.S. war in Vietnam.

"3. Academic freedom reflected in giving departmental faculties the right to elect their own chairmen; in teachers being able to join an organization with the right to meet on campus and to distribute its materials; the right of the faculty to determine policy in all curricula; the right of the students to freely hear outside speakers and to publish a free student press.

"4. A professional salary, pension and workload to attract and hold the best faculty at St. John's."

Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the United Federation of College Teachers, announced that the union planned to rent one store in Brooklyn and one in Queens, near each of the two branches of St. John's, that would be used to establish a "university in exile," and as strike centers.

The St. John's teachers urged those who support their stand to send protests to Father Joseph T. Cahill, St. John's University, Jamaica, New York, and to circulate petitions in their defense.

Negroes Jailed In Watts Given Long Sentences

What happened to the thousands of people arrested in Watts? The press has generally failed to report their fate, but the *Baltimore Afro-American* printed a UPI dispatch giving some figures.

According to the Los Angeles district attorney's office, some 1,200 persons in Watts were charged with felonies, serious crimes, last August after the upheaval there. It will take until February for all of them to be tried.

By the end of November, 788 had been tried. Of that group, 655 were found guilty of felonies, and 123 were acquitted. The overwhelming majority of those convicted, 620 defendants, were tried by a judge with no jury. Sentences of those convicted of such crimes as burglary run from one year to life in prison.

No information was given on the results of some 665 less serious misdemeanor charges.