

# THE MILITANT

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**LOOKING AHEAD.** One of the signs carried in march in Chicago to end the war in Vietnam. March was largest so far for the windy city.

## 8,000 in Chicago Protest Viet War

By Herman Porter

CHICAGO, March 26 — The largest and most important Chicago demonstration against the war in Vietnam took place yesterday, when some 8,000 people marched through the downtown area and then attended a rally addressed by Rev. Martin Luther King and Emil Mazy of the United Automobile Workers.

The demonstrators began assembling before noon at State Street along Wacker Drive. The march began shortly after 1 p.m. The march was led by King and two other speakers at the rally — Dr. Benjamin Spock, co-chairman of SANE; and Patricia Griffith, who visited Hanoi recently — along with Jack Spiegel and Marjorie Rosenberg, co-chairmen of the March 25th Peace Parade Committee, and Al Raby, Chicago civil rights figure.

The most outstanding characteristic of the demonstrators was their youth. The majority of them were in their teens or twenties.

The march proceeded along State Street through the entire Loop, the heart of the downtown business district, and was seen there by an estimated 250,000 people. There was no sign of hostility from the vast majority of spectators. They exhibited rather an attitude of not unfriendly interest. There were only a few small bands of hecklers, and an occasional individual who made hostile remarks.

The rally was held in the Coliseum, in a hall seating 5,500. It was filled to more than capacity with many seated on the stairs and standing along the walls. A number of people were turned away at the door.

Rev. King, who gave the principal address lasting about an hour, was given a standing ovation when he was introduced and at the conclusion of his talk.

King characterized the war in Vietnam as a "war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate white colonialism."

He described some of the horrors perpetrated against the Vietnamese in this war, a "war in which American soldiers die in mounting numbers." And he concluded, "these casualties should be enough for all men to rise up in indignation."

King answered the claim that "we are fighting for freedom and democracy" in Vietnam. He reviewed some of the history of the struggle of the Vietnamese for independence and of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Mention of Ho Chi Minh drew applause from the young audience, which generally liked the stronger statements of the speakers.

King went on to talk about the effects of the war at home. "The hopes of the Great Society have been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam," he said. "The poor — white and black — bear the brunt of the burden of the war," he pointed out.

King contrasted the full participation of Negroes in the fighting and dying in Vietnam with the discrimination against Negroes in American society generally.

The civil rights leader ended  
(Continued on Page 5)

# Hanoi Exposes Phony Johnson 'Peace' Plan

By Dick Roberts

On March 21, the government of north Vietnam released the texts of an exchange of letters between Lyndon Johnson and Ho Chi Minh which took place secretly Feb. 8-15. The complete text of the north Vietnamese letter in reply to Johnson is printed on page 3.

The occasion has been seized by administration apologists to bolster the propaganda drive that Johnson is only "seeking peace" in Vietnam while Hanoi is "pressing the war." According to *New York Times* correspondent Tom Wicker, for example:

"... the letters show that President Johnson made a direct and specific proposal for the beginning of negotiations, and that Ho Chi Minh rejected it with a demand that the U.S. not only stop bombing north Vietnam, but also cease all 'acts of war' against it before talks could begin."

"On a slightly more sophisticated level," Wicker adds, "it was noticed here that the administration kept the exchange private despite the temptation it must have felt to talk about Ho Chi Minh's letter . . . This appears to add to the sincerity of the White House, since it put its regard for diplomatic protocol . . . above its political needs."

Apparently Wicker is bucking for a job on the White House press staff. As to the political realities surrounding the Johnson-Ho exchange, his analysis could not be further from the truth.

In actual fact, Johnson's letter revealed a significant hardening of Washington's stated position towards negotiations; Ho Chi Minh's reply — in the face of escalated bombing — reiterated the position Hanoi had publicly expressed over and over again.

It must be remembered that Johnson's letter was written prior to the Wilson-Kosygin talks on Vietnam in London Feb. 6-13. During those talks, Washington's avowed position on negotiations

was that Hanoi would have to give specific promises of what it was willing to concede before Washington would let up on the bombing (see Feb. 13 *Militant*).

But Johnson's letter, which was dated Feb. 2 and delivered to the north Vietnamese embassy in Mos-

to the National Liberation Front.

*The secret terms were:* Johnson would have to be convinced that Hanoi had ceased all aid to the freedom fighters in the southern part of the country before talks could begin. The bombing of north Vietnam would continue until Johnson was so convinced, with no guarantee what it would take to convince him.

*The public terms were:* "We would be glad to explore any reciprocal action that they or any of their spokesmen would care to suggest . . . We'd like to have a cease-fire; we'd be very glad to stop our bombing . . ." This was Johnson's version of U.S. terms given in a press conference, Feb. 2, the same day the secret letter was sent!

And as if this hypocrisy wasn't enough, it must also be pointed out that Johnson ordered the resumption of U.S. bombing before Hanoi answered the letter. Johnson's letter was delivered in Moscow Feb. 8. Bombing was resumed at 12:07 p.m. Feb. 13, less than five days later. Ho Chi Minh's answer came Feb. 15, with bombs already raining down on north Vietnamese cities.

That leaves the question about how sincere Washington is, even in its own arrogant terms. We repeat what we wrote the day the bombing started up: "It was almost as though Johnson was afraid that if he waited a few hours longer, some 'signal' for peace talks might actually have come from Hanoi."

The lesson of these events is a long, long way from demonstrating the "sincerity of the White House." What they show is why the White House is so anxious to preserve the norms of "diplomatic protocol" in their behind-the-scenes effort to blackmail the Vietnamese. Hanoi stated that the letters were revealed "with a view to exposing to world public opinion the stubbornness and perfidy of the U.S. rulers." The point is well taken.



Ho Chi Minh

cow Feb. 8, went much further in its demands.

Johnson declared: "I am prepared to order a cessation of bombing against your country, and the stopping of further augmentation of U.S. forces in south Vietnam as soon as I am assured that infiltration into south Vietnam by land and by sea has been stopped." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, Johnson would stop the bombing and negotiate only after he was "assured" that Hanoi had cut off any and all aid

## Spring Mobilization News

Syndicated columnists Robert Allen and Paul Scott have outdone their wildest news "scoops." Their March 17 column disclosed: "President Johnson is being warned to expect two new offensives against the administration's expanding war effort. Both attacks — a north Vietnam military offensive and intensified antiwar demonstrations in the U.S. — will be launched almost simultaneously. Timing of these drives . . . is believed to be more design than coincidence . . ."

"The latest intelligence from the U.S. military command in Saigon pinpoints April 8 to 15 as the jumping-off time for the north Vietnamese offensive. This is the same period picked by the Spring Mobilization Movement [sic] and the Student Anti-Vietnam Committee [sic] for anti-bombing and anti-draft demonstrations throughout the U.S."

"Administration insiders say these Vietnam developments, although disturbing to the President, have reinforced his conviction he is on the right track in Vietnam."

Pass the sugar cubes. When some columnists turn on, they tune in on some real "news!"

Four hundred members of the Baptist Ministers Conference meeting at the Convent Baptist Church in Harlem March 20 voted to endorse the Spring Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam. The ministers acted after hearing Ralph D. Abernathy, Southern rights leader, and a vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

The Peace Train to New York for the April 15 Mobilization will leave from Cleveland Union Terminal on Friday, April 14 at 7:30

p.m. It will arrive in Buffalo at 10:45 p.m. and be joined by a similar train from Detroit. The combined train will stop at Rochester at 12:20 a.m. and Syracuse at 1:50 a.m., arriving in New York 7:30 a.m. April 15. Departure time from Grand Central Station will be 10:30 p.m., arriving back in Cleveland, Sunday at 10:45 a.m.

Twenty Greyhound buses will be leaving Cleveland for New York from the Public Mall in downtown Cleveland on Friday evening at 9, arriving in New York about ten hours later. They will return to Cleveland on Saturday evening at 10.

It is hoped that those who leave by bus will come to the Cleveland Union Station at 7:30 p.m. to see the Peace Train off.

The round-trip train fare from Cleveland will be \$30 for adults, \$20 for students, and \$15 for children. Bus tickets are \$20.

If a sufficient number of requests are received, an attempt will be made to charter a plane to leave Cleveland Saturday morning. Estimated cost will be around \$45 per person round trip.

Direct all inquiries to Spring Mobilization Committee, 10616 Euclid Ave., Suite 317, Phone 231-4635.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has advised the Spring Mobilization  
(Continued on Page 6)

## Where to Mobilize April 15

NEW YORK

Assemble at Sheeps Meadow, Central Park 11 a.m. March to UN at noon. UN rally 3 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO

Assemble 2nd & Market Sts., 10 a.m. March via Market St. to Kezar Stadium for 1 p.m. rally

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Some 90 members of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, a third of them women, have won a six-month strike against the Western Iowa Pork Co. in Harlan, Iowa. Although a small-scale action, the event had unusual significance because it was a fight reminiscent of labor's best days.

The walkout began Aug. 18, 1966, after UPWA ousted a company union in a Labor Board election and Western Iowa Pork refused to meet with its negotiating committee. Last October the company tried to use imported strike-breakers and enraged pickets stormed the plant, driving the scabs off. Later a federal judge issued an order to the effect that the plant owners ought to at least talk with the union. A meaningless pretense at bargaining followed in which the company sat tight, hoping to starve out the workers.

A broad segment of organized labor in Iowa supported the strikers, raising over \$6,000 in cash and 11,000 pounds of canned goods and other foodstuffs to help out. Union pilgrimages were arranged to bring donations to Harlan, conduct a solidarity parade through the town and hold meetings with the strikers. When the company made it impossible for the union to secure space in town for a headquarters or supply depot, the foodstuffs donated were stored in basements of various strikers.

A contract settlement has now been reached, effective Feb. 27. It provides an immediate hourly wage increase of 37 cents, a further raise of 9 cents in 1968 and the same in 1969, a three-year total of 55 cents an hour. There is also a cost-of-living escalator clause.

\* \* \*

Louis Harris, a well-known pollster, reports that "The general public, by better than 4 to 1, shares the dominant view of union members that wages would be lower if there were no unions. When asked to register their views . . . the public came down conclusively for the right to strike." Harris reported the following results in a current poll:

### FAVOR RIGHT TO STRIKE

	Public	Members
General right to strike	77%	84%
Right to strike:		
Newspapers	76	85
Airlines	71	83
Railroads	69	89
Government	48	60

\* \* \*

Strike activity in 1966 was higher than in 1965, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The number of walkouts was up from 3,963 in 1965 to 4,200 in 1966; the number of employes affected increased over the year from 1.6 million to 1.8 million.

The number of strikes beginning in 1966 was the highest for any year since 1955, and the strike idleness figure was the highest since 1959. Twenty-eight major stoppages (involving 10,000 or

more workers each) started in 1966, as compared with 20 that began in 1965.

The longest major strike (80 days) started in July in the construction industry in Atlanta, Ga. The shortest one (one day) took place in February in the statewide strike of Kentucky public schools.

Total man-days of idleness due to strikes increased from 23.3 million in 1965 to 25 million in 1966.

\* \* \*

In a Woodworkers strike against the Long Lake Lumber Co. at Spokane, Wash., the company has demanded a so-called "management rights" clause designed to negate any working agreement it might sign. The company's formulation reads:

"The sole and exclusive rights of management which are not abridged by this Agreement shall include but are not limited to its right to determine the existence or non-existence of facts which are the basis of a management decision to . . .

"Determine the number of hours per day or per week operations shall be carried on . . .

"Establish and change work schedules and assignments . . .

"Transfer, promote or demote employes . . .

"Lay off, terminate, or otherwise relieve employes from duty for lack of work or other legitimate reasons . . .

"Suspend, discharge, or otherwise discipline employes . . .

"And otherwise to take such measures as management may determine to be necessary for the orderly, efficient and profitable operation of its business."

\* \* \*

According to a special message Johnson sent to Congress on Feb. 16, "More than 40 million workers on the payroll of American industry are now participating in private welfare and pension plans . . . These private plans . . . account for assets of \$90 billion."

Johnson asked legislation expanding the "enforcement and investigatory" police powers of the Secretary of Labor over these plans. He failed to mention recommendations made by a special Presidential Committee that beneficiaries have a vested interest in their funds and that benefits be made portable from one pension plan to another. Industrial corporations have opposed the latter recommendations.

\* \* \*

A step toward a full merger has been taken by the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen, each with a membership of about 122,000. They have agreed to submit unresolved jurisdictional disputes to arbitration. Neither union will allow its members to work for an employer who refuses to abide by jurisdiction or work assignments agreed upon by the two unions.

## Gov't Indicts 7 For Ga. SNCC Viet Protest

Seven black civil rights workers have been indicted by the federal government for their participation in an antiwar demonstration in Atlanta, Ga., last August. They face a maximum of six years in prison and fines running to \$11,000 if convicted on charges of "injuring government property" and "interfering with the Universal Military Training and Service Act." The federal charges follow a series of prosecutions by local racists.

The seven young men, all SNCC workers, participated in a demonstration on Aug. 17 at the 12th Army headquarters in Atlanta, which houses the local induction center. They were protesting the Vietnam war and the disproportionately high percentage of black men being drafted. On two previous mornings chemicals were poured on the demonstrators and they were spat on from the second floor of the induction center.

### Twelve Arrested

Police arrested 12 of the demonstrators. Ten of the youths received three month sentences on charges of "disorderly conduct," "resisting arrest" and "refusing to obey an officer." One SNCC worker, Johnny Wilson, was charged with "insurrection," a state charge which carries the death penalty. The U.S. Supreme Court has twice ruled this Georgia law unconstitutional. Four of the demonstrators, including Wilson, were also charged with "assaulting an officer."

Wilson was sentenced on Feb. 3 to three years on a Georgia chain gang on the assault charge. The other three received \$400 fines.

The ten who were convicted served two of their three month sentences before an appeal bond for their release was issued. Even then, the local judge refused to free them. The demonstrators say they were subjected to harassment and discrimination while in jail.

Now seven of these young men face prosecution from the federal government. SNCC has issued an appeal on their behalf, stating that: "They were simply protesting the genocide of the Vietnamese people and the genocide of their own people in this country."

Contributions can be sent to: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Bail Fund, 360 Nelson St. S.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30313.

## Labor's Giant Step

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By Art Preis

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# REVIEWS and REPORTS

## Why MacBird Bugs the Critics

MacBird, the satirical play by Barbara Garson that is still a best seller in printed form, is now being staged for the first time at the Village Gate Theater in New York. A colorful, competent cast breathes vigorous life into this political drama framed in Shakespearean situations and phrases. The play is uproariously funny but it touches on serious, thought-provoking matters.

The play pivots around the struggle for supreme power by the contending factions in the top circles of the U.S. government. Their identities are thinly disguised by the quaint names, garish garb and clownish behavior of the principal characters. "Ken O'Dunc" who heads one side in the Democratic Party represents the Kennedy dynasty, whose younger brothers are lined up for continuous succession to the highest office. "MacBird" is the rooin' tootin' leader of the Johnson clique.

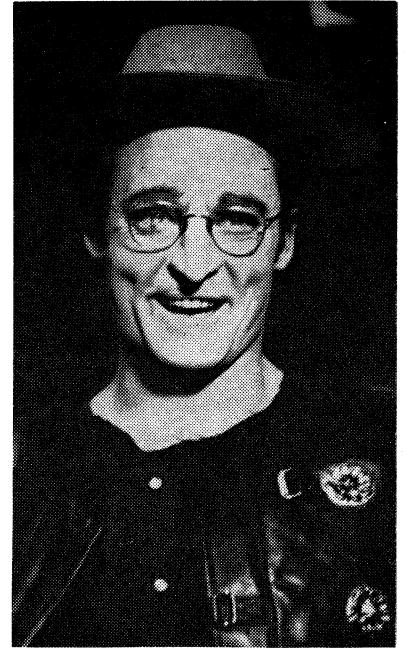
### Assassination Plot

Despite the scandalous implication that MacBird and his wife plotted the assassination of Ken O'Dunc, this incident is not the central theme of the play. The bloody deed simply dramatizes the deadly feud between what amounts to royal families enmeshed in palace intrigues for possession of the throne. That is the real scandal in this "land of democracy."

Garson's underlying political point is that both groups are rapacious self-seekers, equally committed to the interests of the ruling class and contemptuous of the electorate they manipulate and deceive. Both tell whatever lies and commit whatever criminal deeds are required at home and abroad to ensure imperialist rule. Meanwhile they mouth hypocritical declarations of love for each other and profess undying devotion to the American people.

Many of the reviewers of the New York press are bitterly indignant at this impartial exposure of the whole pack of Democratic politicians. Arching their backs and extending their claws, they are hissing and sputtering like a cat confronted by a strange dog. They stigmatize the play and the author as infantile, anarchic, uncouth, untruthful, ugly, tasteless, incompetent, irresponsible and outrageous. According to Richard Watts in the liberal *New York Post*, its theme is "by no means a laughing matter." And Walter Kerr in the *New York Times* believes it borders on "treason."

These critics are unnerved because not a single idol of the liberals is left unscathed. Not only



MACBIRD, as played by Stacy Keach.

the Kennedys but the prestigious "Earl of Warren," the peace-mongering "Wayne of Morse," and the craven middle-of-the-roader "Egg of Head" Stevenson are stripped of their fig leaves. The "unkindest cut of all" is reserved for these apologists, who put up a show of resistance but then capitulate before the Democratic Party Caesars.

### Press Viewpoint

The gentlemen of the press would applaud the lampooning of one or another corrupt politician. But to show them all as cut from the same cloth is repugnant to them. The fact that the venality and cynicism of these prominent personages is more forceful and impressive in the performance of the play than the reading of the text, testifies to the skill of the director and his cast.

This boisterous play has its tragic aspects. The most powerful nation in the world is governed by such scoundrels at this most critical juncture of history. The audiences packing the theater are getting this message while enjoying the fun. According to predictions, the play will have a long and successful run.

The production is directed by Roy Levine. William Devane appears as Robert Ken O'Dunc and Stacy Keach stars as MacBird.

—Evelyn Reed

"The most beautiful thing in the world is freedom of speech."  
—Diogenes.

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A BARROOM DISCUSSION

# The Worker Reviews MacBird

By Harry Ring

The other night I dropped in at an East Side bar which seems to be a hangout for a couple of old-time supporters of the Communist Party. One of them, Max, had just come from a performance of Barbara Garson's *MacBird* and was very excited. The other fellow, Stanley, seemed to take a somewhat dim view of the play.

Max was going on about how the play really rips apart the whole system and Stanley was saying rather quietly, "Yes, it is quite a brilliant work."

Max's face clouded with anger as he got onto the subject of the violent attack on the play by Walter Kerr of the *New York Times*. "Can you feature that bum," he exclaimed, "He said it's not only a bad play but it's practically treason!"

"You have to understand, Max," Stanley responded, "bourgeois critics are limited by their political prejudices. Their lack of a correct political outlook prevents them from seeing the artistic merit of a work in an objective way."

"Yeah, they sure do. What did you think of that great volleyball scene where the Kennedys make Johnson look like a real stumble-bum?"

**Two Viewpoints**  
**"The author is casting about in the dark, her revolver going off repeatedly in all directions..."—From Walter Kerr's New Times review of MacBird.**  
**"Despite its brilliant writing the play comes close to being just one angry blast." — From Douglass Archer's review in The Worker.**

"Volleyball scene?"

"Yeah, the volleyball scene, Stanley. Didn't you see it?"

"Well, actually, Max, I didn't see the play. But I did read the *Worker* review of it."

"The *Worker* reviewed it? Great. I hope they give it a good boost."

"Oh yes, Max. Douglass Archer reviews it in the March 21 issue. I've got it here. He calls it an 'extraordinary parody,' 'a stunning satire on modern American politics,' written with 'consummate literary skill.'"

"That's fine. Frankly, I was

afraid the Party would think the play was a little too far out."

"Oh no. However, as a Marxist critic, Archer does point out where the play fails to reflect life itself. For example, he states: '... despite the force of literary slings and poetic arrows, *MacBird* does not accurately reflect the current American political scene.'"

"Yeah, well she's not a Party person and it's only a play, not a big theoretical work. But she really does show how these capitalist politicians are all alike."

"That does appear to be a point she's quite persistent about."

"Right, Stanley. She really shows what a bunch of phony's those Kennedys are!"

"Yes, she does seem to have an antipathy to the Kennedy family. As Archer puts it, '... in venting justified anger on the heads of our power-hungry mercurial politicians, Miss Garson throws the whole establishment into one pot and the Johnsons and the Kennedys in the same bag to boot.'"

**Head Man**

"She really does, Stanley. When you see that play it really hits you how the only thing that divides that gang is which one's going to be head man."

"I know, Max, I know. But as Archer explains so beautifully, 'She sees no difference between these vying political forces at this critical time. They are all equally guilty in *MacBird*.' Why, according to Archer, she carries it to the point where Kennedy, 'after declaring himself to be ruthless and heartless causes the death of *MacBird*, lifts aloft the fallen *MacBird* banner and in grand procession leaves the stage.'"

"That's right, Stanley. It's a great scene!"

"No, Max, it's dead wrong."

"Wrong?"

"Certainly. As Archer states it, '... the Kennedys need no protection from us and we're not offering it. But the fact of the matter is that Robert Kennedy has raised the banner of virtually open opposition to the Johnson administration's dirty war.'"

**Kennedy Plan**

"But Stanley, the guy's strictly a phony! All he proposed was to suspend the bombing for a while and then if Hanoi doesn't start negotiating like we want, to really give it to them."

"That may possibly be. But that's not the point. Archer says that the difference between Kennedy and Johnson could be the difference between world peace and World War III. And he states quite frankly, 'That Miss Garson fails to see this is not only a major political weakness in the play but a major creative one too.'"

"Stanley, that sounds almost like Walter Kerr in the *Times*!"

"Perhaps, but the fact that other people agree with us is no deterrent to expressing our Marxist view."

"But Stanley, all she's doing is telling it like it is. Are we against that?"

"Not necessarily. But there is such a thing as artistic responsibility. Archer points it out. He concludes his review: '... nothing is sacred and everyone is attacked with equal abandon.'"

"Don't you realize, Stanley, people love it? The theater is packed every night. They say three hundred thousand copies of the book have been sold."

"Max, we're a vanguard party. We don't tail after the masses. All these people can get isolated from the mainstream if they want, but we're not getting caught out in left field."

Max sighed wearily. "OK, Stanley. I get it. I guess the Party's stand is something like Stevenson's in the play. Where he says: 'I know you think I'm acting like a toad. But still I choose the middle of the road.'"

# Text of Ho Letter

Your Excellency,

On Feb. 10, 1967, I received your message. This is my reply.

Vietnam is thousands of miles away from the United States. The Vietnamese people have never done any harm to the United States. But contrary to the pledges made by its representative at the 1954 Geneva conference, the U.S. government has ceaselessly intervened in Vietnam.

It has unleashed and intensified the war of aggression in south Vietnam with a view to prolonging the partition of Vietnam and turning south Vietnam into a neo-colony and a military base of the U.S. For over two years now, the U.S. government has with its air and naval forces carried the war to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country.

The U.S. government has committed war crimes, crimes against peace and against mankind. In south Vietnam, half a million U.S. and satellite troops have resorted to the most inhuman weapons and the most barbarous methods of warfare, such as napalm, toxic chemicals and gases, to massacre our compatriots, destroy crops and raze villages to the ground.

In north Vietnam, thousands of U.S. aircraft have dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs, destroying towns, villages, factories, roads, bridges, dikes, dams and even churches, pagodas, hospitals, schools. In your message, you apparently deplored the sufferings and destructions in Vietnam.

May I ask you: Who has perpetrated these monstrous crimes? It is the U.S. and satellite troops. The U.S. government is entirely responsible for the extremely serious situation in Vietnam. The U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people constitutes a challenge to the countries of the socialist camp, a threat to the national independence movement and a serious danger to peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people deeply love independence, freedom and peace. But in the face of the U.S. aggression, they have risen up, united as one man. Fearless of sacrifices and hardships, they are determined to carry on their resistance until they have won genuine independence and freedom and true peace.

Our just cause enjoys strong sympathy and support from the peoples of the whole world, including broad sections of the American people. The U.S. government has unleashed the war of aggression in Vietnam. It must cease this aggression. That is the only way to the restoration of peace.

The U.S. government must stop definitively and unconditionally its bombing raids and all other acts of war against the DRV, withdraw from south Vietnam all U.S. and satellite troops, and let the Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs.

Such [is the basic] content of the four-point stand of the government of the DRV, which embodies the essential principles and provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam. It is the basis of a correct political solution to the Vietnam problem.

In your message, you suggested direct talks between the DRV and the U.S. If the U.S. government really wants these talks, it must first of all stop unconditionally its bombing raids and all other acts of war against the DRV. It is only after the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the DRV that the DRV and the U.S. would enter into talks and discuss questions concerning the two sides.

The Vietnamese people will never submit to force, they will never accept talks under the threat of bombs. Our cause is absolutely just. It is to be hoped that the U.S. government will act in accordance with reason.

# THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 3, 1967

## North Vietnam and Negotiation

It is the duty of those here in the U.S. who are opposed to the war, to support the position taken by north Vietnam in rejecting Johnson's negotiations proposal. It is true that under the pressure of the U.S. attack, north Vietnam may eventually be forced to negotiate. But we here inside the U.S., must recognize that the U.S. has no right to impose its will upon Vietnam. To demand that the U.S. negotiate in Vietnam, or to call upon the administration to get behind negotiations proposals of Kennedy or U Thant or anyone else, grants to Johnson a right he does not have, the right to negotiate the future of Vietnam.

The discussion in the press over the exchange of letters between Johnson and Ho highlights the danger for the antiwar movement in demanding that Johnson negotiate to settle the war. Johnson is willing to negotiate — the surrender of the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese, by rejecting such negotiations, are now pictured as the culprits. "Peace-loving" Johnson now will claim he has no alternative but to escalate the war until the Vietnamese give in and come to the conference table. The demand for negotiations plays right into Johnson's hands, and takes at least some of the blame for the war off the U.S. government and places it wrongly on the shoulders of the Vietnamese victims of the war.

The negotiations demand thus obscures the reality of the war, and tends to deflect the antiwar movement from its main target, the administration in Washington which is responsible for the war and its continuation. We must put the blame where it lies, and demand that Washington stop its dirty war against the Vietnamese people, and bring the U.S. troops home now.

## The Johnson-Ho Exchange

The disclosure by the north Vietnamese government of the secret letter from Johnson has exposed the hypocrisy of Johnson's negotiations offer (see page 1). This "offer" amounts to demanding that Hanoi abandon the south Vietnamese revolutionaries before Johnson will stop the bombing or even begin talks. This implies that the course set by the ruling circles in the U.S. is to attempt to pound north Vietnam into submission, and drive Hanoi to the negotiating table on U.S. terms.

In the face of this prospect of continued, intensified bombing, the stand taken by the government of north Vietnam in releasing the secret letter and rejecting Johnson's terms is as courageous as it is just. The Vietnamese people both north and south who are resisting the U.S. war machine have earned the admiration and respect of freedom-loving people everywhere.

The justice of north Vietnam's stand is indicated by the simple facts of the war. As Ho Chi Minh said in his letter to Johnson, "The Vietnamese people have never done any harm to the United States." The aggressor in Vietnam is not, certainly, the Vietnamese either north or south who are fighting for the independence of their country and for social reform. The only foreign troops in Vietnam are those of the U.S. and its satellites. It is U.S. troops which are attempting to subdue another people, U.S. bombs which are raining down on another country. The north Vietnamese government is wholly correct in demanding that Johnson, if he really wants peace, must stop bombing, must stop making war, must withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam.

## Socialist Directory

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

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New Edition

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# The Case for an Independent Labor Party

By Farrell Dobbs

Unlike "new left" theoreticians, who consider labor incapable of forming its own independent party, many union bureaucrats know that the step could be taken at any time. On occasion some labor officials even talk openly about such a perspective. They do so only to throw a scare into liberal capitalist politicians, who are equally aware of the unions' capacity to shape an independent political course.

When it comes to passing from the word to the deed, the bureaucrats always draw back, arguing that now is not the time for a labor party. They persist in clinging to the nineteenth-century political mentality of Samuel Gompers, founder of the AFL.

Gompers laid down a basic line of pure-and-simple trade unionism, designed to build a wage-conscious instead of a class-conscious movement. Labor's interests were identified with those of capital. This meant de facto acceptance of the trickle-down process whereby profits come first and the workers get leftovers. The line required union business agents to show moderation, respectability and statesmanship in their relations with capitalists; it also called for a no-strike clause in collective bargaining agreements and the arbitration of any and all grievances.

Politically the workers were subordinated to capitalist rule through a tactic defined as "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" among capitalist politicians. In practice this added up to horse-trading the labor vote between Democrats and Republicans.

## Gompers' AFL

Gompers deliberately based the AFL on skilled craftsmen, who were in a relatively favorable position as workers to exact wage concessions from the capitalists. Less-privileged sections of the class were more or less ignored. As a result a majority of the workers remained atomized organizationally and history was to prove the AFL an obstacle to unionization of the class as a whole.

During the labor upsurge of the 1930s, stimulated by deep economic depression, the defects of craft unionism became glaringly obvious. Finally the AFL had to be bypassed before the workers in basic industry could be organized in the necessary industrial form. The organizational turn came through a minority split from the AFL, led by John L. Lewis, who initiated the building of the CIO.

With this step the composition of organized labor underwent a decisive change and the CIO, based on mass production workers, became potentially the most powerful class force in the country. Also new was the fact that union labor was now up against the strongest section of the capitalist class, the giant monopoly corporations and the bankers who stand behind them. The CIO ranks were ready for battle and they backed Lewis to the hilt as he led them in militant strikes for union recognition and collective bargaining agreements. At that point, however, Lewis stopped short.

Politically he tied the CIO to Gompers' basic line of substituting reliance on capitalist politicians for use of the workers' power. Having a bigger problem than Gompers faced, Lewis also had a larger hope. He dreamed of winning the cooperation of the capitalist government in the fight against the monopoly corporations. That in turn led him to modify Gompers' tactical methods.

Lewis turned away from political bartering between the two capitalist parties, shifting to faction politics within one of the parties through what has since been known as the labor-Democratic coalition. The Democrats were chosen as the popularly accepted party of reform, whereas the Re-

publicans are generally looked upon as the party of the status quo. To initiate the tactical shift Lewis set up an extra-union formation called Labor's Non-Partisan League. The LNPL was masqueraded as a step toward independent labor political action, but its real function was to serve as a political vehicle for union support to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democrats in the 1936 presidential elections.

Development of Lewis' political line coincided with adoption by the Communist Party of the "peoples front" turn decreed at the 1935 Congress of the Stalinized Comintern. The changed CP policy, falsely represented as a modernization of Lenin's principles in shaping working class united fronts, had as its aim to mislead the workers into crossing class lines in politics. In the 1936 elections the CP ran a presidential candidate, who gave left-handed support to the Democrats by campaigning against the Republicans. At the same time the CP hacks in the CIO more openly joined hands with Lewis in the LNPL.

The Socialist Party also ran its own candidate for president in 1936 and, unlike the CP, continued to do so until 1956. Meanwhile, social democrats inside the unions supported the LNPL tactical ruse. Little by little thereafter the whole social democracy shifted in that general political direction and today they are deeply enmeshed as a body in Democratic Party politics.

In 1936 the CP and social democrats had a problem with CIO members whose radical background made support of capitalist politicians a repugnant thing, especially in the case of New York garment workers. To get around the difficulty they organized the American Labor Party in New York state as a special arm of the LNPL. The step was taken to trick the workers into thinking they had their own party.

Through that scheme they were dragooned into voting for Roosevelt on the ALP slate and, by means of a device called "fusion candidates," support was similarly garnered for other capitalist politicians running for key offices. In secondary instances token ALP candidates were put up to maintain a façade of political independence as a party. In time radical workers thus ensnared became disoriented into acceptance of the class-collaborationist political line.

## "New Left" Thinkers

Some "new left" thinkers see in this phase of labor history little more than a sign that many radicals felt compelled to change their ideology. They put one-sided emphasis on capitalism's ability to allow a few social concessions. On that premise a conclusion is reached that the shift in ideology came about primarily because the "old left" had no strategy of opposition to absorption in a liberal consensus.

Revolutionary socialist criticism of labor's misleaders for crossing class political lines is discounted as conceptually dubious. Advocacy of an independent class-based political course is dismissed as narrow and doctrinaire. If "new lefters" holding these views are not trying to warp reality to fit their own preconceived notions, it can only be said that they fail to understand the meaning of history.

Getting back to the realities of the situation, by 1937 Lewis began to react in his own way to contradictions stemming from labor's support of the Democrats. A key factor was Roosevelt's repudiation of a CIO strike in steel. That year Lewis publicly suggested the possibility of labor and the farmers building a political alliance through their own party.

The CP reacted by starting a campaign to put the CIO on record for re-election of Roosevelt to a third term in the presidency. When

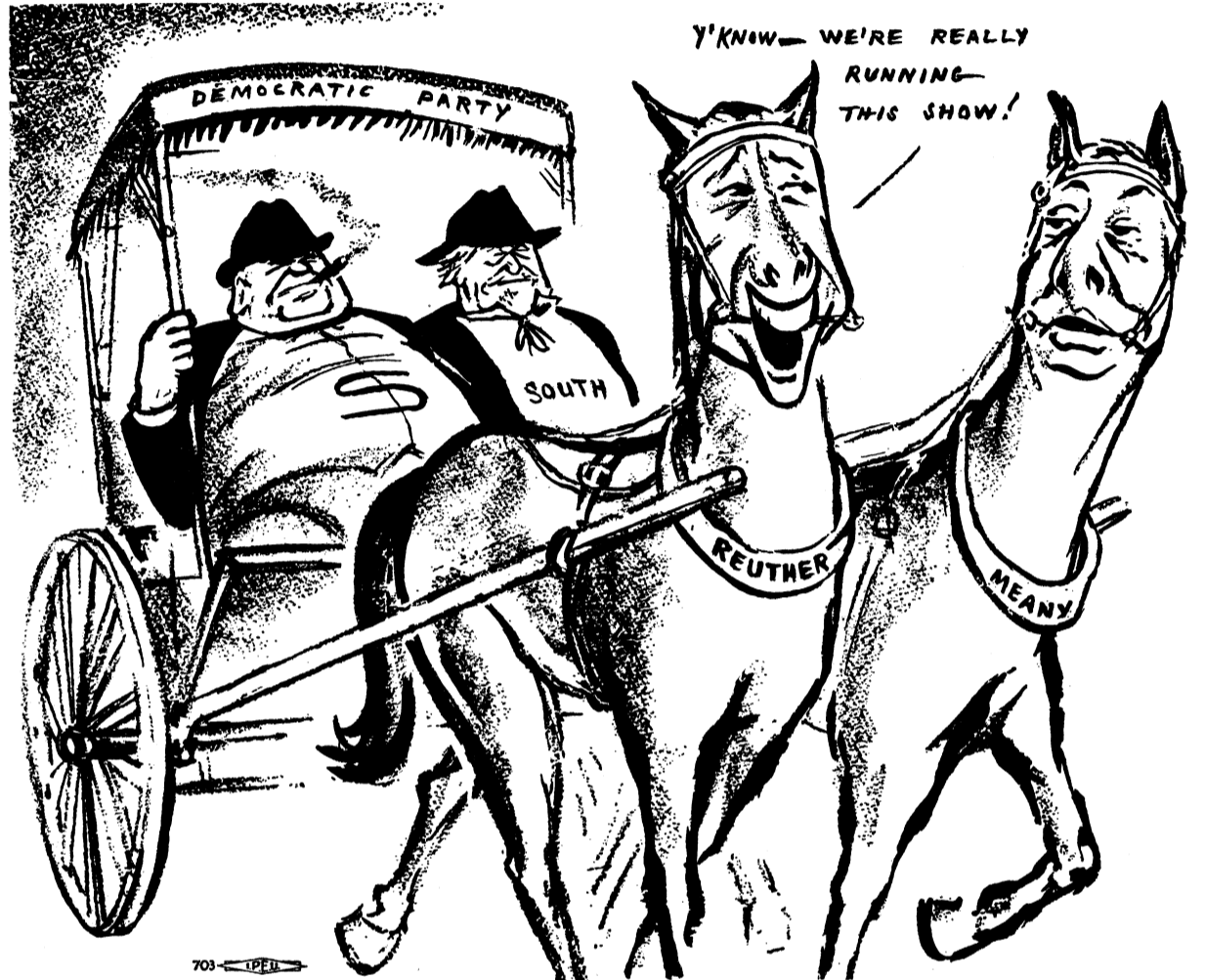
a resolution to that effect was introduced at the 1938 CIO convention, Lewis ruled it out of order. Then, in January 1940, he openly denounced Roosevelt and the Democrats, charging that they had "broken faith" with the workers.

By that time the CIO was solidly entrenched in basic industry. Its ranks had been tested and tempered in strike battles, and bad experiences with the Democrats had taught them some political lessons. As a result millions of workers hopefully looked for Lewis to follow up his denunciation of Roosevelt with a call for

unions started to compete with the CIO in basic industry. To the extent that they succeeded the composition of these unions began to change and the top officials found themselves up against problems similar to those Lewis faced in launching the CIO. This pushed them toward acceptance of Lewis' initial political tactics. AFL bureaucrats, who had feared that Lewis was precipitating a labor party to which they were opposed, also began to take note that their counterparts in the CIO appeared to have warded off that possibility. Passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 — and then the 1952

Until the fall of 1966 the union officials nevertheless thought they were riding high politically. They had been buoyed up by the 1964 Democratic landslide, resulting from a combination of anti-Goldwater sentiment and Johnson's demagoguery. Great hopes were pinned on Johnson and the reinforced liberal bloc in Congress. Then came the post-election doublecross of every section of the mass movement.

In the unions' case the Democrats reneged on their promise to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act empowering states to pass anti-union laws. Congress was



a labor party. But he proved incapable of rising to the occasion.

In the 1940 presidential elections Lewis called for support to the Republican candidate, Wendell L. Willkie. He warned the union membership that failure to follow his advice would be taken as a repudiation of his leadership and, if Willkie was defeated, he would resign as head of the CIO. He did resign after the CIO ranks, left with only a lesser-evil choice between capitalist politicians, disregarded Lewis' appeal and helped re-elect Roosevelt.

It should be noted in passing that with the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939 the CP had begun another of its zig-zags in policy. In 1940 the CP ran its own presidential candidate, who gave veiled support to Willkie by campaigning against Roosevelt. A year later Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and overnight the CP swung back to support of Roosevelt and of U.S. imperialism in World War II. Since then the CP has never put up its own presidential candidate, nor has it ever gone beyond running an occasional token candidate for minor public office. It has stuck to its "peoples front" line down to this day.

Another thread in labor political history that requires tracing concerns unions that stayed with the AFL in the split of the 1930s. They were slower than the CIO to make a tactical shift to the labor-Democratic coalition. Even though most AFL unions supported Roosevelt, they still tended in elections for lesser public offices to switch back and forth between Democrats and Republicans. Meanwhile several factors began to impel them toward general acceptance of the CIO tactical line.

After the split a few AFL

election of Eisenhower as a Republican president — finally prepared the AFL bureaucrats generally for cooperation with the CIO in the labor-Democratic coalition.

As usual, they had things hindside to. For the first time since the main sections of the union movements threw their support to the Democrats, the Republicans had captured the White House. It showed that organized labor was losing, any capacity to influence national politics and that the situation would continue to deteriorate until the unions formed their own independent party. Instead of taking that course, the bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO decided to combine their forces in support of the Democrats.

Toward that end they merged the two federations in 1955, subordinating other differences to their common political aims. The main object was to put the Democrats back in power. In return they hoped to wheedle the softening of anti-labor laws and the passage of some New Deal type social legislation.

In 1958 the union bureaucrats hailed the election of a predominantly Democratic Congress from which they expected some down payment for their support. They got the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act. Under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, following Eisenhower's second term in office, new highs were set in government strikebreaking. The few social measures passed in Congress boiled down to meaningless tokenism and gradualism, failing utterly to meet pressing mass needs. Between them, Kennedy and Johnson plunged the nation deeply into a war of aggression against the Vietnamese.

in the process of enacting a special law to break the 1966 airline strike when it was settled. Democrats were calling for a general stiffening of anti-labor laws. Modest union proposals for improvement of the federal minimum wage law were drastically whittled down. Congress pigenholed labor demands for increased unemployment compensation.

This sorry performance in office backfired on the Democrats in the 1966 elections. Many labor-backed candidates went down to defeat, as the Republicans scored a major comeback in Congress and in state and local elections. True to form, the union bureaucrats blamed everything but their false political line.

They said that a swing from the party in power had to be expected in an off-year election; that Johnson had hurt the Democrats by dismantling the organization built up by John F. Kennedy; and as a result the Republicans were able to do a better campaign job. In short, the bureaucrats talked about trivia, avoiding frank recognition of the voters' anger over the duplicity of the Democrats.

Despite everything, a majority of union members continued to vote for the Democrats, rather than support Republicans. At the same time the biggest percentage since the AFL-CIO merger cast their votes for some Republican candidates. What one bureaucrat called a "sullen reaction" of union members to official policy testifies to the growing alienation of rank-and-file workers from the labor-Democratic coalition.

The relative homogeneity of the labor vote, which has existed since the 1930s, is beginning to break down. Prolonged adherence to the political tactics laid down by

# Labor Party

Lewis in forming the CIO has reflected the inherent tendency among workers, especially those engaged in mass production, to vote as a class bloc. When disenchanted workers now begin to seek a way to express themselves through lesser-evil choices between Democrats and Republicans, it can mean only one thing. They are being prepared by political experience for a return in higher form to political action as a class bloc through their own independent party.

In the face of this objective reality the union officials offer the ranks nothing but more of the same. Stick with the Democrats, they urge. Concentrate on holding what we've got. Rely on the hard core of liberal Congressmen and lobby individual Republicans and Southern Democrats on specific issues. Count on Johnson because he needs us; without us, he wouldn't have anybody.

The real political situation is that Johnson and the liberals will seek tactical advantage from the existence of a strengthened coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. They will use it as an alibi and a cover for a further general policy shift to the right, including harsher measures against the unions. At the same time they will go through meaningless motions to pretend consideration of actions to build a "Great Society." On the whole they will do little, while talking a lot, out of both sides of their mouths, in a bid for votes in the 1968 elections.

### Labor's "Friends"

Such a course is dictated for labor's political "friends" by the basic aims and needs of the capitalist class. Increasingly critical problems facing the ruling class are reflected in the present state of the Vietnam war and the repercussions here at home. That is why the capitalist government is preparing new blows against labor, aiming to further cripple use of the strike weapon and extend the exercise of direct police powers within the workers own organizations.

These basic objectives are included in the general orders issued to all politicians within the two-party system through which the capitalists rule the country. That accounts for the prolonged and sharpening attack on labor carried out by a sequence of Democratic and Republican administrations. The trend reveals the true character of the Democrats as agents of the ruling class. It shows the futility of labor seeking Democratic help against the big corporations, or the lesser capitalist fry either.

The record is full of evidence that the anti-labor assault can't be warded off by acts of appeasement. Every union concession is taken as evidence that increased capitalist pressure can force new capitulations. Step by step the unions are being stripped of their ability to talk the only language that capitalists understand—the language of power.

History has repudiated the union bureaucrats—and along with them the social democrats and Communist Party leaders—in their policy of crossing class lines in politics. The false policy can't be rehabilitated by "new left" schemes to dress up class collaboration in the garb of "new politics" or "social unionism" or "radical constituencies." Nothing more will be accomplished than to help the union misleaders keep the workers tied to capitalist politics.

The "new left" devices are strikingly similar to Walter Reuther's quack "realignment" remedy for labor's political ills. He wants to get all the reactionaries together in the Republican Party and assemble all the liberals in the Democratic Party. It adds up to a typical piece of Reuther "planning" whereby he seeks to perpe-

tuatate the labor Democratic coalition.

George Meany and other officials from old-line AFL craft unions are showing a different tactical inclination. They are saying that labor could be more effective if it had less intimate relations with the Democrats. This understatement of the situation doesn't mean that they entertain notions of a break with capitalist politics. They are simply veering back toward the original Gompers line of political horse-trading between the Democrats and Republicans. They even did some trading of the kind during the 1966 elections.

Meany's tactics won't work any better than Reuther's. In both cases they merely reflect the floundering of the whole union bureaucracy in their deepening political crisis. Their situation is becoming so difficult that they are ready to try most anything, except take the labor party road.

It is no accident that the whole union bureaucracy is united in opposition to black power advocates within the civil rights movement. They are especially venomous against those who advocate an independent black party. These black militants are accused of conspiring to defeat labor's liberal "friends" at the polls.

The union officials are worried that emphasis on black power might lead to posing the question of labor power. They fear that the rise of an independent black party would accelerate labor party sentiment in the unions. On both counts there are grounds for such apprehensions because what the bureaucrats shrink away from is exactly what must come to pass.

Pure-and-simple trade unionism has run its course. Objectively it was outmoded with the unionization of basic industry in the 1930s. Since then every major labor struggle has quickly assumed a political character, as Lewis seemed to anticipate. However Lewis' hope of getting government help against the corporations wasn't realized. Instead the capitalist political "friends" intervened against labor in every class showdown. And today, with the capitalists steadily tightening the screws on the unions, the workers stand disarmed politically.

These iron facts underlie the restiveness now evident in the union ranks. Although the present rise of rank and file militancy centers on defensive actions over economic issues and job conditions, there is more to it than meets the eye. The workers are beginning with a one-armed fight at the union level because their political arm is still paralyzed.

In coming struggles they will learn new political lessons from capitalist arrogance and hostile government interventions. The process will be helped along by intensified use of the unpopular Vietnam war as a pretext for strikebreaking. Accompanying this will be the adverse impact of the war itself on the workers' social needs. The consequences are already tentatively indicated by the support some unionists are now giving to the antiwar movement.

On top of this the government is repeatedly caught lying to the people and evidence mounts that it is shot through with internal corruption. The impact of these combined factors is leading to the development of anti-capitalist political moods in the union ranks. A meaningful sign of the trend was the action of West Coast locals of the Machinists union in raising the question of a labor party during the government attack on the airline strike.

Beneath these surface manifestations of a shift in working class political moods lie a series of factors showing the power of the unions to take the lead in organizing anti-capitalist political action, all of which merit close study.

(To be continued)

## Capitalist Bonanza

# 1966 WAR PROFITS

By Ed Smith

No matter how you look at it, war is good business for capitalists. With initial reports in earnings for most American corporations in 1966, it is evident that profits in the war industries outpaced profits in the rest of the economy by almost three times. And this is true despite the fact that profits for the economy as a whole reached new highs in 1966.

According to the Feb. 4 *Business Week*, corporate profits for 1966 were roughly 8.1 percent higher than corporate profits for 1965, in the country as a whole. During the same period, wages for workers in manufacturing industries increased only 4.1 percent; and if you take into consideration rising prices and higher taxes, the purchasing power of many workers actually declined last year.

The accompanying table shows the profit increases and volume of war production for 20 of the 30 prime war contractors as ranked by *Business Week*, Dec. 3. These figures are based on preliminary reports which may be revised before these corporations issue final 1966 figures later this spring.

(I did not have comparable figures for the other 10 top war contractors in *Business Week's* listing. Profit figures, for instance, were available for Kaiser Industries, ranked 13, and Raytheon Co., ranked 16; but I was unable to estimate the volume of war contracts in these two companies. Raytheon marked a 67 percent profit jump last year, and Kaiser Industries, a fantastic 900 percent.)

## ...Rally in Chicago

(Continued from Page 1)

his talk with an answer to those who say that the civil rights movement should not get involved in other issues. "I refuse to remain silent while evil reigns in our land," were his concluding words.

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, and the first major figure in the labor movement to address a rally against the war, followed King.

"We must do everything we can to influence our government to change policies we believe are wrong," said Mazey in his opening remarks, and the first part of his speech dwelled on this theme.

Then Mazey summarized the history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam and the errors which in his view the U.S. government had made: In 1950 the U.S. supplied France with money and material to help maintain colonialism in Vietnam. "The leaders of our country made a tragic mistake . . . we should have supported the Vietnamese," said Mazey.

### American "Blunders"

The second "blunder" of American foreign policy, according to Mazey, was scuttling the Geneva Accords. The third "mistake" was to escalate the war.

Mazey refuted the claim that the U.S. is in Vietnam to "support freedom and democracy." The U.S. has supported every military dictator who came to power, he pointed out.

The UAW official said that he joined with U Thant, Sen. Robert Kennedy and the Pope in asking the U.S. government to end the bombing of north Vietnam, in order to improve chances of negotiating peace. Continued escalation could lead to war with China and nuclear war. Therefore, the most important task facing the nation is to settle the Vietnam war, he explained.

Mazey quoted President Johnson's statements of opposition to escalation made during the 1964 election campaign. He said he be-

### 20 TOP WAR CONTRACTORS

	Rank	Percent profit increase in 1966	Volume of war contracts
Lockheed Aircraft Corp.	(1)	9%	A
General Electric Co.	(2)	-5	B
United Aircraft Corp.	(3)	-10	A
General Dynamics Corp.	(4)	22	A
Boeing Co.	(5)	-3	B
McDonnell Aircraft Corp.	(6)	31*	A
AT & T	(7)	10	B
Textron, Inc.	(8)	31	A
General Motors Corp.	(11)	-16	B
Avco Corp.	(12)	31	A
Ford Motor Co.	(14)	-12	B
Westinghouse Electric Corp.	(17)	12	A
Martin Marietta Corp.	(18)	21	A
General Tire & Rubber Co.	(20)	17**	B
Grumman Aircraft Corp.	(21)	30	B
Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc.	(22)	125	A
Honeywell, Inc.	(26)	18	B
Collins Radio Co.	(27)	47***	A
RCA	(28)	29	B
Litton Industries, Inc.	(30)	28***	B

\*Six months ending Dec. 31; \*\*Year ending Nov. 30; \*\*\*Six months ending Jan. 31.

**PRIME WAR CONTRACTORS.** Profits of 20 of the top 30 war contractors show average increase of 21 percent in 1966 according to initial reports. Average profit increases for country were about 8 percent. Corporations with war contracts totalling more than 50 percent of income marked by A; less than 50 percent by B.

Even so, the picture emerging from these 20 corporations is significant. The average profit increase was higher than 20 percent, compared with the 8.1 percent for the economy as a whole. And with two exceptions, the rule was, the more war contracts, the higher the profit rate.

The exceptions were two aircraft corporations, United and Boeing. Both of these giants actually recorded sales increases in 1966, but their profits declined,

largely because they invested large sums in new plants and machinery.

The other three corporations in the table which showed declining profits were mainly hit by the recession of sales of consumer items which began late last year. Both General Motors and Ford sold fewer cars in 1966 than in 1965. And both corporations, it can be added, would have done a good deal worse if it hadn't been for their substantial government contracts.

If you narrow it down to corporations which do over 50 percent of their total business with the government, marked by "A" in the diagram, the profit story was even more spectacular. For these 10 corporations, profit increases averaged 32 percent in 1966!

Why do war industries do so well? The answer is simple: They have a guaranteed market and guaranteed high prices. Last year's sales were spurred to new highs by the escalation of the war; and prices were spurred to new highs by profit hungry corporations.

### Inflated Prices

In one industry after another, the story was the same: "Martin Marietta Corporation realized a 21.1 percent increase in profits last year," the *New York Times* reported, "on a sales increase of 11.1 percent."

Of course, factual details on the concrete prices of weapons and quantities sold are nearly impossible to get since they are classified by the Pentagon. In the coming year, it is apparent that Washington is planning a large increase in its budget for aircraft. But it is another matter to determine how much of this reflects an escalation of the war and how much reflects an escalation of prices.

Senator Richard Russell, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, stated in a Senate debate Feb. 24: "The value of aircraft lost in fiscal year 1966 (ending last June) is estimated to be \$900 million. The estimated value of aircraft lost in fiscal year 1967, some of which, of course, lies ahead, is estimated to be \$1.6 billion."

At that point he was interrupted by Senator Clark, one of the so-called "doves." Clark stated: "The cost is going up very fast, is it not?"

Russell's cryptic reply was: "Yes, the cost of aircraft is going up rapidly."

Whether the two senators were more concerned about prices or deaths in this colloquy is something known only to themselves.

# ...Spring Mobilization News Roundup

(Continued from Page 1)

Committee that they will provide special rates to groups of at least 25 coming into New York April 15.

In Philadelphia, chartered buses will bring people into New York for the April 15 parade. The buses will leave 30th St. station at 8 a.m. on Saturday and return by 10 p.m. Tickets are reported available at \$5 for adults, \$4 for students and \$2 for children under 12. Scholarships are also available. For tickets or further information, call the West Philadelphia Spring Mobilization Committee at EV 2-8889 or EV 6-4625.

The Seattle Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam sponsored a highly successful statewide Organizing Conference to Build the Spring Mobilization on March 4. The all-day session was attended by 125 representatives, including delegations from Olympia, Bellingham, Bremerton, Tacoma, Spokane, Portland and Vancouver, B.C., as well as Seattle. There were 13 high schools and colleges throughout the state represented and 21 organizations opposed to war in Vietnam.

The Conference was addressed by Edward Keating, West Coast director of the Spring Mobilization, Prof. Giovanni Costigan of the University of Washington, Prof. Robert Lee of the University of Puget Sound and Fred Lonidier, a former Peace Corps worker refusing induction into the Army because of his opposition to the war. Several committees emerged from the workshop session including a labor committee, a high school committee, a college students committee and an art and communications committee.

The Seattle Spring Mobilization Committee has an office at 4205 15th N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105; telephone ME 3-2480. Debbie Leonard, former chairman of the University of Washington Vietnam Committee, is executive director of the group, which includes representatives from many organizations in the Seattle area. The Committee is arranging car pools, chartered buses and group plane fares to provide transportation to San Francisco for April 15.

The San Francisco-Bay Area chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild has voted to become a sponsor of the Spring Mobilization. In a letter sent by the chapter to the Committee on February 27, Lawrence L. Duga, secretary of the chapter, stated, "The Guild does not often act as a sponsoring organization. In this case it was felt that the overriding importance of the issue, coupled with the resolution passed earlier this month at the Guild convention, calling for immediate withdrawal of our



Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy

troops from Vietnam, dictated a variation from our usual position of non-sponsorship."

An article in the March 19 Baltimore Sun indicates Mobilization plans are going well there. The paper reports:

"A sign on the second floor office at 32 W. 25th St. reads:

"War is hell. Don't Go."

"Inside that office yesterday were gathered representatives of antiwar organizations throughout Baltimore planning to 'mobilize' people to go to New York April 15 for a national 'Spring Mobilization' against the Vietnam war.

"They selected a name — The Baltimore Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam — and voted to hold a march and rally on April 8 to stir up support for the New York event.

"They voted to hire buses, and charge \$8 a person for the round trip to the New York demonstration . . .

"Leslie M. Evenchick, who acted as chairman of the meeting, estimated that as many as five busloads of 46 passengers each might be recruited for the New York affair . . .

"The meeting was held in the office of the American Friends Service Committee. Among the groups represented were the SDS, the Women Strike for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Spartacist League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Young Socialist Alliance and Teachers Concerned About Vietnam."

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader and vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee, will be the featured speaker at a Detroit rally against the Vietnam war to be held on Saturday evening, April 8, at Cobo Hall, room 2040. The meeting is sponsored by the Michigan Spring Mobilization Committee.

James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Ivanhoe Donaldson of SNCC will be among the speakers at the Washington Square rally climaxing the New York high school student march against the war Saturday, April 8. There will also be folk singers and high school leaders.

The march will begin at Times Square at 11:30 a.m., proceed down to Union Square and from there to Washington Square. The march is sponsored by the High School Mobilization Committee, a division of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Further information may be ob-

tained from the Student Mobilization offices at 29 Park Row. Phone 233-4535.

A Judge-In will be held at Hunter College in New York on Monday, April 10. Russell Stetler of the American committee of the War Crimes Tribunal will present evidence of U.S. crimes in Vietnam as compiled in that country by the War Crimes Tribunal. Stanley Faulkner, veteran civil liberties attorney, will analyze the evidence from a legal point of view. The State Department has been invited to send a representative to rebut the evidence. Other invited speakers include Rev. Martin Luther King, Isaac Deutscher, Staughton Lynd, Corliss Lamont, Rabbi Abraham Heschel, Thomas Cornell of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, Dave McReynolds and Prof. John Somerville who is active in the organization of the Judge-In.

There will be poetry readings by Walter Lowenfels and others, and there will be folk singing by Barbara Dane and others.

The Judge-In will be held at Hunter College Assembly Hall at Park Ave. and 68th St. from 12:30 in the afternoon until 7:30 p.m. and there will be workshops from 8:30 p.m. to 10 p.m.

New Jersey residents seeking information on the Spring Mobilization can contact William Miller at P.O. Box 1331, New Brunswick, N. J. 08903.

About 20 people held an all-night vigil at the municipal stadium in Atlanta, Ga., afterwards picketing and distributing leaflets to crowds gathering there for the Easter sunrise service. Pickets bore such signs as "End the Racist War in Vietnam" and "Bring Our Boys Home Now." They distributed leaflets calling for a change in U.S. policy in Vietnam. Wor-



Floyd McKissick

shippers generally accepted leaflets without hostility and the police did not interfere. The leaflets were issued by the Atlanta Committee to End the War and the Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence.

In accepting the invitation of the Spring Mobilization Committee to speak at its massive April 15 New York rally against the war, Stokely Carmichael charged that the real reason the U.S. was in Vietnam was to exploit its natural resources and to secure strategic bases surrounding China.

The SNCC leader declared: "We know the real reason the American government is waging an aggressive war in Vietnam is not to guarantee freedom and democracy there, but to serve the economic interests of American businessmen who are in Vietnam solely to exploit the tungsten, tin and oil

which rightfully belong to the Vietnamese people and to secure strategic bases surrounding China."

In releasing Carmichael's statement, Rev. James Bevel, director of the Spring Mobilization, also announced that Robert Vaughn, co-star of television's "The Man from Uncle," will be a main speaker at the companion rally at Kezar Stadium in San Francisco. Also a speaker at the San Francisco demonstration is Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE.

Other speakers at the New York rally will include Rev. Martin Luther King.

The St. Paul campus of the University of Minnesota will be the scene of a Vietnam Happening on Sunday, April 9. On April 8 students will distribute antiwar leaflets throughout the city.

During the past three weeks approximately 200,000 leaflets in support of the Spring Mobilization have been distributed throughout New York City by volunteers under the direction of the Parade Committee's city-wide leaflet distribution committee.

Various special leaflets have been written and produced by this group and the staff of the Parade Committee to reach people in different communities and settings. Leaflets directed to Negroes, Spanish-speaking people, workers, GIs and to the audience of MacBird, are among those used to supplement the printed mobilization call and flyer.

Here are some of the highlights of distributions to date:

● On two successive Saturdays, mass distributions were held at shopping areas in Jamaica, where 40-50 percent of the people are black. About 15,000 leaflets with quotes from Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Adam Clayton Powell were given out. Reaction was good. This same leaflet is being distributed regularly in Bedford-Stuyvesant by Brooklyn CORE.

● The first regular leafletting of workers in the garment district took place on Friday, March 24. The reception was excellent. Call distribution committee coordinators Bernard Goodman or Ron Wolin at 964-0070 if you can participate.

● High school and college students have enthusiastically joined in the weekly Saturday and Sunday city-wide distributions which begin at Parade Committee headquarters at 11 a.m. On Saturday, March 25, about 100 young people picked up nearly 50,000 leaflets and fanned out to points throughout the city, including museums, concerts, heavily trafficked streets, and performances of MacBird, and The War Game. Regular MacBird distributions have also netted financial contributions for April 15.

● The Port Authority Bus Terminal was leafleted twice in the past week, with good results in reaching commuters and servicemen.

● About 15,000 leaflets were distributed at the Be-In at Central Park on Sunday, March 26.

The objective set by the leaflet distribution committee is to get out 100,000 leaflets a week for the next three weeks. Help is needed to do it. Assignments for volunteers are available through the Parade Committee every day.

Additions and revisions have been made on the set of slogans adopted by the Spring Mobilization Committee to be prepared in quantity on placards for the New York Parade.

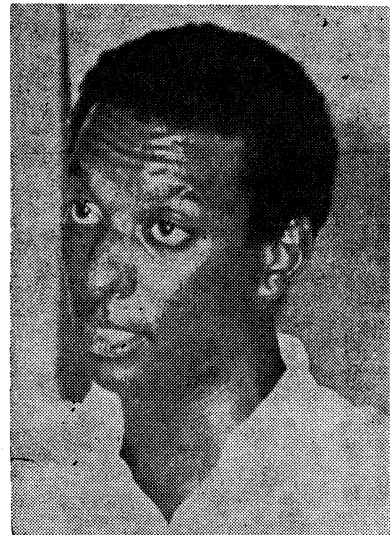
The slogan, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," was replaced by "They Are Our Brothers Whom We Kill." The slogan "Self-Determination — USA, 1776/Vietnam, 1967" was split, with "Self-Determination" as a separate slogan.

Additional slogans are: "No Puerto Ricans to Vietnam," which

will also be printed in Spanish, "Ningun Puertorriqueños a Vietnam"; "No Viet Cong Ever Called Me Nigger"; "Black People: 23% of the Dead, 2% of the Bread — Why?"; "Black People Should Fight White Racism, Not Vietnamese Freedom Fighters."

Slogans previously adopted include: "Stop the Bombing"; "No \$\$\$ for Bombing and Burning"; "Children Are Not Born to Burn"; "Jobs, Homes, Schools — War No More"; "Free the Fort Hood 3"; "End the Draft — Let Young Men Live"; "Wipe Out Poverty, Not People"; "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die"; "Cease Fire Now — Negotiate With the NLF"; "Let's Get Out — Vietnam for the Vietnamese"; "Support Our GIs — Bring Them Home Now."

The slogans, the Spring Mobil-



Stokely Carmichael

ization Committee states, "represent a range of views and not all the sponsors necessarily agree with all of them."

The West Coast Spring Mobilization limited itself to three official slogans for the parade. These are: "Stop the Bombing"; "End the War in Vietnam"; "Bring the Troops Home Now."

Vietnam Week at Columbia University will center around a two-day Vietnam School set up in empty classrooms and designed to teach students about the war and issues raised by the war. Many prominent faculty members are joining in this effort to make education relevant for at least two days.

There will also be a large campus rally against the war. Speakers thus far include Prof. Noam Chomsky of M.I.T. and John Wilson of SNCC.

## Texas Students Hit SNCC Ban

About 400 students staged demonstrations at Texas Southern University on March 28, protesting the banning of the campus chapter of the Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Students blocked doors on the Houston campus and moved to stop traffic on a street that runs through the university in response to an administration refusal to recognize the campus civil rights organization. The student strike also protested the discharge of Mack Jones, faculty sponsor of friends of SNCC.

Texas Southern has about 4,000 students, predominantly black.

Rev. R. D. Kirkpatrick, a graduate student and campus chairman of Friends of SNCC, addressed a crowd of about 400 students. He read a letter from the administration refusing to recognize the organization. The letter was then burned while the students chanted, "Close it (the school) down."

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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.]

## Discussion With Marine

New York, N.Y.

The other day at the Port Authority Bus Terminal, while giving out leaflets against the war in Vietnam, I met a young man with his arm in a cast. But this was no ordinary young man. He got his arm shattered by a bullet in Vietnam.

He was one of the lucky ones. He came back alive. And in four months he'll be discharged from the Marines.

When I asked how he felt about the war he said it was a crazy, useless war, serving no purpose except to line the pockets of the war profiteers in Saigon and the U.S. He said most of the people in south Vietnam support the National Liberation Front and that no amount of American firepower has been able to defeat them or even control any major areas outside of the big cities. "The U.S. has no business in Vietnam and ought to get out," were his exact words.

He said he was glad to be home and that most of the guys still in Vietnam are counting the days till they leave. He also told of a disturbing situation I hadn't heard of before. Many of the 18 and 19-year-olds doing the fighting and dying volunteered for the Marines to "avenge" the death of a brother or friend already killed in this horrible war.

These young kids who haven't even tasted of life are being sent to boot camp and shipped right over to the jungles of Vietnam. They are turned into gunho robots who get kicks out of killing "gooks."

Like the British in 1776, the U.S. government is preventing a people from determining their own way of life. But the techniques of Hitler are being used to do it.

The young man I talked with knew all about this from his own experience. He said he was 100 percent with us, but couldn't join the march because his life is still not his own.

For the sake of this young GI

and all his buddies in Vietnam — as well as the valiant and long-suffering Vietnamese people—it's up to us to build the largest demonstration against the war the U.S. has ever seen and to continue our efforts after April 15 to bring all our men home from Vietnam as quickly as possible.

Ron Wolin

## Fun for All

New York

The hoax of capitalist electoral "democracy" was pointed up again by the recent French elections. The scales were tipped in favor of De Gaulle by blatant vote-rigging in several outlying colonial "provinces," but also within traditional French territory, namely, on the island of Corsica.

The *New York Times* recently described the Corsican scandal. It seems that around 10 percent of the vote — enough to win for the Gaullists — came in the form of absentee ballots. But absentees can vote only if they're too sick to travel home. A local resident's explanation of this year's election-time epidemic was quoted by the *Times*, almost proudly:

"The people at home are poor... and they depend on their mayors. So the children on the Continent vote. The doctors over there write the letters saying the voters are sick and the applications go to the mayor.

"If he needs to, he puts on the names of people who are dead, too. At election time, the people enjoy going to the village hall and seeing all those old names still up there on the lists..."

Charles Gardner

## A Critic

Oakland, Calif.

You say, "Defend the Teamsters' Union!" Being oriented in the detached perspective of The Secret Circle of Wright's *White Man, Listen*, I am forced to look askance at the grotesque array of positions you assume on the Teamsters' Union, plus on other controversial subjects of topical interest. At what rung or at what echelon do we begin to defend the Teamsters? At that rung which is acting in collusion with the corporate farmers like DiGeorgio in preventing real unionization of the agricultural workers in California? At that rung where the leadership in Minnesota, by your own admission, forced a fraudulent contract down the throat of the rank and file? Ad infinitum on other issues?

Your information, I thought, on Norman Thomas' visit to the Dominican Republic was quite revealing, and appreciated. But in toto, your overall role is essentially and identically the same as

the Soviet-oriented Communist parties of Latin America (and the USA), which Castro recently denounced. Unlike Norman Thomas, you and the American Communist Party behind multifarious nuances of confusing tongues lend support to the American Colossus.

While coining much political capital in the Afro-American community out of the assassination of Malcolm X, you help racist Russia, who is on Course Accommodation with the USA in aborting the worldwide collapse of capitalism, in being given to a lot of picayune criticism of Red China. Though I am not a member, many members of the Black Panther Party [in Oakland] feel that you have your own axe to grind; and that's that. Maybe, your group is also infiltrated by the CIA, too. Only an opportunistic (chameleon) leadership knows the answer, since the acquiescing group is blinded by the *astigmatism of unquestioning consensus*.

C.H.K., a black power advocate and Afro-American

## What the War Is

Los Angeles, Calif.

I would appreciate very much if you would print a portion of a letter I received. I feel that this let-

## Thought for the Week

"To call on both sides to cease fire and hold unconditional negotiations while the United States is committing aggression against Vietnam... is to make no distinction between the aggressors and the victims of aggression, to depart from reality and to demand that the Vietnamese people accept the conditions of the aggressors." — A broadcast statement from the Vietnam News Agency in Hanoi in reply to U Thant's proposal for negotiations.

ter would reach many of of your readers. This is the portion of the letter I would like you to publish:

"I got a letter today from my mother. She is worried because I don't write. She sure is good to me; I hate to tell her I'm going over to Vietnam because it would kill her. She already lost one son over there. To have her know I was over there would worry her to death. So I guess I'll just stop writing home."

Thank you.

Reader

## An Old-Timer

Richmond, Calif.

Enclosed find check for \$2 to extend my sub for *The Militant*. Sorry to be so late but I'm an old, sick and forgetful ex-Communist. I've been so disillusioned and dis-

couraged hearing so much about the way the USSR has deviated from what I'd thought the communist Marxist classless society was working for.

In your article by Barry Shepard which I enjoyed so much, of Feb. 27, 1967, and also your tribute to Malcolm X, I get comfort and understanding — also in the letters from readers, especially the one signed A.B. by a China visitor. This version of a visitor being first hand observation gave me new hopes that yet there is hope that my sort of world may be yet possible. So I want to keep getting *The Militant* so maybe I can still hope.

C.M.C.

P.S. Send me a sample copy of the *ISR*, as I already get more literature than I can read, I hesitate to subscribe for more.

# It Was Reported in the Press

**A Philosophy** — "Profits are not a bad thing... You don't give commissions to your enemies." — Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida explaining to his cabinet why he would like to steer state insurance business to his friends.

**Bisexual Intersection** — There's the old joke about the Southern politician who charged his opponent had a daughter who was a thespian in Greenwich Village and a son who went to a college where the boys and girls matriculate together. And there's the Rev. Billy James Hargis who says liberal ministers are doing more damage to the church than communists. He charged the Baptists and other church groups with financing "intersection." He defined this as staging six nights a week of burlesque shows and stag movies in churches. He also stated that the biggest Methodist church in San Francisco sponsored a ball for homosexuals and lesbians, chaperoned by liberal ministers. Maybe it's the new ecumenism.

**Religious Activity** — If Big Bromley, a ski resort in Vermont can help it, it won't just be clothing dealers who cash in on Easter. Big Bromley announced Easter Sunday races on a slope called Lord's Prayer.

**Grows Hair on a Billiard Ball** — A New Jersey laboratory reports it has developed a chemical compound that, among other things, makes teeth pearly, removes dandruff, freshens the breath, prevents chemical damage to electric batteries and inhibits corrosion in radio and television circuits.

**The Smooth Society** — The dress industry has developed a lucrative business in fashionable togs for sub-teen girls. One manufacturer has a party dress for tots that retails at \$85 and a dress and coat ensemble for an even \$100.

**Don't Call Us...** — If Albert Einstein were looking for a job today he wouldn't do nearly as well as cartoonist Rube Goldberg. That's what Careers, Inc., a New York job placement firm says it found out when it submitted Dr. Einstein's résumé, without a name, to a panel of 18 recruiters for U.S. technical firms. Only seven of the 18 evinced any interest in Einstein as a prospective employe and

14 of the 18 wanted a personal interview with Rube Goldberg.

**New Price Hike Imminent** — Brooklyn cops claim they busted a marijuana party and found packets of pot with strips of ten trading stamps attached. We can see the trend: Menthol, filter tips, gold packages and slogans like "X Tastes Good Like Pot Should."

**The March of Civilization** — We may have other problems, but the problem of evenly and adequately buttered corn has been solved. A patent has been issued for an electric tray which melts the butter while you twirl the corn in two sockets. To compensate for the corn's taper, one socket is lower than the other.

**Seducing the Kiddies** — The Pinellas County, Florida, school board is grappling with a "rather serious complaint" about the school system using a Pete Seeger recording of nursery rhymes and folksongs in kindergartens. The complaint was lodged by an American Legionnaire.

**Where Was Wackenhut?** — A photographer for the *Saturday Evening Post* was assigned to

spend a weekend following Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida. Kirk is warring on "crime" in the state by using the Wackenhut Corp., a gumshoe outfit, as a private secret police. When the photographer stopped for a breather someone lifted \$2,000 worth of cameras and about 200 pictures of Kirk from his car. Kirk said it was "unbelievable."

**News of the Week** — An extensive Labor Department survey established that the unemployed want jobs.

**No Abstract Patriotism** — A massive "Discover America" campaign will be unleashed by a combine of the various industries that profit from travel. A spokesman for the group explained: that the operation will be "100 percent private, profit-motivated and profit-oriented..."

**Explanation** — We're not quite certain of its social or political significance, but we would like to report that a woman arrested for drunken driving in Albuquerque, N.M., explained: "My mother's cat died today and I was trying to forget about it."

—Harry Ring

## Weekly Calendar

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

### CHICAGO

THE LESSON OF SPAIN. Speaker: Allen Myers. Fri., April 7, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. 75 cents. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

WHY MPI URGES BOYCOTTING THE PLEBISCITE. Speaker: Pedro Juan Rua, N.Y. organizer, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence. Fri., April 7, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST LECTURE SERIES. The Promise of Black Power. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in the 1964 elections. Mon., April 3, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Fee 50 cents. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

### TWIN CITIES

BUILD VIETNAM WEEK AND N.Y. SPRING MOBILIZATION. Panel discussion by Minnesota Ad Hoc Comm. for Spring Mobilization members. Fri., April 7, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

# WATTS AND HARLEM

## The Rising Revolt In the Black Ghettos

by Robert Vernon and George Novack

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## L. A. Meeting Urges Freedom for Blanco

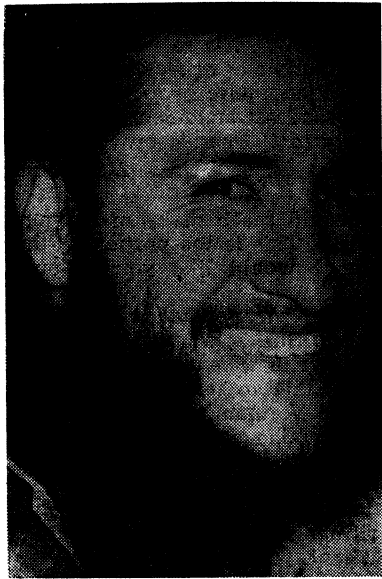
LOS ANGELES, March 25 — One hundred twenty-five people met at Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church here last Sunday to add their voices to the worldwide protest over the imprisonment and possible execution of Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader.

Two speakers with intimate knowledge of the social struggles in Latin America addressed the protest meeting. Timothy Harding, professor of Latin American history at California State College at Los Angeles, spoke on the case of Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners in Peru, Mexico, and Venezuela. John Gerassi, professor of journalism at New York University, and a former editor of *Time* magazine, drew a parallel between the Vietnam war and prospects for revolution in Latin America.

### Political Prisoners

Prof. Harding pointed out that the number of political prisoners in Latin America has grown considerably since the Cuban revolution, and that responsibility for these imprisonments rested ultimately with the U.S. government. The unpopular reactionary regimes in Latin America would not have the strength to jail anyone if it were not for the power the American State Department exerts behind the scenes, Harding declared.

North Americans must protest this U.S.-instigated political persecution, he said, and sometimes such protest can be successful. He pointed to the recent jailing of leftists in Mexico. They were jailed under pressure from the U.S. State Department, but now the Mexican government is concerned



Hugo Blanco

that adverse publicity may affect its lucrative tourist trade.

The case of Hugo Blanco has a particular urgency, he pointed out, because the military may impose a death sentence that would be carried out in 24 hours. Every possible means of international pressure must be exerted in the next few weeks to save Blanco, he said.

John Gerassi, who has just returned from a trip to north Vietnam for the International War Crimes Tribunal, compared the struggle of the Vietnamese people to the guerrilla movements of Latin America. The Vietnamese do not expect to push the American invaders into the sea, he declared, but they believe they can wear them down through indefinite resistance.

The guerrilla movements of Latin America face the same enemy, for U.S. finance capital is merged with the oligarchies of those countries, Gerassi said. The experience of the Dominican Republic showed the enemy in action.

### Liberal Cover

Gerassi excoriated American liberals as the worst enemies of the poor people of the world. They give a liberal cover to the imperialist plans of American capitalists, and then help carry them out. He pointed to the late Adlai Stevenson as a liberal who lied and betrayed in the service of the American ruling class.

The meeting voted to send a telegram of protest to the Peruvian government, and took up a collection of \$97 to aid victims of political persecution.

Gerassi, who is touring under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, will speak on this subject at the major universities and colleges in the Los Angeles area. He will also appear on the Mort Sahl television show.

### Air Force Capt. Refuses Viet Duty

**"The war in Vietnam is unjust and immoral, and if ordered to do so, I shall refuse to fight in that war." — Air Force Captain Dale E. Noyd.** Captain Noyd, 33, has filed a suit in federal court in Denver for classification as a conscientious objector to the Vietnam war. He is being represented by attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union. Captain Noyd took the action after he learned he would be reassigned to Cannon Air Force Base, a replacement training center for assignees to Vietnam.

### Denied Floor

When Montauk went before the city council to protest, he was denied the floor and threatened with eviction if he attempted to speak.

Supporters of the socialist candidate held a picket line at City Hall to protest this undemocratic procedure. The American Civil Liberties Union intervened on behalf of Montauk. Then the city attorney informed the ACLU that with a few "minor changes," Montauk's statement would "comply" with the city charter. Actually, the city charter does not give the city attorney the right to censor the views of candidates printed in the brochure.

A new statement was drafted, essentially identical with the first, and it was approved.

## West Coast Painters Local Backs Spring Mobilization

SAN FRANCISCO — At the March 13 membership meeting of Local 4, International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, a motion was passed to support and participate in the April 15 Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. There was only one vote opposed.

Morris Evenson, the Recording Secretary, will speak at the rally at Kezar stadium at the end of the march on April 15.

The Bay Area United Union Wives, the women's auxiliary to the painters union, has also voted to participate in the demonstration. In addition, they plan to set up a booth at a peace fair to distribute literature explaining why the Bay Area painters are fighting for union democracy.

LOS ANGELES — The Spring Mobilization Coordinating Center here reports that the executive board of the Social Workers Union, Local 535 of the Building Service Employees Union, International AFL-CIO, voted unanimous-

## Black Man Runs for Mayor In Eastland's Home Ground

Sunflower County, Mississippi, where Senator James O. Eastland holds forth on his 5,800-acre plantation, will be the scene of special elections on May 2. In two towns of the county, Moorhead and Sunflower, independent black candidates are running for office.

Otis Brown, Jr., president of the Sunflower County Improvement Association, is running for Mayor of Sunflower. Black voters are still in the process of choosing candidates for other offices in Sunflower, and in Moorhead.

The May 2 election date was set by the U.S. District Court, following a March, 1966, decision by an appeals court, overturning the June, 1965, municipal election throughout Sunflower County. This marked the first time that elections have been set aside because Negroes were denied the vote.

The court found that the Sunflower County registrar had deprived black citizens of their right to register to vote. The court action was brought by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer was the plaintiff.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went on record in 1964 in support of Johnson, and considered itself part of the national Democratic Party while in opposition to the regular Mississippi Democrats. The MFDP has conducted independent campaigns within Mississippi. The current elections in Sunflower are regular elections, not primaries, and the Negro candidates are running against the Democrats.

### Favor Independence

Otis Brown said in a recent interview in the March, 1967, *Movement*, published in San Francisco, "I'm not going to be a Republican, I'm not going to be a Democrat. Because neither one has done anything for the poor people the whole time it's been organized."

When asked how he felt about the independent Lowndes County Freedom Party (the Black Panther Party), Brown said that "They are a branch of the FDP: they are doing the same thing we are doing."

The *Movement* asked him, "Don't you see the FDP that you're

### Cleveland Union For Mobilization

CLEVELAND — Further progress in winning labor support for the movement against the Vietnam war was registered here when Local 500 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The resolution also called for participation in the April 15 Spring Mobilization Against the Vietnam War.

Previously, the Northern California District Council of the ILWU voted to urge ILWU locals to support the mobilization.

Previously, the Northern Cali-

workship support to the mobilization. Unanimous endorsement also came from the Southern California District Council of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union.

working with ever tying up with the national Democratic Party?" Brown said simply, "No."

While Brown will not be running formally as an MFDP candidate, the MFDP has said that a victory for Sunflower Negro candidates will give unprecedented encouragement to other Negro candidates in the statewide elections. Negroes form a majority of the voters in the small town.

A group of prominent citizens, including A. Philip Randolph, John Kenneth Galbraith and Stokely Carmichael, have formed the National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower. The committee hopes to bring pressure to bear on the Justice Department to send federal registrars, examiners and official election observers to guarantee free elections in May. It also is raising funds to aid the election campaigns, as well as for food and clothing to offset economic hardships candidates and their supporters expect.

For more information, write: National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower, 799 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

## Appeals Court Upholds Frame-Up of 4 Miners

CINCINNATI, Ohio (*Patriot News Service*) — The U.S. Court of Appeals has upheld the sentencing of four destitute coal miners accused of trying to blow up a railroad bridge in eastern Kentucky in June, 1963. An appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is planned.

Bige Hensley, Herbert Stacy, Clayton Turner, and Charles Engle were arrested and convicted during the "roving picket" movement which swept the mountain region in the early 1960s.

Several others, including Berman Gibson, a spokesman for the movement, were freed at the trial which took place in Lexington, Ky., in 1964.

Leonard B. Boudin, Paul O'Dwyer, and I. Phillip Sipser, all of New York, have been volunteer attorneys for the miners. They are preparing a petition to the Supreme Court, which will be filed within the next month.

formia District Council of the ILWU voted to urge ILWU locals to support the mobilization.

In Seattle, the Spring Mobilization Committee is distributing leaflets to unionists. The leaflet says, "We are calling your attention to labor's role in Vietnam and how you, as an American worker, are affected. Here are some of the ways the war is hurting you: 1) The majority of young men drafted and sent to Vietnam are the very poor, the young workers, and the sons of working people; 2) Increased taxation to pay for the war, such as President Johnson's proposed hike in income taxes which is scheduled to go into effect next July. The cost for the war in Vietnam, for this year alone, is an estimated \$25 billion; 3) War inflation and the rising cost of living are undermining living standards; 4) President Johnson and the federal government are trying to enforce wage guidelines that fall far short of workers' needs; 5) Anti-labor injunctions and plans by the boss politicians to pass more anti-labor laws to further restrict the democratic right of workers to struggle for better wages and conditions."

The leaflet goes on to discuss how the corporations benefit from the war, discusses the war itself, and urges support to the Spring Mobilization.

## Hathaway Winds Up L. A. Race

LOS ANGELES — William Hathaway, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles Board of Education, wound up the final two weeks of his election campaign with speaking engagements nearly every night. Hathaway addressed university and high school students, teachers, and various political clubs across the city.

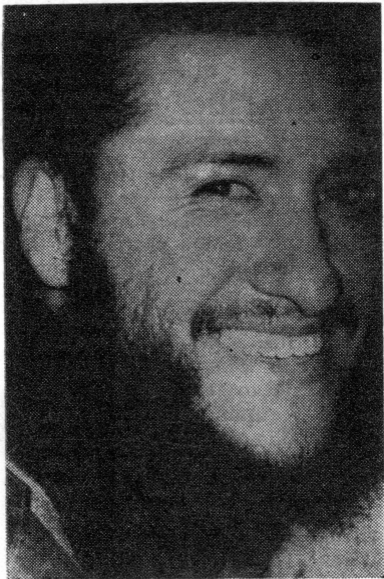
The campaign has been directed first and foremost against the Vietnam war and the influence of that war on young people. It is not only a question of youth being sent to fight and die in a war in the interest of big business; but the costs of the war divert money which should be spent on such things as education.

Hathaway has also written a series of six columns for the *Los Angeles Free Press*. These articles have presented the main outlines of the answers revolutionary socialists give to major problems facing youth. They have covered topics ranging from the black power movement to the question of independent political action against the ruling class.

In the final column of the series, published March 31, Hathaway laid particular stress on the importance of understanding the Democratic Party and understanding how to fight it. No matter who votes for it, he pointed out, the Democratic Party is controlled by the capitalist rulers who launched the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

If you want to oppose the war in Vietnam, Hathaway explained, you have to stop voting for the Democratic Party or any other capitalist party. A socialist vote registers a meaningful protest against the capitalist war.





**Hugo Blanco**