

Speech by Charles Sims Of Deacons for Defense

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LBJ Moves to Widen Southeast Asia War

By Dick Roberts

DEC. 21 — The decision of the Johnson administration to extend the Vietnam fighting into Cambodia announced in yesterday's papers serves warning that Washington may be willing to escalate the Vietnamese war into a conflict involving all of Southeast Asia and possibly including China.

Reporting this event from Saigon, Dec. 20, *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple Jr. stated, "The decisions of the United States to build more airfields in Thailand, to intensify bombing of Laos, and now to penetrate into Cambodia suggest that American officials are edging closer to a commitment to resolute confrontation of the enemy through Southeast Asia."

The "enemy" thus described is no longer simply the peasant of South Vietnam who has been struggling for over twenty years against foreign occupation; it is not only the so-called North Vietnamese "infiltrator" who until recently was held responsible for the revolution in South Vietnam; now it is the Southeast Asian people themselves.

"Harbor Communists"

Their crime? According to Washington they are "harboring communist aggressors," but the very facts surrounding this escalation show the fraudulence of the assertion. The Pentagon officials claim that they need to be able to press their attacks into Cambodia to prevent a repetition of the fiasco of the Iadrang River Valley battle last month. The problem, they say, is that U.S. troops couldn't follow "North Vietnamese" regiments into their "refuge" in Cambodia.

Anyone who would care to make

"We Shall Overcome"

"No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant; impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife." — Lyndon Johnson in a March 15, 1948 speech in the House of Representatives, as reported by Robert Scheer in the December issue of Ramparts magazine.

a cursory examination of the events leading to the Iadrang ambush, however, would be forced to question this story. The fact is, the Iadrang ambush did not occur at the closest point of the U.S. infantry advance towards Cambodia. On the contrary, it occurred about a week later, after the First Airborne Division had withdrawn from this area.

Not only this, but the real reasons for the retreat of the Airborne brigades leading to the Iadrang disaster, were that the GI's were new to Vietnam, that this was their first engagement, and that they were exhausted after three weeks in the field.

As for North Vietnamese infiltration into Cambodia, the *New York Times* definitively answered

this claim, Dec. 21. "Seymour Topping," the *Times* reports, "a *New York Times* correspondent, flew over the Vietnam border and across parts of Cambodia on an authorized inspection trip last October, but found little evidence to support reports of large-scale infiltration of Cambodia by North Vietnamese.

"In the northeast corner of Cambodia he viewed an airfield, described as a Vietcong air base in an American news agency report. He reported the field to be heavily overgrown and obviously unused for years. The correspondent inspected a highway on which, according to a published report, 40 trucks had been seen crossing the border en route to Vietcong areas in South Vietnam.

Road Blocked

"He said the road was in fact cut and impassable. A dispatch from Laos last Thursday concerning the Communist corridor through which North Vietnam was sending reinforcements to the Vietcong reported that 'infiltration can best be described as a seepage from various points in North Vietnam over a maze of alternate trails, roads, streams and ridge lines to many entry points on the South Vietnam border, some probably through the desolate northeast corner of Cambodia.'"

McNamara's explanation for bombing Cambodia is as phony as a nine dollar bill. It is the same explanation that was given for beginning the bombing of Laos which has now taken the form of B-52 saturation bombing, for beginning the bombing of roads and bridges in North Vietnam, which now includes villages, hospitals and the power stations near Hanoi and Hanoi.

THE MILITANT

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ASSAIL U.S. DOMINICAN ROLE. Dominican exiles in New York picket at Dominican Consulate Dec. 19 to protest new killing of Constitutionalists in the Dominican Republic. They place responsibility on United States.

Dominican Crisis Flares Up Again

By Fred Halstead

DEC. 21 — Once again the social crisis in the Dominican Republic, kept from resolution by the U.S. invasion, has erupted. On Dec. 19, a form of civil war again reappeared in the country's second largest city of Santiago de los Caballeros when some 350 provisional government troops controlled by the right wing military oligarchy attacked and unsuccessfully attempted to disarm some 200 soldiers who had fought on the side of the revolution last spring.

The current crisis began with a strike by some 56,000 government employees Dec. 14. They

struck against the refusal of the government to pay the full Christmas bonus, traditionally an important percentage of the yearly wage. Most of the strikers were sugar mill workers employed in enterprises operated by the government but formerly owned by the late tyrant Rafael Trujillo.

On Dec. 16 demonstrators took control of sections of downtown Santo Domingo and reportedly burned a U.S. army truck. More than 100 U.S. paratroopers were rushed into the area and tear gas was used. The U.S. troops were later withdrawn after being "heavily pelted with rocks and garbage," according to a Dec. 17

(Continued on Page 2)

William Epton Convicted on Frame-Up Charge

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 — As part of the attempts by state and city officials to frame up a scapegoat for the July, 1964 Harlem explosion, William Epton, vice president of the Progressive Labor Party, was convicted Dec. 20 of "conspiring to overthrow" and "advocating the overthrow" of the New York State government, and of "conspiring to riot."

Supreme Court Justice Arthur Markewich immediately rescinded Epton's \$10,000 bail and put the 33-year-old father of two in jail pending sentence Jan. 27, in spite of the approaching Christmas holidays. Epton faces a maximum of 12 years in jail and \$6,000 in fines. Epton's lawyer, Mrs. Elinor Piel, announced the case would be appealed.

Epton was originally indicted on four counts including "rioting." This count was dismissed during the trial, which began Nov. 22, on grounds that the prosecution had offered no proof that Epton had participated in the so-called "riots." What actually happened was several days of street fighting between ordinary Harlem resi-

dents and an army of helmeted police who attempted by gunfire and clubs to break up any gathering of black people.

The "riots" began in July, 1964 when police attacked a gathering outside the 23rd precinct in Harlem. The people had come there to present a petition from a rally sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, protesting the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by Police Lieut. Thomas R. Gilligan.

Epton had not been present at the rally or outside the station. He had spoken at a different street meeting earlier on behalf of six Harlem youths arrested on a murder charge. During the trial defense attorney Elinor Piel brought out in cross examination of a police witness that the Epton meeting was peaceful, that no one had been arrested there, and that Epton had a permit for the meeting.

In dismissing the "riot" charge, the judge said: "There is no proof beyond speculation that Epton was physically present at any time during riot episodes in the streets."

Epton was convicted on the counts of "advocacy" and "conspiracy." The key prosecution witness was a police detective and agent provocateur, Adolph W. Hart, who had been ordered to infiltrate the Progressive Labor group and testify against it.

The two counts of "advocating" and "conspiring" to overthrow the state government were based on an old "criminal anarchy" law passed in 1901. The last conviction under this law was obtained in 1919 during the Post World War I "red scare" hysteria against Benjamin Gitlow, then a member of the Communist Party.

SCEF Case

Early this year, the Southern Conference Educational Fund succeeded in halting harassment by Louisiana state officials under a similar law. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled the Louisiana state "subversion" law unconstitutional.

Such clearly unconstitutional state laws have been used in the South on several occasions, including a case against the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Commit-

tee in Virginia. The same principle is also involved in the Bloomington, Ind. students case now pending.

Commenting on the conviction of Epton, Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, denounced it as "a frame up aimed at freedom of speech and assembly." He urged all partisans of civil liberties to rally to Epton's defense.

When Epton's bail was rescinded by the judge, Sanford Katz, one of the defense attorney's urged reconsideration because "at this time of year certainly a father's place at home is highly important."

"The defendant is not a dangerous man," Katz continued. "He was convicted of something he said or wrote, not of anything he did. There's not a scintilla of evidence that he committed a dangerous act." The judge insisted Epton be sent immediately to jail on the grounds that the conviction "imports that the defendant is a dangerous man." This, in spite of the fact that Epton had been free on bail for over a year.

Our New Address

NEW YORK — As of Jan. 1 we will be located at a new address. Both our editorial and business offices will be located at 873 Broadway, at the corner of 18th St. Our new phone number is 533-6416. Our zip code number remains the same: New York 10003.

The National and City Offices of the Socialist Workers Party will be located at the same address. The new phone number of the SWP National Office is 982-5932. The City Office number is 982-6051. Because of the moving and holidays there will be no meeting of the Militant Labor Forum until Friday, Jan. 14. At that time Felix McGowan will speak on how his visit to Cuba affected him after ten years as a Catholic priest in Latin America.

By Alex Harte /

In its issues of Dec. 7-11, the *New York Times* simultaneously with the *London Evening Standard*, published a series of five articles by James Cameron, a British journalist, who visited North Vietnam from Oct. 29 to Nov. 24. Cameron's candid observations about the response of the North Vietnamese people to United States aggression in Vietnam are an important reinforcement to the literature of the antiwar movement.

Cameron stresses two aspects of the North Vietnamese people's reaction to the U. S. bombing which began last February. First of all he points to their determination to defend their country to the end; and secondly he emphasizes that their single objective is to get the U. S. forces out of Vietnam.

"You can call it what you like," he writes in the first article, "but it is a war, an enduring war and a special war, a dedicated and, within the limits of a workable society, a complete one . . ."

"What is quite clear in this lunar landscape of North Vietnam is that the people have a totally unshakable determination to win the war, on their terms — not to make an end to it, or find a way out of it, or 'conclude an agreement' about it. They have the extraordinary and rather impressive nerve to insist upon winning it.

"Victory, however, has a strict definition, which is the implementation of the Geneva Agreement of 1954, which requires a Vietnam united under popular elections and the elimination of all foreign troops from both the South and the North. To Hanoi, winning the war does not mean the crushing or destruction of United States forces, it means their departure. This they will achieve, they say, if it takes forever . . ."

Fighting to Grow

"The negotiations are over," they repeat, "the negotiations were concluded in 1954, at Geneva, by international signature. There is no more to say — except when they shall be made good."

Cameron talked to a number of people during his month-long visit. Among the most interesting conversations he reports is one with a lieutenant colonel whose name "is a delicate matter," Cameron states, "because he was head of liaison with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, elsewhere known as the Vietcong."

"The fighting in the South will inevitably grow fiercer and more bloody," the colonel told Cameron, "and I do not by any means reject the possibility of its escalating far more directly in the North. In a word, the war is going to get far worse. But Mr. McNamara has miscalculated in several important ways.

"It is argued," the colonel continued, "that for regular forces to cope with guerrillas requires a proportion of five to one. If you assess the Liberation Front as about 180,000, which is more or less correct at this moment, that would require the best part of a

A View of North Vietnam



DETERMINED FIGHTERS. Demonstration in Hanoi against U.S. aggression. People of North Vietnam are reported determined to resist attack without yielding.

million men . . .

"Furthermore, the guerrilla forces are increasing very fast. This is, of course, not difficult, as already most of the South has been liberated. On the accepted proportion, the Americans would soon need about two million men in the field, which is preposterous. This is not to take into account the difference of fighting spirit.

"Our people know what they are fighting for, which is simply their home land. The American

boys do not. I don't blame them; it must be extremely hard to die for a concept that just says 'anti-Communism,' especially when it must be obvious to the intelligent ones that by no means all the Liberation soldiers are Communist at all."

The North Vietnamese colonel then talked to Cameron about the change in the nature of fighting which has been apparent since the Pleime battle in late October. "In the new phase of the strug-

gle," the colonel stated, "we, that is to say the Liberation forces, are putting a strong emphasis on what we in our language call 'catch-and-grasp' — hand-to-hand fighting, you would say.

"It is fair to say that in this sort of thing the Americans can always be defeated — they dislike it, and they are untrained for it. It is intensely disagreeable, and you have to have a particularly good reason to be able to do it at all."

In his fourth article, Cameron

... Dominican Crisis Flares

(Continued from Page 1)

UPI dispatch. The U.S. command has been wary of involving U.S. troops in direct shooting clashes with the Dominican people, preferring to leave that to the Dominican provisional government and armed forces which are still controlled by the Trujillist military oligarchy.

The Christmas bonus strike itself was reportedly settled when the government announced major concessions — full bonuses to workers in the lower brackets, which accounts for most of them, and significant portions to the rest.

But the people had once again begun to take over downtown Santo Domingo. This is the area formerly under control of the constitutionalists — the popular forces which overthrew the military dictatorship last April and demanded a return to the constitution of 1963 which embodied democratic reforms. The U.S. invasion of April 28 prevented the constitution from being restored and saved the military oligarchy, which established a junta "government" under U.S. protection.

A dual power then existed until last September when the commander of the constitutionalist forces, Col. Francisco Caamaño signed an Act of Reconciliation which established the provisional government of Hector Garcia-Godoy. Since then, the U.S. — acting under the name of the Organization of American States — has been bending every effort to get the provisional government to complete the disarming of the Dominican people who had received guns during the April events.

Armed clashes have occurred before in Santo Domingo and elsewhere as the military oligarchy

— now acting as the army of the provisional government — attempted to seize arms from constitutionalist civilians. The fact that the people are not completely at the mercy of the military makes it difficult for the government and the oligarchy to re-impose the harsh conditions of labor and super-exploitation which existed under the dictatorship, and the strike by the government sugar workers is an example.

Another problem facing the U.S. in its attempts to disarm the people as a prelude to crushing the widespread revolutionary sentiment is the existence of some 1,000 soldiers who had sided with the constitutionalists and who have not yet been disarmed or re-integrated into the army controlled by the oligarchy. It was a group of these soldiers who were attacked in Santiago Dec. 19.

Sought Agreement

Provisional President Garcia-Godoy had been attempting to conclude an agreement between Caamaño and the Armed Forces Secretary Francisco Rivera, spokesman for the military oligarchy. According to this agreement, the constitutionalist soldiers would have been re-integrated into the army or retired and their leaders sent to diplomatic posts abroad. By this device, the U.S. hoped to break the military back of the popular movement since these soldiers had acted as training cadre and tactical leaders for the armed civilians.

The strike and demonstrations in Santo Domingo, however, occurred in the midst of negotiations for this deal and the military oligarchy apparently feared the constitutionalist soldiers might once again link up with the revolutionary civilians. On Dec. 19, some

200 of the constitutionalist soldiers had gathered in a Santiago hotel for a memorial gathering in honor of their comrades killed in the fighting last spring.

Reportedly a government soldier attempted to assassinate Col. Caamaño in a nearby cemetery where he was laying a wreath on a grave. Caamaño and his friends retreated to the hotel where his comrades were heavily armed. The government troops attacked the hotel using tanks but were repulsed. At least 11 persons were killed including Juan Lora Fernandez, a constitutionalist leader, and nine government soldiers. U.S. Paratroopers were sent to Santiago but reportedly the battle was over when they arrived.

News of the battle touched off new demonstrations in Santo Domingo and a general strike was threatened by union leaders unless the armed forces minister and several other leaders of the military oligarchy were removed. Business was virtually halted in the capital as bands of young civilians patrolled the downtown streets Dec. 20. Government police caught in the area were disarmed. But the U.S. troops remained camped in several areas of the city ready to intervene once again to save the Trujillist oligarchy from the people.

Last fall, when the Reconciliation Act was being negotiated, a manifesto was published signed by most trade unions in the country and by several political groups, including the June 14 Movement. It declared that regardless of the outcome of the negotiations, "while there are Yankee troops in our territory and the American monopolistic interests despoil us there will be neither democracy nor social progress in our country."

describes a visit to "fighting areas" — that is to the areas which have been under constant U. S. bombardment. "Through the daylight hours," Cameron writes, "nothing moves on the roads of North Vietnam, not a car nor a truck; it must look from the air as though the country had no wheeled transport at all . . ."

"At dusk the roads become alive. The engines are started and the convoys grind away through the darkness behind the pinpoint of masked headlights. There are miles of them, heavy Soviet-built trucks, anti-aircraft batteries, all deeply buried under piles of branches and leaves; processions of huge green haystacks."

Cameron was taken to the central province of Thanhhoa. "The great showplace of Thanhhoa," he describes, "is the famous Hamking Bridge. It has been attacked more than a hundred times, by at least a thousand aircraft; it is scarred and pitted and twisted and the area around is a terrible mess, but the bridge still carries the road and the railroad . . ."

Clinic Attacked

"In the neighborhood is the only bombed hospital I saw, a tuberculosis clinic that had taken a loose stick of bombs on both sides. It was badly blasted and now deserted . . ."

"At the village of Nhangang, hard by the bridge, I was presented to Miss Nguyen Thi Hang, who is a Labor Hero and a People's Hero, and is clearly adjusted to a measure of local celebrity as the nation's resistance pin-up. She once led a delegation to Moscow.

"She is a pert, trim young woman in her late twenties, dressed in the regulation white blouse and broad black trousers. She is pretty, as some 99 percent of all Vietnamese girls are pretty . . . She commands the women's corps of the Nhangang militia, and she obligingly put them through the paces for me — a mock alert, a covey of most nubile little girls popping into foxholes and pointing their rifles at the sky, with the commander gesturing upward, exactly as in her pictures.

"It all seemed so palpably make-believe — this vital bridge defended by a chorus of sweet little girls — I felt awkward and rueful. And then, in the middle of the performance, as I walked back from the river to the village — the alarm went in all truth, and the war game was real after all, in the sighing howl of the jets overhead, the thud of ack-ack, and for all I know, for I could not be sure, a tiny volley from the young ladies in foxholes."

Felt Outraged

Cameron describes his own reactions to the bombing airplanes. "What supervened, I think, was not the emotion of fear (for I was in no particular danger) nor high-minded horror. It was somehow an outrage against civility. What an impertinence, one felt, what arrogance, what an offense against manners. These people in North Vietnam are agreeable shy people and very poor. Will this sort of thing, the bombing, blow Communism out of their heads?"

On this point, Cameron's answer is unequivocal: "One thing is sure, if the bombing of North Vietnam is designed either to terrorize the people into submission or to crush their economy into ruin, its effect on both counts is precisely the reverse. However obscure and elusive many things here may be, that fact is manifestly, tangibly obvious at every turn.

"So far from terrorizing the people, the bombings have stimulated and consolidated them. By the nature of the attacks so far, civilian casualties have not been very great, but they have been great enough to provide the Government with the most totally unchallengeable propaganda it could ever have dreamed of . . ."

"From the moment the United States dropped the first bomb on North Vietnam, it welded the nation together unshakably."

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

LOS ANGELES

JOIN THE IN CROWD. Celebrate 7th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution with the Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 31, New Year's Eve, 1702 E. 4th St. (4th St. exit Santa Ana Fwy.). Guitarists, vocalists, pianists, dancing, buffet, refreshments. Door donation. For reservations call AN 9-4953.

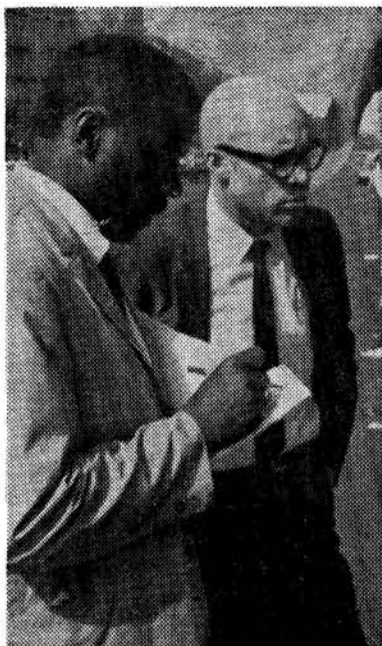
TWIN CITIES

CELEBRATE NEW YEAR'S EVE. Music, smorgasbord and refreshments. The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson invites you to a New Year's Eve party at 1819 16th Ave. South, Minn. Fri., Dec. 31, 9 p.m.

Speech by Clifton DeBerry

Lessons of Montgomery Boycott

The following talk was delivered by Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York in last fall's election, at the New York Militant Labor Forum on Dec. 11. The occasion was the tenth anniversary of the Montgomery Bus boycott. The forum that night paid tribute to E. D. Nixon, the principle leader and organizer of the boycott. Mr. and Mrs. Nixon were guests of honor.



Clifton DeBerry interviewed by Harlem newsman.

When we speak of the present Freedom Now movement, we usually trace back its origin to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on the segregation of schools, which was the high point of legal struggle. The ruling was an admission that segregation of schools is unconstitutional, and it offered a lot of hope to the Negro people throughout this land.

Well, after one year, this hope was recognized as just another gimmick, another bit of tokenism and another promise. And just a year after the ruling a young Negro from Chicago [Emmet Till] visiting his relatives was murdered in Mississippi. In their trial, like many such trials today, his admitted kidnapers and murderers went scot free.

One aspect of the new Freedom Now movement has been mass action, the intervention of masses of Negroes into the struggle. This began with the Montgomery bus boy-

say that for many reasons. First, it shattered the myth which has been drilled into the minds of Negroes, the belief that Negroes always had to be led by someone else, that they were incapable of organizing themselves and leading themselves. The bus boycott was a verification in life of the falseness of this idea. It was Negro led and Negro controlled.

It was a model for struggle in another way. For the first time since the Reconstruction period an entire Negro community stood as one for over a year. They had one organization, one leadership and one goal.

The boycott united the entire community. It drew in the ministers and enabled them to participate without violating any of their religious principles, and utilized the talents of the ministers to do some of the necessary things for the movement, such as raising money.

Another Side

There was another side to this movement, the side that very little is told about. What I am talking about is the young men, the ex-G.I.'s, who repaired the cars, who repaired the station wagons, who manned the posts and were responsible for transporting Negroes from one part of the city to the other. The real workmen, the real participants, who also recognized the need to protect their leaders. They recognized the need for self defense.

So we see in the Montgomery struggle patterns that exist in the movement today, although in a different form. Where these two tactics, nonviolence and self defense, were utilized to draw together and unite the community in Montgomery, Alabama, they tend to divide the movement today. But this is being changed, being overcome, by young militants. They recognize that participating in the struggle in the South is not like demonstrating in front of the UN in New York City.

We see here a pattern which began in Montgomery back in 1955, which preceded Robert Williams and his movement for self defense, which preceded the movement for self defense as projected by the late Malcolm X. And we see it being picked up and carried out today by a new organization [the Deacons for Defense and Justice], a leader of which is

cott in 1955. In the boycott we saw the combination of both legal action and mass action. For example, when spokesmen for the bus boycott movement were arrested, the Negroes filled the jail and stood around outside to make sure they received some justice.

The Montgomery bus boycott stands as a model for struggle. I



FOUGHT JIM CROW. A group of leaders of the historic Montgomery bus boycott.

scheduled to speak here next week.

The Montgomery bus boycott demonstrated something else. With the correct kind of leadership the Negro community can be organized. It can be united. But it requires a leadership that is a little different from the present day leadership.

I don't mean to berate the job done by any of the leaders—I mean it in the sense of obtaining victory. What is required is a leadership which understands the needs of the people in the Negro community; a leadership which understands when is the time to act and how to act; a leadership which is able to utilize all the talents of the various strata of the community for the benefit of the community as a whole to further the struggle of the Negro people; a leadership which places the needs and goals of the struggle above its own recognition.

This is the kind of leadership which built the Montgomery bus boycott movement. This leadership demonstrated its worth in life, which is the acid test of leadership. This is the kind of leader we are talking about when we talk of E. D. Nixon.

I think it's unfortunate that in Montgomery where a celebration is taking place on the tenth anniversary of the bus boycott, they are not honoring the real leader of that movement. But we are fortunate in being able to pay tribute to this historic struggle and to its leader. The contributions made and the lessons to be learned from the Montgomery bus boycott will be invaluable to the young freedom fighters coming on the scene today.

And we will make it our task and our responsibility to see that this great heritage is carried on to the future freedom fighters.

The American Way of Life

IBM Meets Subversive Challenge

Some people feel there is a danger of corporations becoming too big; that they lose their personal quality and somehow lose sight of cherished American ideals. But there's no cause for alarm if the International Business Machine Corporation is any example.

Just before Christmas a group of students at Immaculate Heart College, a Roman Catholic girls school in Los Angeles, found out that nobody is going to sneak anything even smacking of subversion past the men who are responsible for the conduct of affairs at IBM.

Under the direction of their art instructor, Sister Mary Corita, an established artist, the girls had prepared an avant-garde Christmas exhibit for the IBM Product Display Center in New York.

The exhibit was clearly un-American and IBM promptly rang the curtain down. The whole display

was devoted to that well known Commie theme, "Peace on Earth."

Two students who came to New York to set up the exhibit were informed it wasn't "Christmas-y" enough. And besides—it "might be interpreted as some sort of demonstration about Vietnam."

Robert Monahan, IBM man in charge of exhibits, explained what it was all about. "A lot of people," he said, "both inside and outside the company didn't see the connection between this 'Peace on Earth' exhibit and Christmas."

He explained the exhibit was "quite far out and there were no creches or Santa Clauses or holly—the sort of thing people associate with Christmas."

No Placards

IBM suggested some changes. To begin with, they got rid of anything that looked like a placard. Placards are, of course, what Vietnams carry on their marches. One placard-like panel that came tumbling down was a red, white and blue one with a white star that had the word spelled right out on it—"Peace."

A number of quotations from well-known members of the international communist conspiracy were quickly blue-pencilled. These included Pope Paul's sinister advice to the UN, "Never, never again, war" and President Kennedy's slyly defeatist formula: "The greatest prayer of men is not for victory but peace."

But even the most alert Americans are not totally immune to the invidious poison of the peace-niks. IBM let one slogan slip by which brazenly declared "Peace on Earth." But they managed to amend it. Under it they pasted: "To men of good will."

That's pretty shrewd. Everyone knows that outside of us Americans there aren't any men of good will.

Herman Chauka

TV Cancels Mort Sahl

NEW YORK — Comedian Mort Sahl had been scheduled to do 26 shows for TV station WNEW, but after the first two, the station management cancelled the series. A spokesman for the station said "Mort Sahl breached his agreement with us and we have terminated his contract," but the station official would not explain the alleged violation.

But there remains a strong impression that the controversial nature of the show had something to do with the station's action. The new show was a two hour discussion program. For an hour Sahl interviewed the authors of the new book, *Invitation to an Inquiry*, Walter and Miriam Schneir.

The Schneirs spent five years working on this book, which documents the FBI frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and Morton Sobell, as the "spies" who gave the "secret" of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. Sahl discussed his own encounters with the FBI. Were the facts the Schneirs are able to document just too much for TV station WNEW?

Walter Schneir is scheduled to speak at the Militant Labor Forum on Jan. 21 about the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

HOLIDAY BOOK LIST



BOOKS ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

- Malcolm X Speaks, A collection of speeches, statements, letters, interviews. Edited by G. Breitman. \$5.95 cloth
- The Autobiography of Malcolm X. \$7.50 cloth
- The World and Africa, W. E. B. DuBois. \$1.95 paper
- The African Slave Trade, Basil Davidson. \$2.45 paper
- Black Moses: A Story of Marcus Garvey, E. Cronin. \$1.95 paper
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LEON TROTSKY

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- Invitation To An Inquest. \$4.00 cloth
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CUBA, VIETNAM AND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

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- Inside the Cuban Revolution, Adolfo Gilly. \$1.00 paper.
- Cuba: Anatomy of A Revolution, Huberman and Sweezy. \$1.75 paper.
- Guerrilla and Counter-Guerrilla Warfare, Pomeroy. \$.95 paper.
- The Wretched of the Earth, Franz Fanon. \$5.00 cloth.
- The War of the Flea, Robert Faber. \$4.95 cloth.
- Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War, W. Burdett. \$1.95 paper
- How the U.S. Got Into Vietnam, Scheer. \$.75 paper.

OTHERS

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Vol. 29 - No. 47 345 Monday, December 27, 1965

New Blow at Freedom of Press

Now that it has made the record that it is also against the right wing with its ever-so-gentle probe of the Klan, HUAC is back at its old stand of hounding left-wing groups.

This time it is engaged in an ominous attack on the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press. Last week HUAC seized the bank records of the committee which handles the finances for *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party. The records, or copies of them, were turned over to the witchhunting committee by the bank itself. *The Worker* was notified of this action after the fact by the bank.

It is generally believed that this is the first time that the witch hunters have made such a move and the legality of it remains open to test. Previously the committee has sought to subpoena the records of organizations from their officials, and in most cases were balked from doing so. In at least one instance, however, an official was jailed for contempt for refusing to turn over the records of his organization.

In this case, while HUAC may not be able to point to any legal precedent, it does have behind it the moral weight of an order issued by "freedom-loving" Lyndon Johnson last April. The order instructed the Treasury Department to turn over to HUAC any income tax returns of individuals it requested.

The sole legal justification for the existence of HUAC is that its investigations are supposed to lead to the enactment of legislation. Yet, outside of provisions of the unconstitutional Communist Control Act, it does not have a single law to point to in its 27-year history. It is quite safe to predict that no new legislation will result from the seizing of *The Worker* bank records. But the action assuredly strikes a new blow at the freedom of the press.

Militant-Young Socialist Campaign For New Subscriptions Extended

At the request of several areas, we are extending the deadline for our subscription drive. We had originally set a target date of Dec. 15 to secure 1,825 new readers for *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*. As of that date we had obtained the figure shown in the scoreboard below, 1,245.

This is an impressive figure, but our supporters feel that with extra time most of them can achieve the full quotas that they had set for themselves at the beginning of the drive. A few may find, however, that even with the extension their original estimate was a bit too ambitious.

Our pace-setter, percentage-wise, has been Madison which had gone 40 percent over its quota by the target date.

Also in line for a special salute is Los Angeles which met and exceeded its quota by the target date. We hope they won't let up and will use the extra month to roll up an even more impressive score.

San Francisco came within a

hair of meeting its quota on time, missing by but one subscription. We're sure they will be well over the top by Jan. 15.

We're glad to see that Berkeley got going in the past several weeks. While they still have a good way to go, their score looks more respectable than it had.

Twin Cities made a healthy increase in its score and we're sure that's a good omen for the final reckoning.

Chicago boosted its total by better than 50 percent in the past two weeks. If it keeps going at that rate it should meet its quota.

New York, too, can meet its quota if it keeps plugging away. Ann Arbor and Cleveland look as though they should meet their goal without any special difficulty.

We have now received 63 at-large subscriptions by mail. If you are presently a non-subscribing new reader, you can help us increase that figure by clipping the king-sized coupon on page seven and sending it in with \$1. It's the best bargain around.

SCOREBOARD Young Socialist - Militant Sub Drive

City	Accepted Quota	Subs Received
Ann Arbor	75	58
Berkeley	175	85
Boston	250	183
Chicago	225	125
Cleveland	75	51
Denver	25	1
Detroit	125	82
Los Angeles	100	106
Philadelphia	75	65
Madison	25	40
New York — downtown	200	132
New York — uptown	125	79
San Francisco	75	74
San Jose	25	9
Seattle	25	9
Twin Cities	200	72
Washington, D. C.	25	11
At Large		63
TOTALS	1,825	1,245

Malcolm X Speaks

Our first four excerpts from this book (from a Detroit speech in November 1963) were representative of Malcolm X's thinking shortly before he left the Black Muslims. The next five installments (from a Cleveland speech in April, 1964) were typical of the positions he took in the first few weeks after he left the Black Muslims and began to grapple with the problems of building a new movement. Our remaining installments will all come from the last three months of his life, after two trips to Africa had helped him to reach new and more radical conclusions on racial, social and political questions.

The following installment is from a speech given at a public rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem on Dec. 13, 1964. The eyes of the world were at that time on the U. S. government's intervention in the civil war in the Congo. In New York, among delegates to the United Nations general assembly who were to discuss and denounce that intervention, were Mohammed Babu of Tanzania and Che Guevara of Cuba. Babu was scheduled to be the guest speaker at the OAAU rally, but arrived very late. Malcolm, as chairman, thus spoke much longer than he had intended.

Installment 10

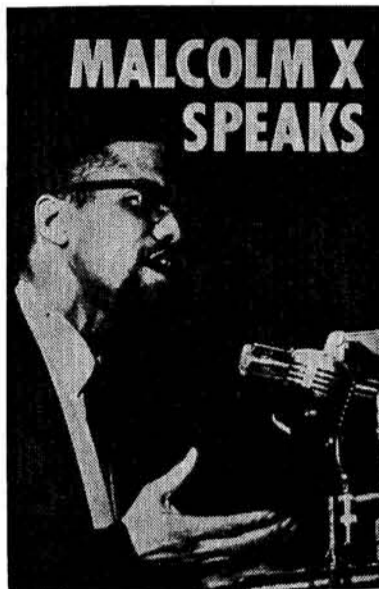
THE PRESS AND ITS IMAGES

Brothers and sisters: We're very happy to see so many of you out on such a foggy night. We hope that we haven't kept you too long, but a very good friend of mine, and a very good friend of yours, is on his way here and I didn't want to have too much to say in front of him. He's a person whose actions in the past have actually spoken for themselves. He's a master of revolution. We're living in a revolutionary world and in a revolutionary age, but you and I have never met a real dyed-in-the-wool black revolutionary before. So tonight we want to unveil one.

Unbiased View

Before our visitor gets here, I think it's important to show the importance of keeping an open mind. You'll be surprised how fast, how easy it is for someone to steal your and my mind. You don't think so? We never like to think in terms of being dumb enough to let someone put something over on us in a very deceitful and tricky way. But you and I are living in a very deceitful and tricky society, in a very deceitful and tricky country, which has a very deceitful and tricky government. All of them in it aren't tricky and deceitful, but most of them are. And any time you have a government in which most of them are deceitful and tricky, you have to be on guard at all times. You have to know how they work this deceit and how they work these tricks. Otherwise you'll find yourself in a bind.

One of the best ways to safeguard yourself from being deceived is always to form the habit of looking at things for yourself, listening to things for yourself, thinking for yourself, before you try and come to any judgment. Never base your impression of someone on what someone else has said. Or upon what someone else has written. Or upon what you read about someone that somebody else wrote. Never base your judgment on things like that. Especially in this kind of country and in this kind of society which has mastered the art of very deceitfully painting people whom they don't like in an image that they know you won't like. So you end up hating your friends and loving their enemies.



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

An example: I was flying from Algiers to Geneva about three or four weeks ago, and seated beside me on the airplane were a couple of Americans, both white, one a male and the other a female. One was an interpreter who worked in Geneva for the United Nations, the other was a girl who worked in one of the embassies in some part of Algeria. We conversed for about forty or forty-five minutes and then the lady, who had been looking at my briefcase [which bore the initials "MX"], said, "May I ask you a personal question?" And I said, "Yes." Because they always do anyway.

She said, "What kind of last name do you have that begins with X?" I said, "That's it, X." So she said, "X?" "Yes." "Well, what is your first name?" I said, "Malcolm." So she waited for about ten minutes and then she said, "You're not Malcolm X." And I said, "Yes, I'm Malcolm X. Why, what's the matter?" And she said, "Well, you're not what I was looking for."

Sought Image

What she was looking for was what the newspapers, the press, had created. She was looking for the image that the press had created. Somebody with some horns, you know, about to kill all the white people — as if he could kill all of them, or as if he shouldn't. She was looking for someone who was a rabble-rouser, who couldn't even converse with people with blue eyes, you know, someone who was irrational, and things of that sort.

I take time to point this out, because it shows how skillfully someone can take a newspaper and build an image of someone so that before you even meet them, you'll run. You don't even want to hear what they have to say, you don't even know them, all you know is what the press has had to say, and the press is white. And when I say the press is white, I mean it is white. And it's dangerous.

The FBI can feed information to the press to make your neighbor think you're something subversive. The FBI — they do it very skillfully, they maneuver the press on a national scale; and the CIA maneuvers the press on an international scale. They do all their dirt with the press. They take the newspapers and make the newspapers blow you and me up as if all of us are criminals, all of us are racists, all of us are drug addicts, or all of us are rioting. This is how they do it. When you explode legitimately against the

injustices that have been heaped upon you, they use the press to make it look like you're a vandal. If you were a vandal, you have a right to be a vandal.

They master this imagery, this image-making. They give you the image of an extremist, and from then on anything you do is extreme. You can pull a baby out of the water and save it from drowning — you're still an extremist, because they projected this image of you. They can create an image of you as a subversive and you can go out and die fighting for the United States — you're still subversive, because the press has made you a subversive.

They can paint the image of you as someone irresponsible, and you can come up with the best program that will save the black man from the oppression of the white man and — When I say oppression, that's where oppression comes from, the white man. There are some oppressive black people, but they're only doing what the white man has taught them.

When I say that, I'm not blanketly condemning all whites. All of them don't oppress. All of them aren't in a position to. But most of them are, and most of them do. The press is so powerful in its image-making role, it can make a criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal. This is the press, an irresponsible press. It will make the criminal look like he's the victim and make the victim look like he's the criminal. If you aren't careful, the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing.

Press Distortion

A good example of what the press can do with its images is the Congo, the area of Africa that our guest, that's on his way, is going to talk to us about tonight. Right now, in the Congo, defenseless villages are being bombed, black women and children and babies are being blown to bits by airplanes. Where do these airplanes come from? The United States, the U-n-i-t-e-d S-t-a-t-e-s. Yes, and you won't write that. You won't write that American planes are blowing the flesh from the bodies of black women and black babies and black men.

Why? Because they're American planes. As long as they're American planes, that's humanitarian. As long as they're being piloted by anti-Castro Cubans, that makes it all right. Because Castro's a villain, and anybody who's against him, whatever they do, that's humanitarian. You see how tricky they are? American planes, anti-Castro pilots, dropping bombs on African villages that have no defense against bombs, and blowing black women to bits.

When you drop a bomb, you don't look to see where it explodes. They're doing the same thing as when they dropped it on the Japanese at Hiroshima. They don't even think about dropping it on Congolese. And you, running around here getting all upset because a few white hostages die, you're out of your minds, out of your minds. They take the press with their ability to control you with image-making, and they make mass murder, cold-blooded murder, look like a humanitarian project. All these thousands of black people dying, butchered, and you have no compassion in your hearts whatsoever for them, because the victim has been made to look like he's the criminal and the criminal has been made to look like he's the victim.

NEXT WEEK: The Press and the Congo

SPEECH BY CHARLES SIMS

The Bogalusa Deacons

The following is the text of a speech delivered by Charles Sims, President of the Bogalusa Chapter of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, at a meeting of the New York Militant Labor Forum on Dec. 17.

So you won't be disappointed, I'll tell you in front, I'm not a speaker, I'm a fighter.

At this time I would like to tip my hat — even though I'm not wearing one — to Mr. Nixon. [E. D. Nixon, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, was in the audience].

I would like to tell you why and when the Deacons were organized, what role we had to play, what role we intend to play, and how long. After that, I'm open to answer any question that you have. I'll answer the ones I think have any bearing on the organization.

In January — January 28, 1965 — the people of Bogalusa, a little town right on the state line of Mississippi, the stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan, decided to test the Civil Rights Act in public accommodations.

In doing so, the Uncle Tom leaders and the city officials decided to give them a good day of testing. All the cameramen from all the TV stations were in Bogalusa, and we had a peaceful day of testing so that they could go back to the old way of life that they're used to.

Among these people were a few who did not like the idea. But we didn't even kick about it. We let them do their day of testing. And the next day we went and tested everything they had tested the day before and we were refused everywhere they were served.

Asked To Leave

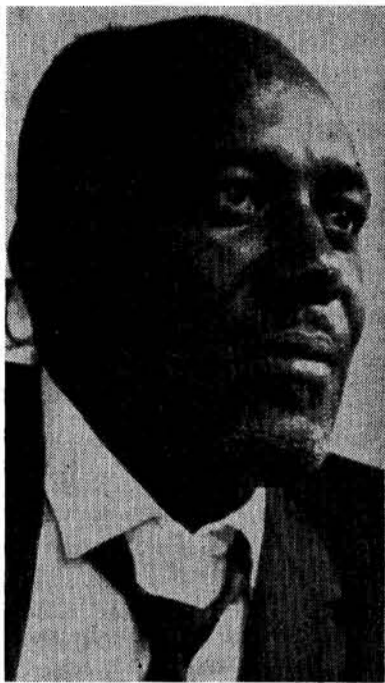
Our Uncle Tom leaders decided at this time to ask CORE to leave. The leader of the organization known as the Bogalusa Voters League was also superintendent of an insurance company that I was working for. And I told him: If you ask CORE out, we're going to ask you out.

He didn't believe me. They asked CORE out. That night we got rid of all the leaders that we had, reorganized the people and asked CORE back.

Two days later, we had two civil rights workers in Bogalusa, Steve Miller, a 19-year-old white youth from California, and an ex-college professor, William Yates from Boston, Mass.

These men were attacked by six Klansmen, badly beaten. That night we had a strange experience. The chief of police and the assistant chief and the chief deputy went to the vice president's home and told him to put these people [the civil rights workers] out because a mob was forming to come and take them.

The vice president of the Bogalusa Voters League, who is also a member of the Deacons, asked for police protection and the chief told him, "We can't give you any."



Charles Sims

Well, I got sick. I acted like it was my house. I said, "Alright, chief, you've been a good dog. You brought a bone, take one back. Go back and tell them, come take these men. We're going to pile them up like cross sides."

We called a group of men together that night and we guarded these people all night, because we did not want a Philadelphia, Miss., in Bogalusa.

The next day we had a meeting. We found out that we did not have police protection for the Negro people in Bogalusa, that the police were "for white only."

We found out that the Ku Klux Klan had penetrated the police department. The prosecuting attorney is a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

We decided to organize an organization to protect the Negro people and the civil rights workers in that area. We organized an organization and named it the Deacons. But that wasn't good enough. We had to build an organization not only for the people in Bogalusa to respect, but to gain respect from people all over the world.

We had to let the power structure, which was being bossed by the Ku Klux Klan, know that a brand new Negro was born—one that would not stand to be pushed around for a hundred years like he had pushed our forebears.

We didn't ask them to do anything that the law of the land said they shouldn't do. We only asked for the things that were rightfully ours.

We wanted the right to demonstrate. We wanted the right to picket. We wanted the right to march. We wanted the right to let anyone come into our neighborhood, live in our houses, if we saw fit for them to stay there, regardless of their color. These things we demand.

Later on, in March, we had a

carload of men who decided to test the power and the wits of the Deacons. They didn't believe that we meant business.

At this time we had eight white girls from the University of Kansas, and four men working in the Bogalusa area. In the South, when a white person tries to help the underprivileged colored, they call them "white trash."

So these men decided they were going out trash-hauling that night. But they didn't know that we had sworn to stop them from hauling trash.

They rode and we followed. They fired two rounds into the president's home. We fired 50. We let him know that we would not be pushed around anymore.

We let him know that everywhere the civil rights workers went, he might not see them, he might not know who the Deacons might be, but somewhere close to him we were there.

We meant that we would not lose people in Bogalusa like we lost in Alabama. We meant that we were not going to let them tell us who to let come into our homes, that we own; who we should walk the street with, that we pay taxes for.

So we had a peaceful demonstration. As a matter of fact it was a march. About 500, maybe more, bystanders started heckling the people in the march, and let a young girl get hurt, a white nurse.

Driver Attacked

Well anyway, our car that was trailing the march, they were trying to put the girl in it and the driver was attacked. Now this man still doesn't believe that we mean business. When he attacked the driver, the man riding with the driver tried to knock him loose.

Then the man had to recognize one thing. He either had to let loose or be dead. And I can tell you one thing. This man is not dead, this man is very much alive.

The Ku Klux Klan held a rally in the city of Bogalusa. This rally was held on the Mayor's property. The next day, the vice president and myself went and visited the mayor. He denied he owned the land that we know he does. So we just told him: The commissioners have offered a \$500 reward for anyone caught wearing a hood. The next time the Ku Klux Klan has a rally in the city of Bogalusa and the man who strikes the match to light the flaming cross—you can start paying off. We're going to kill him.

No More Rallies

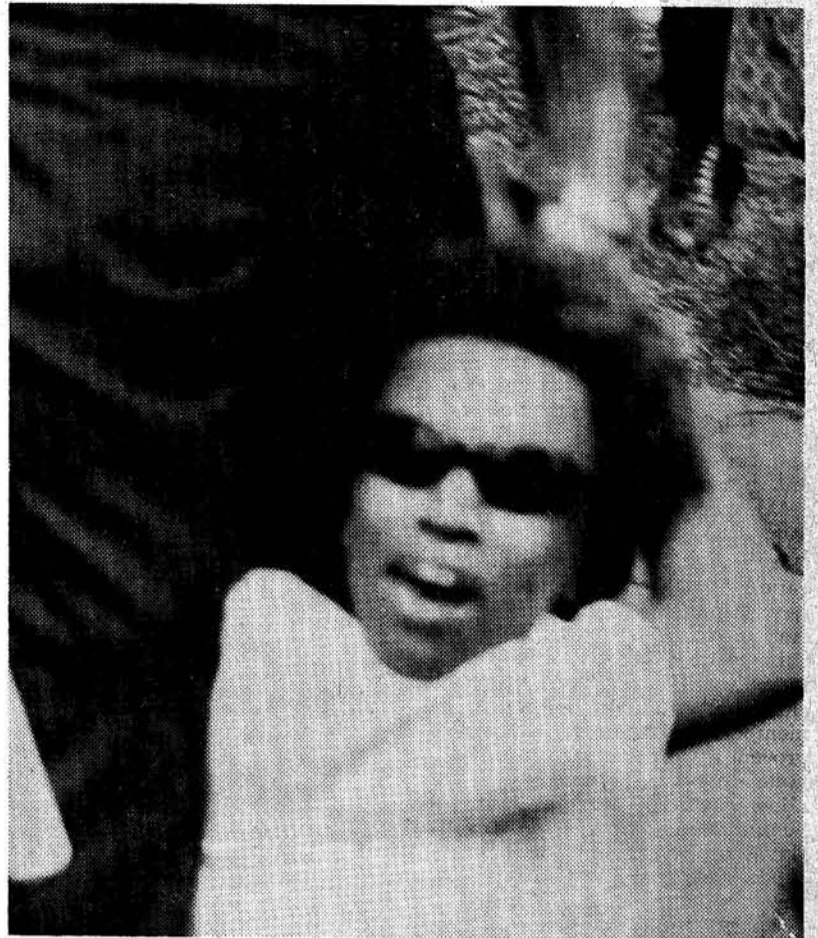
We meant that we were not going to have any more rallies held in the city limits of Bogalusa by the Ku Klux Klan. We're not going to allow the Ku Klux Klan, or no other hoodlums, to ride through the Negro neighborhood, whip people when they get ready, do anything that they want. We're not going to have that. When the sun falls in the west, he better be riding because he doesn't have any business in our neighborhood.

I can truthfully say today that we are able to go downtown, and picket downtown merchants. We are able to have marches in Bogalusa where we don't have to have 350 state policemen, plus the sheriff's department, plus the city police department. We can march without them.

We can march without them because somewhere, maybe in the march, maybe on the corner, but somewhere, they know that the Deacons can be found.

They also know that we have a group of dedicated men—men who have dedicated their lives to the rights of the people in that community.

Now, it is hard to be a Deacon. It's very hard. A lot of people want to say that the Deacons are just the opposite of the Ku Klux



POLICE ROLE. Mississippi cop drags off civil rights demonstrators. Deacons for Defense and Justice have grown in South with the realization that rights fighters need their own protection.

Klan. Well, maybe so. But I don't think so. The Deacons are a bunch of people, citizens in the city of Bogalusa, that have made up their minds to protect their families, their property, and their people at all costs.

To be a Deacon, you cannot fire on a man unless you've been attacked. And that's a hard job—to wait for someone to attack you before you can fight back. That's the rule of our organization and we do not have any trouble with the people abiding by the rules, because they know what we are fighting for.

I have been asked, how do you keep discipline in the organization? It is easy to have discipline in an organization when you have a bunch of dedicated men who know what they're fighting for and believe in what they're fighting for.

Every Means

You do not have to preach to the men. A man who wants to be free will take every necessary means possible in order to achieve his freedom.

When I speak of the word Deacon, it makes me feel good all over. It makes me feel good to know that I am part of an organization that wants to stand up and be counted as men.

That reminds me of a little story—well, not a story really—a chapter that I read in the book of Daniel about three men. The Pharaoh took these men in and gave them all the riches in the world. When he thought the time was right he called them out of the multitude and he blew a horn for them to worship his god. These three men wouldn't bow down. They would not bow down because they did not believe in worshipping his gods. The same way that we do not believe in white supremacy.

Still Refused

They carried them back, figured they didn't keep them long enough, brought them out again. They still refused. After they refused the second time, they threatened them with the punishment of fire. That didn't make any difference because they had made up their minds not to worship any other gods, just like the Deacons have made up their minds to let no one push them around. They were placed in the furnace of fire. I have been in the furnace of fire all my natural life, trying to live in the South.

When the pumps whipped heat

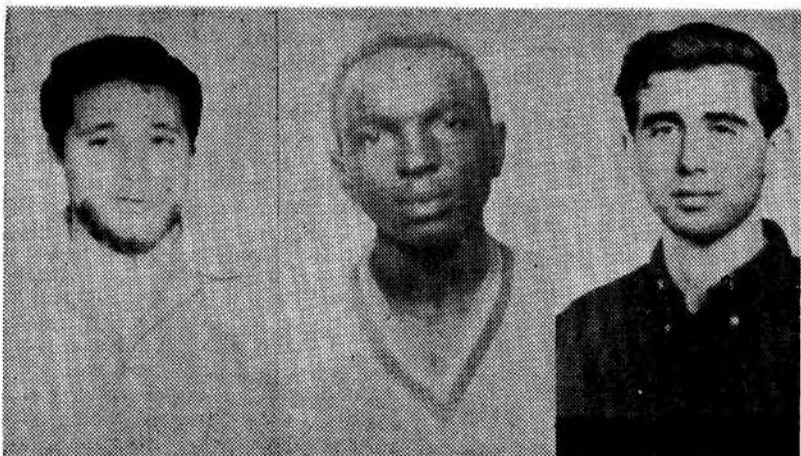
into flame instead of seeing the men burn up alive, they were shouting and having a good time.

When the white man in the South sees the Deacons walking up and down the streets laughing, working, staying up by day, working by night and no one complains—it worries them. He sees the fact that we are having a good time. And I want you to know that we are having a good time.

I fought in World War II, for my country, against people I knew nothing about. Now I am fighting for my rights as a man in my home town against people I have known all my life.

How long will we fight? That's hard to say. But this, ladies and gentlemen, I'll leave you with: We will fight just as long as is necessary.

Every time we get a leader something happens to him. So we'll change that. Whenever they kill our leader, they set us back ten, twenty more years. Well, killing our leader today, you haven't done anything but erase one man. We can replace him with two or three. We're training our people now to stand up and be counted like the three men I was speaking about in the furnace of fire. And that was Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego.



NO MORE OF THIS. Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, the three martyred civil rights workers murdered in Philadelphia, Miss. Deacons for Defense are determined to prevent new Philadelphias.

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WHEN RED AND BLACK FOUGHT THE WHITES (II)

Wildcat: Indomitable Freedom Fighter

By George Lavan

Any illusion in 1837 that the U.S. army's treacherous capture of Osceola, the outstanding Seminole chief, would end the bitter war in Florida was quickly dispelled. The Indians and their black allies—variously called "maroons," "exiles of Florida" or "Seminole Negroes"—continued the struggle and produced many leaders, red and black, as remarkable as Osceola.

The most notable of these was Coacoochee or Wildcat, as he was called in the newspapers of the day. Like Osceola he was a warrior who had risen to a leadership position because of his militancy which resulted from his close ties with the tribe's Negro members and allies. Since the U.S. procedures for removing the Seminoles to what is now Oklahoma allowed slaveowners to claim the Seminole Negroes as their escaped slaves or descendants of their escaped slaves, Wildcat bitterly opposed removal to the West.

Along with Osceola, Wildcat had been tricked into approaching a U.S. fort under a flag of truce for peace talks. The chiefs and their men had then been seized and imprisoned in an old Spanish fort in Saint Augustine. The dungeon in which Wildcat and his men were incarcerated happened to have a small air hole near the ceiling. By remarkable feats of gymnastics the Indian prisoners were able to reach the hole and confirm Wildcat's guess that a man could get his head through it. They then calculated when the next moonless night would occur and laid their plans. By fasting and dosing themselves with herb medicine they made themselves as thin as possible and on the awaited night, after the guard at the dungeon floor had fallen asleep, they made a sensational escape.

Lacked Resources

But though Wildcat and the leaders of the other Seminole bands, both red and black, carried on the fight with renewed ferocity, they lacked adequate resources for a sustained war. They not only had to fight a well-equipped and numerically superior foe, but at the same time had to farm to feed their families. They were forced to abandon their tilled fields and retire deeper and deeper into forests and swamps. But even there their new villages were often found and the crops destroyed by U.S. troops.

The U.S. army, moreover, had the aid of the Florida militia and Creek Indian mercenaries. It even imported special bloodhounds (with their handlers) from Cuba to track the elusive Seminoles.

Since fighting was dangerous work, the Florida volunteers and the Creek mercenaries came to specialize in seeking out the hiding places of the women and children. This was not only less dan-



Wildcat

gerous but more rewarding since the government paid a bounty for each captive and since black captives could often be turned over to slave traders for a handsome profit.

Dirty War

The army officers in the field, wearied by the long, dangerous, dirty war, finally realized that the Indians could not be shaken in their fidelity to their black brothers and that only by sending all captives, red or black, safely to Oklahoma, could those still fighting in Florida be induced to emigrate. So segregation of prisoners by color, which had facilitated claims by slaveowners, was ended; army records relating to the prisoners ceased to note color distinctions; and civilians were refused the right to inspect the captives. But this policy, brought forth by military necessity, met opposition from the government in Washington, which was dominated by the slavocracy, and from the rapacious slave traders.

The saga of Lieutenant Jonathan G. Reynolds' convoy of 484 prisoners to the Indian Territory, though it had a happy ending, is a good example. Just prior to leaving New Orleans, 31 Seminole Negroes among the emigrants were demanded by the sheriff on the basis of claims brought by slaveowners. Though army officers objected, a Louisiana court overruled them and the 31 were taken into the sheriff's custody. The unarmed Seminoles objected mightily but were finally prevailed upon to board the river boat chartered to take them to Oklahoma.

A few days later Collins, a slave trader's agent, arrived from Washington with an order from the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the seizure of 90 Seminole

Negroes. This order was the result of a corrupt deal cooked up in the office of the Secretary of War. That office pretended to accept as valid the claim of certain Creek Indians that they had not been compensated for the capture of 90 Negroes in Florida and that therefore these Negroes were their property as war booty. The pro-slavery officials in Washington had then arranged for a slave trader to purchase the Creeks' claim for \$15,000 (though the market value of 90 slaves was at least \$60,000) and for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to endorse the slave trader's title to the 90 prisoners of war.

Backed Down

Collins set out after the boat carrying the Seminoles and overtook it at Vicksburg. Lieutenant Reynolds acknowledged the validity of the papers he presented but the Seminoles became so furious when he demanded that their black brothers be taken from them that the lieutenant refrained from forcing a showdown. The boat continued up the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers with Collins demanding action and Reynolds stalling. Finally at Little Rock Collins demanded that the governor supply military force sufficient to remove the Seminole Negroes from the boat.

Though Arkansas was a slave state, Gov. Roane refused and ordered the boat to proceed upriver at once to safeguard Little Rock from "a hostile band of Indians and savage Negroes."

Thus Reynolds was able to deliver his convoy to the Indian territory. Subsequently, he was able to send the 31 detained by the sheriff in New Orleans to join them. Though he and the other officers involved stuck scrupulously within the law and army regulations, the war department was furious and reprimanded him.

As the war wore on in Florida, the Seminoles were reduced in number by attrition. Sometimes when a band's women and children had been captured, the warriors would surrender for emigration in order to be reunited with their families. Wildcat and his band of several hundred had retired into the depth of Okefenokee Swamp from which they sallied out into nearby regions of Georgia and Florida. Finally, U.S. forces had the luck to capture his 12-year-old daughter.

General Worth, the top commander, sent an Indian friendly to Wildcat with a flag of truce and an offer for him to see his child if he would come in for peace talks. Soon thereafter Wildcat and a group of followers came in under a white flag. After four days of peace talks and promises by Gen. Worth that black Seminoles would be safely conveyed to Oklahoma, Wildcat agreed to a truce for his band. But he insisted that cessation of hostilities by all the bands could not be decided upon until the tribe's annual conclave at the Green Corn Festival which was still some four months off. Wildcat and his band were guaranteed safeconducts for the intervening period.

Wildcat Seized

But a month and a half later when he and some followers entered Fort Pearce, they were seized, chained and shipped to New Orleans. When Gen. Worth heard of this violation of his word of honor, he ordered them brought back to Tampa. When the ship arrived he went aboard and had the chained captives brought on deck. There he shook hands with Wildcat, assured him of his friendship and made the following "proposition." Wildcat should choose five followers as messengers to seek out his band and inform it that unless all its members arrived in

Tampa within 40 days he and his followers would be hanged.

After protests over the wrongs to his people and the peculiar sense of "honor" of the white man, Wildcat gave in. He chose five messengers, their shackles were removed and they were sent off. The chief and his fellow prisoners, still in chains, were sent back below deck. In less than 30 days all of Wildcat's band had arrived and his shackles were removed so that he could address them.

Now accepting the inevitability of removal to the West, he even went as an emissary to other bands and persuaded them to join the emigration. All told some 300 surrendered. Worth lived up to his promise and all were shipped out together and reached the Indian Territory safely. There were subsequent surrenders and in February 1843 another 350 were shipped out of Tampa.

In July the band of Halec Tusenegee, the last important hold-out, surrendered. On Aug. 14, 1843 General Worth declared that hostilities in Florida had ceased. The few Seminoles, including a handful of blacks, still at large were not worth the trouble of pursuit.



Abraham

Most of them merged with a few isolated bands in the far southern part of the state—the so-called "Spanish Indians"—who had played little role in the war and whose descendants still live in Florida today.

The main object of the eight-year war had been to enslave the free Negroes intermarried with and allied to the Seminoles. The U.S. government had succeeded in sending some 500 of these into slavery. Thus for each black enslaved the cost had been two or three white lives and some \$80,000 from the U.S. treasury.

More Trials

But the trials of the Seminoles and their black allies were still not over. In the Indian Territory they found that the land promised them was not forthcoming. Instead they were informed that they were part of the Creek Confederacy and must settle on Creek lands and be subject to Creek laws and officials. Since the Creeks were not only their mortal enemies but also slaveowners, submitting to their jurisdiction would have been tantamount to delivering their black brothers back into slavery. They refused to settle on Creek lands.

Finally the Cherokees, who had guilty consciences because they had been used as dupes to trick Osceola and Wildcat into captivity, allowed them to settle temporarily on Cherokee lands. After a number of years they had to leave and they settled on Creek land but asserted their right to self government.

But the sight of Negroes among the Seminoles living in freedom and governing their own villages gave dangerous thoughts to the Creek slaves. Moreover, the ever-greedy slave traders with offers of ready cash egged the Creeks

on to seize the Seminole Negroes. In 1849 the Creeks staged a sudden raid on the Seminole Negro villages. They were driven off but they seized some 70 to 100 persons. Though the Seminoles got a writ of *habeas corpus*, a federal judge upheld the Creeks and the captives were hurried aboard a waiting steamboat and down the river to the slave markets of New Orleans.

Council Met

At this point the Seminole Negroes held a council and, under the leadership of Abraham, their wisest strategist, and Louis Pacheco, the guide who had led Major Dade's battalion into the disastrous ambush at the Great Wahoo Swamp, decided that they would never be safe as long as they were in the U. S. Since the nearest free country was Mexico, it was decided to go there. While some of the blacks married to Indians and living in Indian villages chose to remain, most of those living in black villages chose to flee to Mexico. Wildcat and a protective party of Seminole warriors went along as a protective reinforcement.

They slipped away in the dead of night. Their few ponies carried their belongings, the infirm and children, while the men, carrying nothing but weapons and ammunition and ready for instant action, walked alongside. Their departure was discovered by the Creeks on the third day and a war party was sent in pursuit. But Wildcat and Abraham were not to be taken by surprise and the attackers were driven off with heavy losses.

Wildcat succeeded in making a treaty with the Kickapoos who inhabited West Texas and the hardy band of freedom-seekers were able to pass through their territory unmolested. They finally reached the Rio Grande, which they crossed secretly at night, and continued on to the vicinity of Santa Rosa de Muzquiz in the state of Coahuila. The Mexican government gave them a grant of land there and they settled down to farming and stock-raising.

Wildcat Back

In the summer of 1852 there was great excitement in the Indian Territory when it was learned that Wildcat had reappeared there. The mounted police maintained by the Creeks was ordered out to find and arrest him. But he left secretly, leading a band of Seminole Negroes, runaway Creek slaves and some fugitive slaves from Arkansas. Wildcat successfully led them to the new home in Mexico.

Slave-hunting white Texans made several raids across the border against the free blacks in Santa Rosa but succeeded in capturing only one little girl. The casualties they suffered discouraged further raids.

Wildcat and Abraham are said to have died of smallpox in Mexico in 1856.

Descendants of the Seminole Negroes still live near Santa Rosa but for the most part have become Mexicanized. A survey in 1930 showed that of 71 families there only 20 still spoke English. However, the descendants of some others now live in Texas. In 1870 the U. S. army secured permission from the Mexican government to send a Captain Perry to Santa Rosa to recruit some of the men as Indian scouts since they were famous for their tracking skill, endurance and courage. Twenty-five men agreed to enlist and did so at Eagle Pass. They brought their families with them. These Seminole scouts became justly famous in the subsequent Indian wars. In 1914 the U. S. Army Scouts were disbanded and most of the demobilized Seminole scouts settled in Bracketville, Texas.

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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.]

War With China?

New York, N.Y.

Your warning headline Dec. 13, "Are Johnson and His Generals Aiming Toward War on China?" was very much called for. No less an authority than the *New York Times* has raised the same question. The *Times* saw fit to prominently feature the following headline on its Dec. 3 front page: "Some U.S. Aides See Risk of Direct Clash with China — Fear That Administration Might Expand Conflict by Miscalculation."

Please note: Although the *Times* said "miscalculation," still it did put responsibility for such a conflict with Washington and cites high government sources in support of this.

The *Times* story is worth reflecting on. Here's what Washington correspondent Max Frankel says: "As President Johnson and his closest advisers prepare for another major review of the war in Vietnam, concern is mount-

ing among officials below them that the United States and Communist China are headed for a collision that neither of them wants."

"Some sub-Cabinet officials and senior analysts have warned that if the pattern of stepped-up warfare continues in Vietnam, the two nations may be within months of a direct clash." I emphasize that "within months."

What the second-rank "analysts" are worried about, says Frankel, is that the Chinese might unexpectedly intervene, as in Korea. They recall that that intervention caught U.S. intelligence experts by surprise. But Frankel's "analysts" also say that "some of the evidence underlying their foreboding remains secret . . ." Why secret? ". . . Because it has been gathered secretly," is the lame explanation. Whatever that means.

Frankel adds that in view of the uncertainty of Peking's reactions "and in view of an apparent determination in Washington to continue to step up the war, analysts are urging the policy-makers to consider more carefully." Poor "analysts!" The "policy-makers" (Johnson and advisers) seem bent on a course of expansion whether it risks war with China or not. Maybe that's because a war on China is what they ultimately

want anyway? Maybe that's what the Vietnam "commitment" has been about all along.

One thing I wonder. Is Frankel's story perhaps a leak, stemming from differences among the ruling powers? Remember, on the eve of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the *Times* hinted at many of the preparations for it as a way of counseling against that adventure and of bringing some public pressure against it? We should be very watchful for any other hints of this kind.

Charles Gardner

Apel Case

Safety Harbor, Fla.

There is less in the Apel case than meets the eye. As your readers no doubt know, Erich Apel, plenipotentiary in trade negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the USSR committed suicide a day before he was to sign the accord, to which West German sources claim he had fruitlessly objected.

The *Washington Post* today prints a story to the effect that Apel's notebooks detailing the controversy and describing in detail the "pitiful" state of the GDR economy will be published by the West German government simultaneously with the meeting of the plenum of the Communist Party

in East Berlin.

Note the delay: The "Apel papers," like the "Penkovsky papers" so well advertised, were not published immediately after their theft but after a considerable lapse of time. Why? Well, in both cases time was needed for the CIA to fabricate the documents. They must be coherent, they must tally with known facts.

Some day, perhaps not in our time, someone in the People's Democracies will acquire and publish the "CIA Papers"—the account of how the Western world was fooled so long and so thoroughly by expert artificers in the employ of the neo-Nazis.

B.R.

News From Michigan

Ann Arbor, Mich.

To call to your attention two news items on Station WWJ, Detroit, the 11:15 news:

1. Detroit was almost chosen as the model city for a national project in urban renewal experimentation, said Mayor Jerome Cavanagh today, but the project has been indefinitely postponed because of the cost of the Vietnam war.

2. Interview with a Col. Yoruk, recently of Vietnam. Leg amputated and the whole bit: "This is a war of people, not of ground . . . we'll have to win over what we can . . . and, I hate to say it, but we'll have to clobber the rest of them."

Asked if it was a difficult moral decision to kill civilians, he answered "Yes."

L.P.

Fan Mail Dep't

New York, N. Y.

Please correct my zip code to 10009 so that I don't miss anything. I look forward to every issue of *The Militant*.

I thought Fred Halstead's answer to Harrington perfect. Also glad for the opportunity to read Malcolm X. When does my sub expire?

S.D.

From Australia

Sydney, Australia

There have been a few big demonstrations here against the Vietnam war but the press, radio and TV have completely neglected them and only the people who actually go in the demonstrations know of them. Fifty demonstra-

tors were arrested the other day and a small report was printed saying that about 50 people, names listed and what each was charged with, were arrested for, etc., etc. But what the demonstration was about was not mentioned till near the very last line and then it was a very hazy and slightly apologetic "Vietnam."

Plastic copies of the Yank 60 mm. gun are being sold here and on TV an ad was made showing a nice little Australian boy in a Vietnamese setting ambushing his friends who immediately splattered all over the place from a burst of machine gun fire. The commentary went: "Think of all the fun you can have ambushing your friends just like daddy does with the nasty Vietcong." The ad was immediately withdrawn when the Returned Soldiers League and government bodies protested that it gave Australian children the wrong idea!

Soon I may be conscripted and end up supporting the American Eagle in Vietnam. You know the Australian government sold Australian troops to the Americans for preferential treatment on the dollar market. Everybody here knows about it but no one gives a damn; the government knows best and, besides, what's a few soliders in a place called Vietnam.

G.L.

Lightning Rod Warfare

New York, N.Y.

According to Prof. Bernard Fall, pro-Western authority on Vietnam (Author of *The Two Vietnams* and other works) the U.S. is employing a form of warfare called "Project Lightning Rod." Developed for the Pentagon, he said in a radio interview, it consists of employing pain-stimulus, Pavlovian conditioning reflex actions.

He said the U.S. and Saigon deliberately punish by bombing villages that even briefly, in any way, help the NLF or even tolerate their presence in the village.

Thus the population is being "conditioned" with terror bombings to associate the "cause of their catastrophe" with the NLF. In other words, shun the NLF. Just like a lightning rod, you will attract death and destruction!

Dr. Fall expressed skepticism on the effectiveness of this and even implied it might backfire on those using it.

J.A.

Thought for the Week

"Rarely in the history of world affairs has any country indulged in such a colossal act of self-righteous arrogance as did our United States when we decided for the strife-torn people of South Vietnam that they are better off dead than red." — From a sermon by Rabbi Israel Margolies of the People's Temple of New York.

It Was Reported in the Press

Banking News — The Bank of America and Chase Manhattan Bank have asked the South Vietnamese government for licenses to open branches in Saigon. In addition to doing business with the GIs there, the banks are interested in post-war business. "We believe that we're going to win this war," said a Chase Manhattan spokesman. "Afterwards, you'll have a major job of reconstruction on your hands. That will take financing and financing means banks." Noting that British and French interests now dominate the Vietnamese banking scene, he commented: "I think the government here recognizes the need for American banks. It would be illogical to permit the English and the French to monopolize the banking business because South Vietnam's economy is becoming more and more United States oriented."

Post-Xmas Suggestion (I) — In case the lady of the house didn't like her gift and she is either the outdoors type or simply lives in an apartment where the landlord doesn't send up enough heat at night, try this one for size. A Norwegian blue fox sleeping bag. Only \$1,200.

Post-Xmas Suggestion (II) — Now that you've bought all kinds of silly, useless items, here's a good practical gift for almost any member of the Great Society. An "Anti-Invasion of Privacy Device." A precision engineered anti-buggering device which the manufacturer says emits a flashing warning light when any concealed transmitter, etc., is operating in your room or office. Each \$195.

Sociology Dep't — On the basis of a carefully conducted survey, a group of Chicago sociologists concluded that many Americans are poor because they don't earn enough money.

Sexual Solution — In South Africa the blacks outnumber the whites overwhelmingly. An official in the Verwoerd regime urged white couples to celebrate South Africa's fifth anniversary as a republic by having babies.

Medical Note — *The New York Times* recently offered this description of a local hospital for vagrants and indigents: "The So-

ciety's shelter looks something like a Grant Wood landscape — a tiny, whitewashed brick house with green wood trim . . . The wards were spotless, fluorescent lit, air-conditioned. They are automatically humidified and dehumidified to a constant level. Antibacterial units hummed in a corner of each ward. An FM radio plays light classical and classical music." It's not for people. It's the Humane Society hospital for cats and dogs.

Kiss of Death — *The Wall Street Journal* commented in a Dec. 10 editorial: "In another discussion elsewhere in Africa one U. S. official took exception to the word moderate when it was applied to Tom Mboya, a capable Kenyan politician. Said he, 'He has been hurt politically already by being called a moderate by Americans.'"

Rail Safety — The November issue of *Traffic World* reported that in the month of October federal district courts levied penalties on 38 railroads for 154 violations of safety appliance and hours-of-service laws. Safety violations included inefficient hand brakes, insecure running boards, insecure

safety railings, insecure sill steps, defective air brakes and failure to make proper air brake tests. Fines averaged less than \$250 each.

Modest Claim — Promoters of safflower oil pills and the book, *Calories Don't Count*, pleaded guilty of defrauding the public. They had claimed the pills took off weight, lowered blood cholesterol level, helped treat and prevent arteriosclerosis, heartburn and cancer. They also said the pills increased sexual potency and resistance to colds. The government said the claims were exaggerated.

God and Vietnam — Army chaplains in Vietnam have problems, according to a Portland *Oregonian* interview with Capt. Robert C. Fenning, a Marine Corps chaplain. "The chaplain in Vietnam," he said, "more than anyone else is asked to help clarify a confusing issue in the minds of many men in the service who now suddenly find some questions whether the job they are doing is proper or not." Fenning said he tells them they are "under orders to respond to the call of duty." He added: "I feel that in doing so they are fulfilling the will of God."

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The Medicare Program: 'Better Dead Than Red'

One of the little-noticed provisions of the medicare bill is a vicious witchhunting clause that will affect two million old people. Those over 65 who are not entitled to cash old-age benefits under present social security and railroad retirement benefit programs will be forced to sign anti-communist disclaimers in order to receive medicare aid when the law goes into effect next July.

The oath requirement is, in a sense, a perfect symbol of Johnson's "Great Society." In the richest country in the world, the medical care program for the aged finally adopted is so meager and full of loopholes that it gives only crumbs of care to the aged but will further enrich the medical and insurance professions. Yet to enjoy even those meager benefits, the aged must swear their loyalty. Next, they may require an oath of personal loyalty to Johnson.

Court Case

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is interested in defending in the courts the right to medical care even though the disclaimer oath is not taken.

The medicare application forms for hospital and nursing care include the question: "Are you now or have you been during the last 12 months a member of any organization which is required to register under the Internal Security [McCarran] Act of 1950 as a Communist-action organization, a Communist-front organization or a Communist-infiltrated organization?"

An ECLC statement said, "The administration's requirement of a disclaimer oath for medicare puts



Lyndon Johnson

into practice the slogan 'better dead than red.' Moreover, it assails the first amendment right of all who are asked to sign.

"Members of the Communist Party . . . have won their right to refuse [to register] from the Supreme Court. The administration's requirement is an attempt to do indirectly what the Court has held cannot be done directly. It is an obvious violation of the fifth amendment right not to testify against oneself."

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee may be reached at 421 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y. 10001.

Notables Join Fight to Bar Joe Johnson Deportation

By Diana Klein

MINNEAPOLIS — The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson has recently launched a sponsor drive, seeking national support. Included in the recent additions to the list of sponsors are Jack Newfield, contributing editor of the *Village Voice*; Nat Hentoff, writer and critic; Warren Miller, novelist; and four professors from the University of Minnesota.

U.S. Citizen

Joseph Johnson is a native born citizen whom the government is attempting to deport to an unspecified country. He is presently the Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, and this

government action against him is obviously prompted by his political beliefs.

The government claims that Johnson lost his citizenship by voting in an election in Canada in the 1950's. Johnson had gone to Canada, repulsed by racism and the war atmosphere in the United States. While there, he became a convinced socialist. Upon learning that the FBI was looking for him, he returned to the U.S., where he faced a charge of not notifying his draft board of his whereabouts. He spent two years in federal prison for this "crime" which only a citizen could commit. After his release from prison, he moved to Minneapolis where he became active in the SWP. Now, the government claims he wasn't even a citizen when he was convicted.

Decision Due

After a series of hearings dating back to September 1964, Johnson is now waiting for a final decision from the Immigration Department to either drop the case or uphold the deportation order. In the event of an adverse decision, Johnson would be ordered to find a country to be deported to — and he would be guilty of a felony if he couldn't find one. The committee intends to fight the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

All those who are interested in supporting the case or contributing to the defense may address their inquiries to: The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 8731, North Star Building, Minneapolis, Minn. 55402.

THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION

A Miserable Union Record

By Tom Leonard

The AFL-CIO Convention, which opened Dec. 9 in San Francisco's Civic Auditorium, marked the tenth anniversary of the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Unlike the Unity Convention in 1955, which raised the possibility of a great leap forward for American labor, this year's proceedings affirm that the chief beneficiaries of the merger were not the mass of rank-and-file workers, but the privileged leadership. This fact was aptly symbolized by the decision of the delegates to raise President George Meany's salary from \$45,000 to \$70,000 a year.

Indicative of the conservative strangulation of the merged unions under Meany and former CIO President Reuther was the position taken by the convention in support of the government's war in Vietnam. It cynically ignored the fact that increasing numbers of young workers are among those being drafted to fight this dirty war, while those remaining on the job face the possibility of frozen wages and deteriorating working conditions to help finance it.

The convention proceedings were otherwise so pathetic that the news media were hard pressed in their efforts to make copy. The Dec. 20 *Newsweek*, for example, tried to drum up a serious "inner struggle" between Meany and Reuther. The latter was por-



BIG TALKERS. George Meany (left) and Walter Reuther at time of unification of AFL and CIO a decade ago. They talked then about a new union crusade but their backward, spineless policies have left their organization smaller than it was at the time of the unification.

trayed as "all business and looking for new frontiers in social welfare to conquer," while Meany was pictured as an "old labor leader, fond of gin rummy now and still given to raising shopworn labor alarms such as 'the greedy bankers of Wall Street.'"

Wall Street and the corporations have actually benefited from one important failure of the merger — its inability to organize new workers.

Instead of implementing the "let us organize the unorganized" speech by Meany at the founding convention, the AFL-CIO has actually declined in membership relative to the over-all growth of the working population. In 1955 it had a reported 16,904,000 members, which had dwindled to an estimated 15,150,000 by 1964, while the total number of white and blue collar jobs rose to 56,659,000 — an increase of 7,303,000. One reason for the decline was the expulsion of the 1.5 million member Teamsters' Union, a Bakery Workers' Union and a Laundry Workers' Union on charges of corruption in 1957.

Persistent Flaw

Another failure and glaring defect of the merged union has been the refusal of labor leaders to outlaw racism and fight for equal job opportunities for all workers. One example is New York Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union. After repeated efforts, which included legal proceedings, only one Negro has been accepted into the union's apprenticeship program. In addition, the failure to unionize the South has virtually frozen Negroes out of the more skilled and better paying jobs in that rapidly industrializing sector of the country.

The AFL-CIO National Council's refusal to even endorse the 1963 March on Washington for Freedom Now is another example of their shabby civil rights role, which is so miserable that even NAACP President Roy Wilkins felt compelled to raise a criticism. In a telegram to the San Francisco convention he reminded the delegates that only one Negro, A. Phillip Randolph, of the Sleeping Car Porters, was represented on the AFL-CIO National Council, although at the time of the merger there were two Negroes holding this position.

The merged union has not been able to prevent the passage and usage of anti-labor laws. Although the Taft-Hartley Act was passed before the 1955 merger, most of

today's top union leaders were in office at the time and did little to effectively oppose its passage. In addition, the expulsion of the Teamsters and other unions for alleged corruption helped set the stage for passage of the equally bad anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959.

Just as onerous has been the refusal of the AFL-CIO to defend independent unions subjected to government prosecution under these laws, such as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers who have been defending themselves against charges of violating the non-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is no surprise that the last, 89th, session of Congress failed to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act despite a 1964 campaign promise by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

AFL-CIO reaction to this "sell-out" was typified by an article in the December *International Moulders and Allied Workers Journal*, published on the eve of the convention. The headline proclaimed "89th Congress Failed Labor But Its Record Is Impressive."

There were many who thought that the militant traditions of the industrial unions of the CIO would dominate the AFL craft unions, and the result of the 1955 merger would be a giant spurt forward for all of labor. Instead these traditions were subordinated to the worst features of the narrow craft unionism of the old AFL. It was no surprise, therefore, that the most militant act of the convention was the action of a group of anti-Vietnam-war demonstrators who attended a session and loudly attacked the AFL-CIO's pro-war position, for which they were ordered expelled from the hall by Meany.

It would be a mistake, however, to write off the multi-million-membered unions because of the craven role of the Meany and Reuthers. It is important to note that while the average age of AFL-CIO National Council members was 59 at the time of the convention, the average age of blue and white collar workers in the labor force is around 25.

One of the lessons of the San Francisco convention therefore is that demands to end the war, fight racism and organize the unorganized should be directed to younger workers in the unions over the heads or behind the backs — if necessary — of the present conservative leadership of the AFL-CIO.

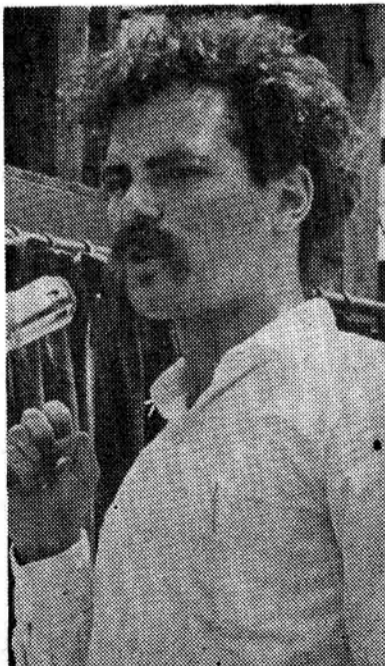
Antiwar Leaders Jailed in Berkeley

Leaders of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee have been convicted for participating in a demonstration against Gen. Maxwell Taylor, special advisor to Johnson and one of the prime architects of U.S. war policy in Vietnam.

Jerry Rubin, Barbara Gelahorn, Windy Smith and Steve Weissman are now serving 30-day sentences for the conviction in the San Francisco county jail. Appeals were turned down.

The VDC demonstration occurred last summer, when Gen. Taylor came to the Bay Area to address the Commonwealth Club, a wealthy businessmen's organization, in the Hotel Fairmont. Taylor's car was besieged by antiwar pickets, who proceeded to follow him into the hotel elevators and everywhere he went.

The VDC is the largest of the independent committees opposed to the war in Vietnam.



Jerry Rubin

Don't Buy Schenley's

"Don't Buy Schenley" is the good word this holiday season. Several thousand Mexican-American and Filipino vineyard workers have been on strike around Delano, Calif. for several months, and one of the sourest grapes of all is Schenley Products which has refused to discuss demands for a union contract and higher wages. On Dec. 17 SNCC and CORE, supported by many other organizations, announced a boycott of Schenley products, including Roma wines, J. W. Dant Bourbon, Dewar Scotch, I. W. Harper and Schenley whiskeys, etc.