

## May 2 Marches Rap U.S. War In Viet Nam

**see page 2**

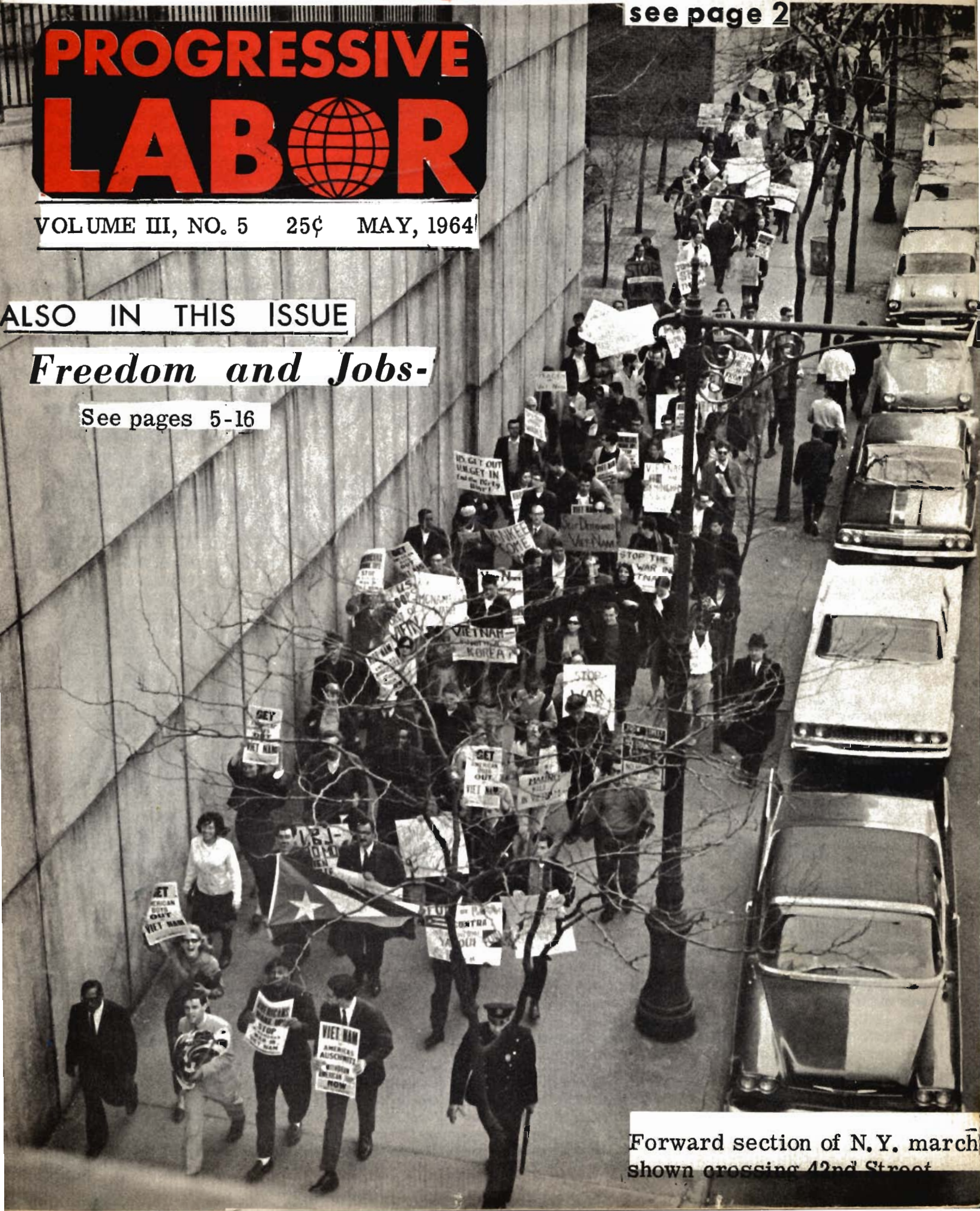
# PROGRESSIVE LABOR

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## ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

## Freedom and Jobs-

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Forward section of N.Y. march  
shown crossing 42nd Street



## NATIONWIDE DEMONSTRATIONS BIGGEST YET:

# May 2 Protests Hit U.S. War in Viet Nam



By FRED JEROME

A thousand cheering, chanting young men and women came, some from as far away as New Orleans and Detroit, some from as near-by as Harlem and the Puerto Rican community on New York's West Side, and most from the schools and universities in and around the big city--a thousand demonstrators on May 2nd to protest with our banners and our bodies against the bloody U.S. war in South Viet Nam.

The outdoor protest rally at 110th Street and Eighth Avenue, sponsored by the May 2nd Committee, was the largest single demonstration against U.S. intervention in Viet Nam, to be held in this country so far. As it took place, simultaneous, although smaller, meetings were held in San Francisco, Seattle, Madison (Wisconsin), Miami, and San Juan (Puerto Rico), among other cities.

And after the speeches, we marched--at least 500 of us--with our banners and our voices high, along the sidewalks of New York, down Columbus Avenue, then Broadway to crowded Times Square, then east across 42nd St. to the United Nations... five miles of marching as thousands and thousands saw us and heard us... five miles with hoarse throats, "Stop the War in Viet Nam, Bring the Troops Home!"

And when it was over, it was just begun.

"The fact that the police did not dare interfere with our march was a great victory," said Levi Laub, one of the coordinators of the May 2nd Committee, at a conference following the march. The conference decided unanimously to continue the May 2nd movement as an organized center for mass action against the U.S. war in Viet Nam. A draft policy statement read at the conference, will be sent out to all May 2nd participants in the immediate future.

The commercial U.S. press has blacked out almost all the news of the demonstration, the march, and the May 2nd movement.

Highlighting the New York demonstration were speeches by Conrad Lynn, civil rights lawyer and national chairman of the Freedom Now Party; Russ Nixon, managing editor of the National Guardian; Mrs. Helen Lamb Lamont;

Benjamin Ortiz, president of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence University Federation (FUPI); William Scott, Rockland County leader of the Freedom Now Party; and Bill Epton, vice-president and Harlem organizer of the Progressive Labor Movement. Folksinger Phil Ochs entertained the crowd with a number of songs satirizing U.S. war policies.

Russell Stetler of Haverford College, chairman of the May 2nd Committee, presided over the outdoor meeting, and announced messages of support from numerous organizations and individuals, including Bertrand Russell.

(Stetler has been under pressure recently from reactionary elements in Pennsylvania who are trying to cancel his scholarship from the Philadelphia Board of Education. At a Board hearing on May 1, the witnesses who testified for Stetler included the President of Haverford College and the head of the Philadelphia chapter of the American Association of University Professors.)

In his address, Conrad Lynn said that the same U.S. policy-makers responsible for the War in Viet Nam are the ones responsible for the violence against civil rights fighter in Birmingham and New York: "It is the same power structure, the same U.S. ruling class, which is behind both--and the only solution, ultimately, is an end to the present system and the establishment of a new system--socialism."

Russ Nixon quoted Senator Wayne Morse's statement that "Every American boy killed in South Viet Nam is unjustifiably killed and the blood is on the hands of the U.S. government," and added that the U.S. government is responsible for everyone killed in Viet Nam, whether American or Viet Nameese. He also pointed out, "This is not just

McNamara's war. It is Johnson's war, and Kennedy's war, and a war imposed by all those in Washington who have been deceiving the American people for the past 15 years."

Mrs. Lamont attacked the war not just as a critic of U.S. policies, "But also as a mother who will not send her son to be killed in Viet Nam." Bill Epton linked the fight against the U.S. war policies to the revolutionary struggles for independence in Asia and Africa, and to the world-wide movement for socialism.

In a stirring declaration made in Spanish, Benjamin Ortiz pledged: "The students of Puerto Rico will not fight in any war for U.S. imperialism. We are not afraid to fight but when we fight it will be against that very imperialism which enslaves Puerto Rico today, as it enslaves Panama and as it is trying to enslave South Viet Nam."

Also addressing the demonstration was Phillip Luce, who is sponsoring a signature campaign by young men of draft age pledging not to fight in South Viet Nam. Luce's call on all those at the rally to join in this pledge was greeted by a cheering ovation. Later, he said that 125 young men have already signed the pledge, and he has received requests for copies from Chicago and California.

The five-mile march through Times Square and to the United Nations was conducted to a steady, enthusiastic chant of slogans, including: "Stop the War in Viet Nam, Bring the Troops Home;" "McNamara's Dirty War Isn't Worth Fighting For;" "Send the Slumlords to Viet Nam, Bring the Troops Home;" "Fight Unemployment, Not Viet Name;" and "No More Koreas, Bring the Troops Home."



FUPI PRESIDENT Benjamin Ortiz addresses N.Y. rally

## TRYING TO SCREEN OUT THE TRUTH

On the night of April 22, three Federal agents--from the FBI and the Customs Bureau--entered the West Side headquarters of the Progressive Labor Movement in New York, 68 West 106 Street, and, without a warrant, seized a copy of a film on Viet Nam which had just been shown. The film, produced by the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam (Viet Cong), shows the life of the people in the liberated areas of South Viet Nam and their guerrilla against the U.S. aggressors.

Other copies of the film were shown before the seizure and have been shown since the seizure on campuses and elsewhere around the country without incident, as hundreds of interested students turned out for every showing.

The most recent showing took place on the evening of May 2nd at a PLM dance at the Hotel Manhattan Towers. More than 250 attended the dance and saw the film. Although the police had made threatening noises and tried to intimidate the hotel manager into preventing the showing, they made no move to seize the film.

SAN FRANCISCO, MAY 2: Demonstrators in front of Presidio military reservation protest Viet Nam war.



PL photo by Claude Beagrie

Organizations supporting the demonstration included the Progressive Labor Movement, the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI), the NYU Socialist Club, local student peace groups from a number of campuses, the Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, Advance, and the Spartacists.

As the U.S. intensifies its aggression in Viet Nam, the May 2nd movement intends to mobilize growing opposition to the war among the American people. As the draft declaration read at the May 2nd Conference says:

"Until such a (U.S.) withdrawal, we will join with the growing world-wide opposition to this U.S. war, through campaigns of mass action demonstrating to the U.S. government and to the world that the American people, or at least a good part of us, do NOT support this war."

\* \* \* \* \*

(For complete coverage of the formation and development of the May 2nd movement and the growing resistance to U.S. aggressive policies in Viet Nam and elsewhere, see the next issue of PL--Ed.)



I DEDICATE  
THIS FAIR  
TO A FUTURE  
FREE OF BIAS



# N.Y. Stall-in Threat Shakes Power Structure

## NEWS ANALYSIS

"Peace Through Understanding," the clever slogan of the N.Y. World's Fair, became a hollow joke on April 22 amidst the cracked skulls and bloodied heads of civil rights demonstrators, some 300 of whom were arrested on opening day.

While President Johnson drawled on about a glorious day a-comin' when "no man is handicapped by the color of his skin or the nature of his belief," city police, transit police, and special World's Fair Pinkerton police "guarded" the subway cars (at least one special cop on every car), the roadways (cops stood some 200 feet apart all along both sides of the roads), and the Fairgrounds (three large emergency stockades were erected "in secret locations" on the Fair grounds to hold arrested demonstrators).

Dozens of demonstrators were beaten by cops using billy clubs--one young man had several teeth knocked out when a cop's club hit him while he was handcuffed to another demonstrator. Others were dragged, feet first, down flights of stairs or out of subway stations. At least four demonstrators were brought to the 110th Precinct in Queens with their heads and faces bleeding. The cops used walkie-talkies, radio cars, and at least half a dozen helicopters in addition to the thousands of armed men in uniform.

They were obviously prepared for all-out war, with orders not to be gentle.

The cause of this panic in the power structure was the announcement by Brooklyn CORE that they would stage a stall-in of cars to tie up World's Fair traffic on opening day. The stall-in was to be supported by dissident (militant) civil rights groups from several parts of the country.

The demands of the stall-in-ers included: fully integrated work forces in the city, an end to police brutality, complete integration of schools, and city action against slumlords. They made it clear that New York Mayor Wagner could stop the stall-in simply by moving to meet their demands. Instead, the Mayor moved to club them down.

The planned stall-in, whatever its weakness as a tactic, reflected the growing desperation of many Negro freedom fighters in this country. And the reaction of the government--cops, Mayor, Senators, and President--reveal its true colors.

Negroes and their white allies have been sitting-in,

wading-in, praying-in, petitioning, pleading, and hoping in ever-growing numbers over the past five years--and no significant progress has been made towards equal rights. The quiet, passive ways are not working and people are getting tired of being hit on the head with no results. The stall-in proposal was just a sample of ideas to come--ideas born of a sense of urgency and also a sense of potential power. Yes, we can tie up transportation, tie up the whole white power structure, we can fight back, and we will, too, if necessary.

The show of police force and violence by the government was also just a sample of things to come. A few picket lines may be tolerated, but let's not take this business of freedom now too seriously--get out of hand and you'll learn the hard truth that there's not much difference between cops (or mayors) in Mississippi and N.Y.

At the same time, the government is working overtime to divide the freedom movement by working with the middle class, "cooperative" Negro leaders (Wilkins, Farmer, etc.) while being extra vicious against the more militant groups.

This Buy-Off-and-Beat-Up strategy was seen clearly at the World's Fair demonstration. When James Farmer, CORE national chairman, was arrested at the Fair, Detective Chief William Kimmins said, "Be as gentle with him as you can, men." A few days later, Farmer was invited to a private conference with New York's fascist Police Chief Murphy. But the more militant demonstrators, whom Farmer suspended from CORE, were dragged off and beaten brutally by police. Arnold Goldwag, community relations director for the suspended Brooklyn CORE chapter, was sentenced to a year and a month in prison.

It is interesting to note that in order to hold on to the reins of the integration movement, Farmer and Co. were forced to mobilize mass sit-ins at the Fair and make a few militant statements against police brutality. This effort to outflank the more militant stall-in-ers was partly successful--this time, anyway--due to the failure of the stall-in to bring out large numbers of people.

The stall-in fell short mainly because its organizers could not mobilize support from Negro workers in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the other Negro communities in New York. Other factors contributed to its weakness, such as poor organization, fear of reprisals, and lack of sufficient assistance from other parts of the country, but the decisive point was the absence of mass sup-

### FAIR IS FOUL

IT WOULD BE a weird world indeed if the pavillions at the New York World's Fair were any reflection of reality. Most of the world is not represented at all--there are no pavillions from China, the Soviet Union, or most of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Instead, the world is "represented" by glittering exhibitions from U.S. monopolies such as General Motors, IBM, General Electric, Chrysler, Ford and Schaefer Beer. Ah, Big Business, if only the whole world were such a Fair: advertisements and amusements, tax write-offs and free rides, neon fountains and money mountains, and Pepsi Cola pouring over all. And two dollars admission....

port.

The stall-in's failure to materialize may now make it more difficult for the new, young leaders to gain support in the future. But most important, the stall-in threat succeeded in exposing the true nature of the government and in dramatizing and publicizing the fight for rights. The stall-in threat made a mockery of Johnson's platitudes and turned the World's Fair into a glittering facade for an armed camp (which, in a larger sense, is exactly what it is). In practical terms, the stall-in threat kept thousands of people away from the Fair on opening day.

As a tactic, the stall-in may not have been the best possible choice. One could argue that the target was somewhat vague, that the disruption of traffic would create confusion rather than understanding among white sympathizers, that a more direct assault on industrial exhibits at the Fair might have been better. But that is not the point.

The point is that more and more young, militant Negroes are fed up with protests permitted under the ground rules of the white rule-makers. The point is that most white people in this country are still indifferent or opposed to the freedom fight despite Emmett Till, Medgar Evers, and the Birmingham bombings. The point is that the young militants are determined to act dramatically, decisively for freedom--and they must be supported.

At the same time, new elements must be brought into the freedom fight if even limited gains are to be won. First and foremost, nothing will be gained without the active participation of hundreds and thousands of black men and women in cities like Birmingham, Jackson, Nashville and throughout the North. Without this, the most militant tactic will be an isolated act, annoying the power structure like a solitary wasp, easily swatted out of existence by police swatters. But with the support of the masses, we can make the government feel the sting.

Secondly, Negro freedom fighters and their white al-

## PEACE THROUGH UNDERSTANDING



The New York Times



Associated Press

lies must be prepared to fight back against police brutality. No matter how many thousands are mobilized, the police, national guard, and federal troops have shown they will use dogs, horses, cattle prods, and guns to crush the people. The freedom movement must defend itself if it is to survive--defend itself with arms.

That is the only kind of understanding that will bring peace to the World's Fair--or to the world.

## Malcolm X and Black Nationalism

### EDITORIAL COMMENT

Since his break with the Black Muslim movement, Malcolm X has continued to focus his fiery speeches on the need for more militancy in the black liberation struggle. The change in his remarks, if any, has been to emphasize still more the anti-government--the revolutionary--aspect of his position, and to begin to talk in terms of a political, more than religious, drive for black power.

One of the key ingredients in Malcolm's call for an upsurge of black nationalism is the inevitable triumph of the Negro masses. He effectively derides the eternal-rule attitude of the white ruling class and the fatalism of many Negro leaders who accept the white man's notion of the white man's majority forever overwhelming the black minority.

Malcolm links the U.S. Negro to the growing world movement of colored peoples against U.S. colonialism. He says, "In fact, in most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today, it's easy to see the fear in their conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the mas-

ses of dark people in the East, who already outnumber them, will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually over-run the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood.... You think you outnumber the racial minority in this country; you don't outnumber us all over the earth."

The commercial white press singled out Malcolm's remarks on armed self-defense for special coverage. When Malcolm calls for black rifle clubs, the press howls with hysterical headlines designed to fan the flames of hatred of "rednecks," north and south, and to terrify southern "moderates" and northern liberals.

In an effort to frighten Negroes away from Malcolm's call for a Black Nationalist Party, the press warns demagogically that "only violence will result" from Malcolm's militancy (as if everything has been nice and peaceful for the past hundred years!). The white ruling circles have let their press run wild with plea after plea from "established" Negro leaders for "non-violence" and "responsi-



Mayor Beverly Briley, who cut short a trip to Washington because of the crisis, told a news conference today that Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was investigating both the charges of brutality and an "obvious conspiracy" by some leaders to employ children in the protest movement.

"We have made a lot of progress in the past year in race relations," Mayor Briley said. "This kind of thing can only hurt the community by creating hostilities." He blamed "irresponsible leadership."

The demonstrations, which began Monday, pointed up the militant mood of the Negro youths more than a lack of progress in desegregation. At the same time, Negro leaders here remember that gains in the past have been made as a result of militant protests and they are now seeking to wipe out the last vestiges of segregation.

"We want to make Nashville an open city," John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, told the young demonstrators today shortly before he was arrested.

The street sit-in started as a poorly organized protest by high school students against holdouts in restaurant integration. Few of them had training in nonviolent technique and they fought back when the police roughed them up. The police then clubbed them into submission.



## NASHVILLE: MORE UNDERSTANDING

bility."

Despite all the sensationalism and one-sided reporting, Malcolm's call for self-defense is only a part of his program, and it is not so new. Robert Williams established a rifle club and self-defense techniques in Monroe, N.C., quietly and successfully defending the Negro community there against Ku Klux Klan attacks (until the combined assault from southern racists and the FBI succeeded in driving Williams to exile in Cuba).

Birmingham Negroes, too, fed up with the slow pace and no-pace of progress and beginning to recognize the collusion of the federal government with the Dixiecrats, resorted to armed defense to protect their lives and homes. Recent demonstrations in Maryland and Nashville, Tenn. have also seen Negroes fight back--although in a limited way--against police terror.

The press is obviously trying to create an hysterical reaction to Malcolm's words in an effort to frighten the black masses and stop the growth of the self-defense trend. But the headlines may boomerang as more black men and women learn about Malcolm's call to stand up and fight

Especially significant in Malcolm's arsenal is his often clear estimate of the federal government and its alliance with the Dixiecrats. Referring to the control that the Dixiecrats hold over Congress and the White House, he says, "In fact, when you see how many of the committeemen are from the south, you can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D. C. And their head is a cracker President."

On nationalism, he says: "My philosophy is black nationalism, my economic philosophy is black national-

ism, my social philosophy is black nationalism...to me this means that the political philosophy of black nationalism is that which is designed to encourage our people, the black people, to gain complete control over the politics and politicians of our own community.... We should gain complete economic control over the economy of our community, the businesses and other things that create employment, so that we can provide employment for our own people, instead of having to picket and boycott and beg other people for a job."

These words, while militant, nonetheless raise as many questions as they answer: Who does Malcolm mean when he says "We should gain complete economic control?" And what kind of economic system does Malcolm propose to control? Would he simply substitute black bosses for white--or does he propose that power be put in the hands of black workers? Or doesn't he distinguish between black workers and black bosses? In his criticisms of those who "picket and boycott and beg... for a job," does Malcolm reject pickets and boycotts as tactics? In the months ahead, he will have to answer these questions, among others, if he is to win active mass support.

But Malcolm's grasp of the role of the federal government stands in sharp contrast to other Negro leaders who still preach reliance on the "cracker" in Washington, and the hope that somehow the federal government will be pushed into making important concessions. Malcolm's call for black political power, although vague, is in contrast to those integrationists who see ending oppression within the confines of the white man's capitalist economy.

However, Malcolm is not the only black leader to put forward this new attitude in recent months. Many Negro

# The Great Train Robbery



By **WALTER LINDER**

(Editor's Note: The writer is the President of the Railroad Workers Unemployment Council and one of the co-ordinators of the Railroad Workers Educational League described in John Clark's article in last month's PL. Brother Linder wrote a previous story for PROGRESSIVE LABOR, appearing in the December 1963 issue.)

The wheels of class justice under U.S. capitalism never turned more ruthlessly than during the six days from Wednesday, April 22nd to Monday, April 27th, 1964.

In those six days, U.S. railroad workers suffered one of the worst set-backs in their once-proud, militant history. It was the culmination of all the betrayals of the past five years:

After having seen the Kennedy-sponsored arbitration law passed by Congress set to wipe out from 50,000 to 80,000 operating workers, railmen got another company-backed (Johnson-sponsored) "settlement" rammed down their throats by their union "leaders"; and the final blow was administered April 27th when the Supreme Court upheld the arbitration award.

This month, from 3700 to 7000 firemen are slated for the chopping block, in the opening of one of the greatest "officially approved" mass lay-offs in modern times. YET DURING THAT SAME SIX-DAY PERIOD, LYNDEN BOY JOHNSON TOURED APPALACHIA IN HIS "WAR ON POVERTY!" If his war against the railroad workers is successful, he'll have a national railroad "Appalachia" to

tour in the next few years.

After five years of "negotiation," this is what the union "leadership" won for its members in Johnson's "settlement":

1) An 8¢ to 12¢-an-hour wage increase--WITHOUT RETROACTIVITY.

2) \$1.50 lunch money away from home--if they "lay over" for at least four hours.

3) Seven paid holidays, and time and one-half if the holidays are worked.

4) Retaining of the 100-mile and 150-mile standard as a day's pay for road men.

## AND THIS IS WHAT THE RAILROADS WON:

1) All 40,000 firemen on yard and road freight trains to be eventually laid off.

2) A minimum of 18,000 trainmen (and possibly as high as 40,000) slated to be laid off on a road-by-road basis, according to recommendations of the arbitration law.

3) Elimination of a yard crew (engineer, fireman, conductor, brakeman, switchman) when it is the only one on a shift or in a yard (with the road crew performing the work)--more lay-offs.

4) Crews reduced on self-propelled vehicles--more lay-offs.

5) No wage increase on mileage basis for road crews --more profits.

6) Union demands for overtime and night differentials shelved.

7) NO RETROACTIVITY FOR THE FIVE YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS--meaning the railroads get off scot free for that entire period!

8) Promises of favorable action on permission for rate-cutting in competing with other transportation forms.

9) Promise of "fair treatment" in consideration of a tax rebate plan which will net the companies from a minimum of \$25,000,000 to possibly \$80,000,000 yearly!

10) Referral of the interdivisional run issue (which would force crews into a longer run for a day's pay, resulting in elimination of others) to another "impartial" mediator (and we know what will come out of that one).

And Johnson had the gall to state that "the needs and the demands of the people's interests...come first"(!)--Trainmen's News, 4/27/64.

## How 'Free Enterprise' Works

In his speech to the nation, the poverty-fighting millionaire from Texas said: "This agreement proves that dedicated men under the proper leadership can... show the world how the great American free enterprise system works." And just how does it work?

The New York Times (4/23/64) reported that: "The



leaders are coming to grips with the failure of the integration movement to win anything from the federal government except platitudes and jail sentences. Many are coming to see that the so-called civil rights bill, bogged down in a filibuster, is actually a giant fraud, both in what it says (or doesn't say) and in the way it's being used as a political football.

This new approach is reflected by the forces around Gloria Richardson in Cambridge, Md., Stanley Branche and the Freedom Now Committee in Chester, Pa., Lawrence Landry in Chicago, the "ad hockers" in San Francisco (see last month's PL), and the Brooklyn CORE rebels and Rev. Milton Galamison in New York. While these forces are not all the same and the leaders are not all of equal ability or consistency, they share many of the above-mentioned attitudes, as does Malcolm X.

The unification of all such forces around a clear program would be a big blow against the ruling class, and an uplift to the entire black freedom movement. The recent formation in Washington of an organization called ACT, under the chairmanship of Landry and with the participation of most of the above-mentioned forces as well as some SNCC leaders, could be a big step in the direction of that unity.

In this regard, Malcolm X's position is not clear. How, for example, will he reconcile the desire and ability of the Negro masses to act now with his perspectives for self-determination? Can he reconcile his opposition to integration with his verbal support for militant integrationists and his participation in ACT?

Malcolm's statement that he will be the black man's Billy Graham seems to put him at odds with some form of mass action to secure the black revolution of which he speaks. Surely Malcolm himself doesn't believe independent black power, political or economic, can be preached into being.

At this point, Malcolm's main pitch is towards the ballot. He says the only way to avoid a violent revolution is by the ballot: "Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro... were given what the Constitution says he's supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all the racists and segregationists out of office.... It would wipe out the southern segregationists that now control America's foreign policy as well as America's domestic policy.... The black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't

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get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet."

(Perhaps it is the smell of the ballot that has brought Adam Clayton Powell to the edges of Malcolm's activities. Or perhaps it is Powell's assignment from the power structure to use his demagoguery to guarantee that the nationalist movement becomes nothing more than an appendage to the electoral system.)

In the final analysis, Malcolm's policies will be tested by deeds and by the ability of black nationalism to attract large numbers of Negro workers, a feat so far unachieved by the integration movement, or by existing nationalist groups.

To accomplish this, Malcolm will have to develop and explain his identification with the world-wide anti-imperialist front, a large part of which has transcended nationalism and adopted internationalism and the class outlook that goes with it. Moreover, he, together with others, will have to demonstrate the concrete advantages of black nationalism at home and organize masses of black workers to fight the white rulers (this implies a certain amount of differentiation between white rulers and white masses)--the only kind of fight which will lead to freedom.

READ

# CHALLENGE

total settlement... represents a substantial gain for the railroads. This results from eliminating thousands of workers....

"An informed source estimated that the railroads would save \$317,000,000 a year from the manpower reductions permitted by the arbitration award... The cost of (the) settlement was put at \$64,000,000 to the railroads. The eventual net saving to the railroads was thus estimated at \$253,000,000 a year."

But that is not all. The 8¢ to 12¢ an hour increase, paid holidays, and \$1.50 lunch money for 4-hour lay-over won't ever get to the tens of thousands to be laid off, so the supposed \$64,000,000 "cost" of the settlement to the railroads must be reduced accordingly. (The Wall Street Journal, 4/27/64, estimated the net cost at "\$30 million to \$35 million"). This adds another chunk of profits to the above figure from the Times.

And still more: the railroads complained that the tunnels and gradings they have been building and deepening in recent years (for the hauling of "piggy-back" vans) should be depreciated the same as regular equipment-- while the Treasury Department had been defining this as part of the land, and therefore not subject to tax deductions. But along comes Lyndon Boy and promises these nice ol' railroads "fair treatment" for this complaint-- which, the Times concluded, means that a tax deduction for depreciation over a 35 to 50-year period will be granted, and the "potential tax savings could run as high as \$80,000,000 a year." (New York Times, 4/24/64)

Furthermore, the company request for the lengthening of inter-divisional runs--which would require fewer crews to perform more work--rather than being shelved as the union demands were, was sent to the "mediators" who worked out this agreement, for future "interpretation." After the succession of "impartial" commissions lining up on the side of the rail barons for the past four years, is there any doubt what these "mediators" will come out with?

So when it's all added up, in the "give-and-take" of this "settlement," the railroads "gave" a dime an hour and some "lunch money" and **took FROM A THIRD OF A BILLION TO A HALF BILLION DOLLARS YEARLY IN NEW PROFITS**, impoverishing the families of 50,000 to 80,000 railroad workers--"war on poverty" in high gear.

"The great American system of free enterprise" is obviously working a one-way street.

No wonder the New York Post (4/23/64) reported

### If Words Could Buy Groceries—

"The time has come," President LBJ announced recently, "for labor and Government and business to agree that we are going to achieve -- and keep -- full employment."

Speaking on behalf of labor, we agree. That leaves only Government and business to worry about....

"rail issues advancing on a broad front.... The Dow Jones rail average finally broke its 1929 record early this year. For the past four days, the average has reached new highs..." (My emphasis--W.L.).

This "solution" of the "problem" of how railroaders could enter the land of "Appalachia" was hailed as a great victory for Johnson and for "collective bargaining." But the groundwork was laid by the Kennedy Administration's arbitration law, and the "bargaining" was a farce. As the Times reported (4/26/64):

"... It was not as neat a triumph for the bargaining system as the system's advocates would have desired.... The two main issues in the controversy had been disposed of... by arbitration... last summer... These involved whether diesel firemen should be kept on in freight and yard service and the size of train crews--the major targets for manpower cuts in the railroads' campaign against 'featherbedding.'"

It was following this company-approved law passed by Congress that Johnson forced the latest "settlement" on the workers--with the meek acceptance of their union "leaders." And the "checks and balances" of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government were cemented together in fine style (for the bosses) when the Supreme Court upheld the arbitration lay-off award by refusing to review the case against it--as neat a triple play as ever performed on any ball field.

### Union "Leaders"

The role of the union "leaders" throughout this five-year period struck a new low in labor "statesmanship." They were always "blasting" the companies--in the newspapers--and praising Kennedy and Johnson as "friends." They led the workers through a maze of court actions and legal entanglements, losing one after the other, in the bosses' courts. But the one action they made sure not to take was to lead the men out on a national strike. When the men on the Illinois Central were finally allowed to "jump the gun," the "leaders" then completely lay down and swooned in as big a sell-out as was ever made.

Their constant support of "impartial" mediators--instead of refusing to have anything to do with them--led them to their crowning glory:

"'That George Taylor (Johnson's mediator),' a union man recalled later. 'He'd push you so gently that you didn't know you were being pushed. But pretty soon, you'd be standing out in the hall wondering how you got there.'"

"'Ted Kheel (another Johnson mediator) made us a speech that cut us up pretty good,' another union leader said. 'But he did it in such a nice way that we didn't know we were bleeding until he left the room.'"

But they recovered so remarkably from this "bloody" condition that immediately after Johnson's TV speech, "Mr. Wolfe (the bosses chief negotiator) and Mr. Davidson (the union "leader") went to have a drink together." (New York Times, 4/23/64).

However, an interesting insight into how the Train-



men's President (Luna)--a fellow Texan--must have aided the sell-out of the firemen was revealed in his plaintive cry that he did not "expect" his own men to be laid off: "One of the guidelines in the arbitration award states that whether or not a fireman is serving on a train will be considered in determining if the size of the crew should be cut. The trainmen's union has argued that this could not be followed until the Supreme Court acted on the award." (N.Y. Times, 4/28/64).

Since the next man in the crew to be cut, after the fireman, would be a trainman, there is a clear implication here that Luna was expecting the elimination of the firemen to make it easier on the trainmen (once the crew would have been cut from five to four). What he gave for this, we can only guess. But now even he complains, "We are disappointed that, while the railroads said there would be very few jobs challenged outside of firemen jobs, they are now serving blanket notices on almost all of our committees to take off trainmen jobs."

The long-range implications of this slaughter of the rail workers are contained in the fact that now "It is clear... that Wall Street expects the merger roadblock to be cleared up, too." (N.Y. Post, 4/23/64) The headline on that story read: "SOLVING OF MERGER PROBLEM SEEN AFTER RAIL LABOR PACT." That "solution" will lead, according to conservative estimates, to THE ELIMINATION OF ANOTHER 200,000 RAILROAD JOBS!

No wonder the Times' John Pomfret (4/26/64) reports that the "settlement":

"...signals a basic turn in labor relations in the railroad industry equal in importance to those in the coal industry in 1950 and the steel industry a decade later.

"Only last month, negotiators for the soft coal industry and the United Mine Workers of America agreed on their fifth contract in 14 years without a major work stoppage.

"The steel industry and the United Steelworkers of America, since the bitter 1959 strike, have evolved a relationship that is a model of rationality."

This model of rationality in steel has helped lay off 350,000 steel workers, permanently. And the 1950 soft coal agreement helped to create the most depressed area in the country--Appalachia--with jobs in the mines falling from 500,000 in 1948 to 175,000 now, and kids in Kentucky going to school barefoot and being eaten up by parasites (two-legged as well as germ-like). If this is the "basic turn" signaled by this latest "settlement," the future for railroad workers will be bleak, to say the least.

## Possible Action

The mood of railroad workers reacting to these latest events has been a combination of pessimism, hopelessness, and a sprinkling of rank-and-file rebellion. In the San Francisco area, the switchmen on the Southern Pacific stayed home in a "sick" strike at the beginning of the 15-day "truce" period. Then when their union leaders called them to meetings to urge them to stop their protest and return to work, they rebelled, and in some

## STRIKES EXPECTED OVER RAIL RULES

Court Bans Wildcat Union  
Walkouts on Thursday

By JOHN D. POMFRET

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5 — Railroad labor sources today foresaw the possibility of wildcat strikes in various parts of the country when an arbitration award allowing elimination of thousands of railroad jobs goes into effect at 12:01 A.M. Thursday.

United States District Judge Alexander Holtzoff issued today a temporary restraining

order here banning strikes in protest of the award.

The order, which is effective for 10 days, was aimed at the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Judge Holtzoff set a hearing for next Monday on whether it should be made permanent.

A spokesman for the firemen's union—the organization that will be hardest hit by the arbitration award—said that the union would act to quell wildcat strikes.

But he said that many of the union's members were intensely bitter over the way some railroads intended to apply the award.

'...INTENSELY BITTER...'

N.Y. Times, 5/6/64

cases threw out these "leaders." The Harlem division of the New York Central was virtually shut tight for half a day by dissatisfied trainmen, although the "truce" was on. The men on the Illinois Central, which had been struck for three days (leading to the Administration for pressure for a "truce"), stayed out even after they were ordered to report back to work.

How many other incidents like these were repeated, unreported, around the country, may never be known. Still more difficult is the task of trying to connect these rebellious rank-and-file groups into a cohesive national force.

In the New York-New Jersey area, the Railroad Workers Educational League--a group composed of rail workers from all roads and crafts, Negro and white, operating and non-operating (see PL, last month)--carried out their first demonstration on behalf of job security and against mass layoffs, on April 8th at Grand Central Station and the United Nations. Although innumerable newsmen and TV reporters and cameramen interviewed the picketing workers, our demands and demonstration were virtually blacked out on TV and in the press.

In the interviews, we made a strong case for all rail workers, both unemployed and for those firemen and trainmen facing the axe. The company position was demolished when we cited their billion and one-half dollar profits (cash flow) in 1963 alongside their poverty cries. Perhaps that's why the interviews were suppressed. One interview ended abruptly when this writer stated that "railroad workers can no longer function under this system, and may have to get a new one, throwing out the present government."

If reported, the interviews would have come out on the same day that the Illinois Central men went out on strike, and it was probably too sharp a picture to be drawn by the bosses' propaganda machines, bent on defending the railroads.

The only way out for the firemen facing extinction beginning May 7th, and for all other rank-and-filers, is to walk out together before the axe cuts any deeper, and perhaps even "sit-in," as our brothers in the CIO did in 1934, and our Negro freedom fighter counterparts are doing in 1964.

# Kentucky Miners Move To Political Action

By ED CLARK

Hazard, Ky. --- Independent political action and black and white unity against economic and racial oppression were the themes of the Hazard Conference on Jobs and Poverty, held in March. Leaders of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment (formerly loosely organized as the "roving pickets") emphasized these tactics in speeches to some 150 students and 20 miners and their families.

Berman Gibson, leader of the miners, set the tone of the Conference when he stated: "Until the unemployed miners and the employed miners work together and vote together, the people here will always be in the same bad shape, if not worse!" Gibson further stated: "I'd like to see 10,000 Negroes demonstrate in downtown Hazard! There'd be some miners down there helping them, too!"

Gibson's opening speech also explained that "the coal operators like to use white scabs against colored unionists and colored scabs against white unionists." Gibson outlined some of the difficulties the miners face. The poverty here has reached the point where kids are pulled out of school for lack of warm clothing and shoes! Meanwhile many employed miners are forced to purchase all their groceries, etc. at the "company store" at prices more than double the market rates.

Gibson's theme was taken up by Hamish Sinclair, national secretary of the Committee for Miners. Sinclair surprised many of the students with the fact that the last unionized mine in Perry County (Hazard) was to close down on April 27. After this date, there will be only one unionized mine left in Eastern Kentucky. In the unorganized mines (the miners call them "scab holes"), the pay runs from as little as \$3.00 a day to as "much" as \$12 a day, and no nonsense such as fringe benefits!

One of the high points of the Conference was a tour of some of the mines in the Perry County area. While the desolation left by strip-mining lay before our eyes, we heard an old miner's cracking voice describe the inroads of automation: "In the old days, a miner could load perhaps 15 to 20 tons of coal a day; now these machines can load 30 tons in 30 minutes!" We also saw many of the "houses" furnished by the coal operators to their employees. These were little more than three-room shells without plumbing, without electricity and without heat. They rented for \$15 to \$20 per month.

As if the miners did not have enough enemies, Perry County has recently been invaded by the Southern Labor Union. The SLU is a segregationist outfit which works hand-in-glove with the bosses. It is an old-fashioned company union regarded with contempt by the miners; but in at least one mine in Perry County, you have to join this outfit to get a job. Wages in the SLU mine average less than \$12 a day, with no benefits.

We also learned that a new federal housing project in

Hazard is off-limits to both Negroes and miners. The Hazard swimming pool has been closed for four years to "avoid integration." A talk I had with a Hazard Herald reporter made it obvious that the coal operators are using the issue of integration to split the miners.

A later Conference session heard speeches by Stan Aronowitz (National Committee for Full Employment) and Gibson. Aronowitz traced the history of union organizing in Eastern Kentucky from the days of "Bloody Harlan" (1931) and the first UMW contract (1933) to the days when 90 to 92 per cent of all coal miners were organized (1943 --1948).

Then, perhaps most important, came the explanation of why the United Mine Workers has abandoned the miners of Eastern Kentucky. From the late forties to the present, according to Aronowitz, the UMW has organized its District 50, a goulash union composed of a few shoe clerks here, a few office workers there, and some small factory workers somewhere else. District 50 does virtually nothing for these people and UMW officials regard them as a source of dues with no outlay necessary from the central office. District 50 has some 250,000 members all over the country, while District 30 (coal miners) has less than 100,000 members. Moreover, miners have the nasty habit of striking, and strikes cost money. So the UMW is in the process of gradually pulling out of Eastern Kentucky and other coal mining areas because these miners are a financial liability rather than an asset.

But the hold that the UMW still has in Eastern Kentucky was demonstrated when Gibson broke in at this point to emphasize that "the UMW must come in and reorganize the mines!"

Aronowitz finished his speech by castigating the Federal Government for sending in FBI agents to harass the striking miners instead of enforcing the Walsh-Healy Act which provides for a minimum wage of \$22.50 per day in mines selling more than \$10,000 worth of coal to the Federal Government per year. Most of the coal mined in Eastern Kentucky goes to the Tennessee Valley Authority, and TVA has contracted to buy 33 million more tons of coal this year than last. Yet the coal operators, through multiple use of dummy names, have been able to evade the law and the Federal Government has done nothing to enforce it.

While the next session started quietly, it soon exploded as Federal Administrators of local programs attempted to justify Federal inaction, bungling and corruption. The "manpower retraining" hoax was quickly exposed as a Federal spokesman had to admit that "training is provided for jobs likely to appear in the next six to twelve months." Not many jobs are likely to appear in Hazard in the next six to twelve years! Also, instead of finding jobs for men who need jobs, the retraining program is geared to finding men for jobs that need men.





That is, the retraining program is set up to help bosses find workers, not to help workers find jobs!

The Accelerated Public Works Program showed its true colors, too. Supposedly intended to provide jobs in Eastern Kentucky (where the tradition of unionism is still strong), these programs instead bring in scab labor from outside the region!

But the session did not really get hot until the Feds finished dispensing their syrup and the miners themselves got up to ask their questions. Most of these questions centered on the outrageous use of Federal Welfare programs at the local level. Welfare benefits are used as a reward for scabbing in the mines, while militant trade union leaders are refused all benefits. To scabs, the price of \$72.00 worth of food stamps (the maximum allowed per month) costs the legal rate of \$2.00. But trade union militants may pay \$40.00 to \$50.00 and more for the same amount of stamps. Meanwhile, if you are a union man or are related to a union man, you'd better not get sick in Eastern Kentucky. It takes months to get into the hospital that the miners paid for themselves, and even when you get in, the staff (mostly imported scab labor) will probably forget to feed you at least once a day!

The Feds brought much of the contempt upon themselves. One Wisconsin coed asked why the miners were not consulted in the planning of Johnson's four billion dollar program to "end poverty in Appalachia." One of the Federal bureaucrats got up and answered: "Because Johnson is the Commander-in-Chief of the War on Poverty and it is he who has brought the question of poverty to the attention of the American people!" Students and miners alike jumped to their feet and roared out their indignation! After ten minutes or so, when order was finally restored, Joel Dressler (Washington, D.C. Secretary of the Committee for Miners) made the simple point that perhaps summed up the Conference: "We have always had a war on poverty usually conducted by the poor. The question in my mind relating to the war on poverty is... which side is Johnson on?" (Standing ovation).

The Conference also featured, on Saturday night, an old-fashioned union-hall song-fest. Local folk singers and national favorites Phil Ochs and Carolyn Hester

joined their efforts as the old union songs rang out as strong as they did when they were first written to celebrate struggles in the early 1930's. One student told me Hazard reminded him of either the 1930's or the 1970's! It was easy to see how the union spirit got so strong in Eastern Kentucky, as I saw many kids aged three to six brought by their grandfathers to the union hall every week-end.

Don West, radical poet of another generation, native of Eastern Kentucky and co-ordinator of the old Workers Alliance (the unemployed union of the 1930's), saw great hopes for the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment because the miners of Eastern Kentucky are "stickers"--they will fight when most others would quit!

The last day of the Conference was mostly spent planning details of a summer project under Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The project will consist, in the main, of organizing a precinct-by-precinct machine to elect miners' candidates this November to local offices. With local political power, the miners could then re-organize the mines, with or without the financial assistance of the UMW. But if Gibson's forces don't move quickly, the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the UMW will soon be filled by the Southern Labor Union and Gibson will find his economic base cut out from under him.

The Hazard Conference was full of contradictions and there are still many unsolved problems that stand between the miners and the victory they desire. For while the "liberal" SDS leaders never mentioned that nasty word "socialism"--it is obvious that only when workers control the mines will Eastern Kentucky ever recover from its present depression.

But this is a lesson that the miners are learning themselves, as a miner remarked to me: "Everybody calls us Communists. They say we are running a Communist movement--a Communist-infiltrated movement. Well, seems to me if a kid is hungry and a Communist gives him a scrap of bread, it tastes just as good to the kid. If a kid is cold and a Communist gives him a rag to cover his backside, the kid is just as warm. I'm a retired man with nothing to win or lose, but I got four sons and 23 grand-kids and I'm fighting for them! We're fighting for our kids!" The miners of Eastern Kentucky are still fighting, and time is on their side...!

# BUFFALO SMASHES HUAC

THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE was driven out of Buffalo, N.Y. last month in the latest in its series of routs. The Committee had come to Buffalo to launch a witch-hunt against radical students, teachers, and workers—with the central target the Progressive Labor Movement. But thousands of Buffalo citizens joined in a united counter-attack against HUAC—hundreds of students picketed, hundreds of professors and prominent citizens placed ads in the newspapers (one of the papers even came out editorially against HUAC), and the Buffalo City Council (a conservative group) voted 11-4 NOT to welcome the Committee to Buffalo. Inside the hearing room, the opposition continued as witnesses and audience alike blasted HUAC from start to finish. Here we reprint a few of the newspaper stories describing events around the hearings.

In the June issue of PROGRESSIVE LABOR, we will publish a full analysis of the Buffalo hearings, of HUAC, of the whole series of recent hearings and protest demonstrations, and their significance for the future.

NEW YORK POST.



Tobias Schwartz, a witness before House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in Buffalo, grabs microphone and shouts: "Is this microphone bugged?" Federal marshals dragged him from the hearing room.

## Red Probers in Buffalo Hear the Sound of Fury

THE TARGET:

### New Communist Operations Here A Prime Target

A more recent split from the orthodox Communist Party, which reflects the differences between Moscow and Peking concerning the tactics to be adopted by Communists in conquering the world, developed here in Buffalo, following the expulsion in 1961 of two functionaries of the New York State Communist Party, namely, Mortimer Scher and Milton Rosen.

Says Student Group Sides With Red China

These individuals disagreed with the tactical line of Khrushchev and advocated more militant action. They attracted followers within the Communist movement who shared their views, and organized here in Buffalo the nucleus of another new Communist group, the Progressive Labor Movement

which now has its headquarters in New York City.

In committee hearings last year dealing with illegal travel to Cuba by so-called "students" in the summer of 1963, it was revealed that the majority of the leaders of the group were members of the Progressive Labor Movement.

It is significant that while in Cuba the group visited the Red Chinese Embassy, but ignored the Soviet Embassy. The Progressive Labor Movement, by this and other actions such as promoting the sale of Chinese Communist literature in the United States to the exclusion of Soviet publications, has made it clear that it has taken the side of Peking in the current

As Sessions Open Today

## 1,500 to Picket HUAC Session Here

An estimated 1,500 to 2,000 opponents of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) are expected to picket in front of the U.S. Court House on Niagara St.

University at Buffalo — will march around the McKinley Monument in Niagara Sq. Both groups have informed the Buffalo Police Dept. of their plans.

Police Commissioner William H. Schneider said he does not anticipate any trouble. He predicted that a few officers

of the Buffalo Committee to Oppose HUAC, has accused the investigators of having passed only to sympathetic persons.

**Protest on Campus**  
**UB Student Senate OKs HUAC Picketing Fund**

**Judge Refuses to Stop Fund Use for Picketing**

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

## Rain-Soaked Pickets' Chants Echo Outside HCUA Session

By FRANK BUELL

It was just like the day of the big game—and the rain didn't matter.

Wednesday's field was upstairs in a Federal Bldg. room where the hearing was in progress. But

But—with Elmwood Ave. students joined by a Harper College contingent from Binghamton, about 75 all told—they were quick to boom the chants that originated from the other

## Witnesses Spark Uproar, Grapple With Marshals

By PAUL JAYES

Six men and a woman invoked the Fifth Amendment Wednesday during an uproarious day of hearings by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) at

## TRIO EJECTED, OTHERS BARRED BY THE HCUA TO PREVENT TROUBLE

Scream 'Storm Troopers' and 'Nazis' As U. S. Marshals Keep Them From Room

By ROLAND POWELL

Three persons were ejected today from the hearing room as the House Committee on Un-American Activities prepared to begin its second and final day of hearings into Communist activity in the Buffalo area.

## Marshal Unable To Eject Woman

By JOHN P. GUNN

Several other marshals intervened and escorted Wolkstein back down front as the chorus sang the national anthem. There were no arrests.

During the excitement, two marshals took Rachel from the room when Mrs. Wolkstein

## Loyalty Is Due Civil Rights, Not to HUAC

The obligation of loyal Americans to preserve civil liberties transcends whatever obligation there is to respect a committee of Congress and defend it against critics who charge it infringes upon rights of free Americans.

Many freedom-loving Americans in Buffalo have made it clear that they think the House Un-American Activities Committee has no worth-while purpose in mind in conducting public hearings here. They have not hesitated to expose themselves to innuendoes which may be attached to objections raised against hearings of a committee which avows it only is looking for enemies of the United States.

Because of the very nature of its avowal, the committee ordinarily would need only to go on its inquisitorial way with the expectation that a

majority of the citizens would be well disposed toward it and not well disposed toward any who condemn its activities. Those critics not deemed subversive could be, and sometimes are, dismissed as dupes.

This line of thought is dangerous; and it is precisely because it is likely to be promoted that the appearance of the committee in a community is cause for concern. The opposition to its coming to Buffalo may indicate to its members that it cannot go on forever trading on a supposition of good will.

Thought should be given to the possibility that the true patriots are among those who denounce the HUAC's activities. At least they are expressing, at perhaps some cost, rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Preservation of these is paramount.

EDITORIAL from Buffalo Courier Express



through hostile publicity." The statement follows: "The Buffalo Board of Rabbis is deeply concerned over hearings to be conducted in our community by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Protest demonstrations have been announced previously by students at Cornell University and State University of Buffalo.

# WIR

**BUFFA**

University at Buffalo students picketing in Niagara Sq. against the House Un-American Activities Committee discovered Wednesday that chanting "much easier way to..."

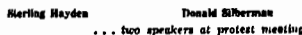
A resolution which would have extended "a cordial welcome" to Buffalo to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee, he added, is "supposed to go all over America," including the South to investigate the Ku Klux Klan.

# PRESS

**Cool**  
Mostly cloudy, few showers, some fog today. High 55. Partial clearing to night. Low 40 to 45. Southeast winds 5 to 15 mph. Fair, moderating tomorrow.

**32 PAGES—EIGHT CENTS**

Western New York's Greatest Newspaper  
TUESDAY, APRIL 28, 1984



More than 650 persons Monday night applauded 10 speakers opposing the hearings to be held by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) here and expressed confidence their activities were "in keeping with the American way of life . . ."

The Rev. Clarence Hillard, pastor of St. Paul Baptist Church, Larkinsville, master of

Leading the list of speakers at a rally in Pilgrim Baptist Church, 685 Michigan Ave., was movie actor Sterling Hayden, free on bail after being arrested in a mass civil rights demonstration in California.

## 500 Opponents of House Committee Cheer Attacks by Series of Speakers

About 500 opponents of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) gave thunderous applause Monday evening to the first of a series of speeches at a 2½-hour meeting in Pilgrim Baptist Church at 635 Michigan Ave. Arranged by the Communist Committee to Oppose HCUA, the meeting attracted a crowd, ranging in age from 17 to 70, that was urged to picket tomorrow's congressional hearings in the Federal Bldg.

Most speakers charged the House committee with attempts to undermine the civil-rights movement, assailing Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D., Louisiana), its chairman, and Rep. William M. Tuck (D., Virginia), co-chairman, as segregationists.

**Calls Members "Racketeers"**  
The most vitriolic attack came from Conrad Lynn, national director of the new "Freedom Now Party" and a member of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

He labeled members of the House Committee on Un-American

Actor-writer Sterling Hayden said here Monday afternoon that the House Un-American Activities Committee (H.U.A.C.) "harassed talented men, sent them into exile abroad and practically destroyed the Hollywood film industry."

with "the caliber and intelligence of some of the people I met in the party" and insisted there is no tie between Moscow and American Communists.

He said the U.S. Communist Party has

The Dept. of Christian Social Relations of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York Monday adopted a resolution calling on Western New York residents to refrain from drawing hasty conclusions about the guilt of persons called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

The resolution, released by the Rev. Charles G. Rice Jr., rector of St. Paul's Church, Harborside 12119

The local office of the American Civil Liberties Union Wednesday issued a strong protest against what it called the "umbrella smear tactics" of the United Anti-Communist Committee of Western New York, which Tuesday linked the ACLU with communism.

Among the raincoated students, many dressed housewives and bundling up children in the anti-EUAC picket line in front of the U.S. Court House Wednesday, there appeared a scattering of clerical collars.

The Rev. Robert P. Bollman, of St. Philip's Episcopal Church and a teaching fellow at UB, issued a statement entitled "Thoughts on Opposing the House Un-American Activities Committee." Saying that he is representing only himself, Fr. Bollman continued:

"I am acting as a priest who is concerned about the moral intimidation of men without full due process of law . . . If I cannot

A sub-committee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is planning to hold hearings on alleged "communist activities in Buffalo," beginning April 29. What is its real purpose in coming here?

Under the guise of legislative inquiry, this Committee has assumed the power to summon, accuse, judge and convict, while denying to witnesses such fundamental safeguards as the right to examine an accuser.

The Committee functions to undermine and discredit good individuals who express dissenting opinions. Its headline techniques of character assassination and invasion of Constitutional rights are an insult to our democratic tradition.

In the words of the Supreme Court:  
 "If there is any fixed star in our Constitutional constellation it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, to force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

In opposing the Committee, we are supporting the principles of democracy and upholding the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

[illegible]

Mrs. Frances T.  
Paul N. Shimer  
Phyllis Shimer  
James Sloan  
Ruth M. Sloan  
Barbara A. Se  
Claire Ruth S  
Elizabeth O.  
Mrs. Bess Se  
George N.  
Myron E.  
Roger See  
Harry K.  
Paul J.  
Mrs. V.  
Charles  
Polly I.  
David  
Horn  
Earl  
Dave  
Earl  
Joe  
John

group of young



A group of youngsters march in the anti-HUAC picket line.

# MAY DAY 1964

By MILTON ROSEN

May Day 1964 finds U.S. workers, black and white, in a fight with U.S. bosses which is sharper than it has been at any time in the past quarter century. Despite President Johnson's gibberish about how "full employment" is just around the corner, tens of millions of working men and women in this country today are either unemployed, about to be unemployed, or worrying about how soon they will be laid off. And whatever worries the white worker has today, the black worker had yesterday; and whatever new unemployment may hit the white worker tomorrow, it has already hit the black worker today.

Many signs point to a growing working class resistance--despite some immediate reversals--which will lay the basis for a counter-offensive inevitably bringing the working people of this country to challenge the ruling class for state power. A few examples of this growing resistance--the fight for jobs and freedom--can be seen in this issue of PROGRESSIVE LABOR.

Afraid of this growing awareness and resistance among the people, the rich ruling circles and their marionettes in Washington have come up with slick slogan, "War on Poverty." If you judge by deeds instead of words, the slogan should be "War on the Poor."

The latest example of this "War" is the Johnson settlement of the rail crisis. Johnson's "impartial" intervention ended in a "settlement" bringing the immediate lay-off of 58,000 rail workers, the eventual lay-off of 200,000 more rail workers (including mergers), and establishing a precedent to eliminate hundreds of thousands of workers in other industries!

Add to this the intensified Johnson-Kennedy persecution of James Hoffa--which is really aimed at the rank-and-file Teamster union member, and eventually at the members of all unions--and you get a clear picture of what they have in store for the working man in this country.

Meanwhile, profits soar. General Motors has revealed just how well the War Against Poverty is going: "only" \$536,000,000 in profits in the first quarter of 1964, after taxes--the highest total ever. Unemployment, Jim Crow and war certainly haven't hurt GM.

ers

The "War on the Poor" is not limited to lay-offs and prosecution of militant unionists. The growing use of terror against militant civil rights fighters is also part of it. The Federal Government is revealing its true role as an ally of the Dixiecrats and enemy of the Negro people. And the "liberal" New York administration is outdoing itself to keep abreast of Nashville and Birmingham in the latest techniques of oppression.

At the same time, the Johnson Administration is willing to sacrifice almost any number of (other people's) lives to spread this "freedom" to a "backward" world. In Asia, Washington is pouring more men and money into its war of genocide in South Viet Nam, and has now overthrown the neutralist government in Laos in a desperate attempt to regroup its southeast Asian forces, in preparation for an open war against China.

In Latin America, the Washington warriors have followed the same kind of approach: wherever a liberal, or neutralist government appears, get rid of it--El Salvador, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and now Brazil. This calvacade of coups is designed--like those in Asia--to put the U.S. warmakers in a position to attack Cuba. The illegal U.S. spy flights over Cuba are the latest and most cynical of all the cynical aggressive actions committed by this country against that revolutionary island.

In this way, with the bible and the bayonet and the bombs of napalm, the U.S. teaches the whole world about "freedom", Birmingham style. But the old imperial days are over. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are not waiting to be slaughtered any more. And in this country, too,

## THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

\* Rank and file activity increases inside the unions, challenging the phony union leaders (see railroad story). Hoffa and his allies fight back, and refuse to play dead. The Kentucky miners broaden their organization.

\* Freedom fighters up the ante, seeking more militant forms of struggle, including armed self-defense. Malcolm X gives the Negro people a sense of new power by identifying them as a part of the world majority that is fighting U.S. imperialism. More and more Negro leaders come to see the Federal Government as their enemy. Demonstrations mount.

\* Students and young people all over the country organize May 2nd Committees, and thousands participate in actions to stop the U.S. war in Viet Nam. The American people are fed up with the war. A strong movement, led by young people, can be decisive in forcing Washington to get out.

\* Despite four indictments, FBI harassment, and mail seizure, a second student trip to Cuba is planned for this July.

\* When the Johnson-backed House Un-American Activities Committee comes to Buffalo, it is chased out of town by an enraged public.

\* Most important, a new revolutionary movement is growing in this country, including or working together with many of the best forces in all these movements. In New York City, CHALLENGE, a new revolutionary weekly newspaper will be published, speaking for the working people of that city, following their daily lives and helping to lead their daily struggles. And, as an organ of the Progressive Labor Movement, it will educate, advocate, and agitate to speed up and strengthen the struggle for socialism in the United States.

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