

WORKERS WORLD

LBJ Budget Tells War Story: \$10.3 Billion to Continue the Viet War!



Picketing Times Square recruiting station; demanding freedom for two GIs.

\$58.3 BILLION FOR "DEFENSE" MEANS A NEW SLAUGHTER OF AMERICAN YOUTH IS IN THE MAKING

(And on Jan. 25, Johnson "reluctantly" decides that his "peace offensive can't be maintained much longer"!)

Billions for war; pennies for peace. That was the message Lyndon Johnson sent to Congress in the form of a National Budget last week.

With \$58.3 billion for "defense" — an increase of \$11 billion over two years ago, and \$10.3 billion earmarked for Vietnam — for a starter — Johnson let the world know that his "peace" messages had been pure hot air.

And the "peace party" in Congress showed by its grudging acceptance of the astronomical expense for destruction and death that it was not really so very serious about opposing the war in Vietnam and that it could be pulled along by a good fast war chariot to give its support as the "loyal opposition."

"Congressional reaction from both

(capitalist political) parties," said the Jan. 25 New York Times, "indicated that the President would get all the defense money he requested."

Just a day after the grim Budget was made public, Johnson met with Congressional leaders for a secret briefing session on Vietnam. "It seemed likely," observed an unnamed Wash-

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China Prepares For U.S. Attack

JAN.19 — Fully aware of the real meaning of Johnson's "peace" campaign and the grim war plans of the U.S. ruling class, People's China has put its hundreds of millions on a war alert against a possible U.S. attack.

Today Peking newspapers front-paged the reports of a recent conference on political work in the army. They quoted one statement of army leaders as follows:

"We should make full preparations against a war of aggression which United States imperialism might launch at an early date on a large scale with nuclear or other weapons and on several fronts."

Correctly branding Johnson's State of the Union Message as "smelling of gunpowder," the Peking press said, "The keynote of this year's message was the brazen clamor for war."

Meanwhile, the U.S. press is full of misleading commentaries on whether China will "come in" to the Vietnam war or not. The point they all conceal is that the U.S. war drive is aimed precisely at China and the factional struggle within the U.S. ruling class is really over when and whether to carry this drive through to its intended goal.

McCLURE AND SMITH — FREED BY NLF; JAILED BY U.S. ARMY

Youth Start Fight to Free Anti-War GIs

NEW YORK, Jan. 22 — Today in Times Square a shouting picket line of 250 people, sponsored by Youth Against War and Fascism, demanded the freeing of two GIs now being held prisoner by U.S. Army authorities.

The two soldiers, Claude D. McClure, an Afro-American youth from Tennessee, and George E. Smith, a white soldier from West Virginia, had been captured by the South Vietnam Liberation Front, held for two years, and released by the NLF in a gesture of friendship to anti-war forces in the U.S. who marched in Washington last November.

The two GIs, in a news conference in Cambodia after their release, made strong statements opposing the role of the U.S. in Vietnam. They stated they would oppose the war-making of the U.S. on their return home. (Their discharge was past due.)

They have never been allowed to return. The Army has held them incommunicado practically ever since. At last report they were in Okinawa.

In the first U.S. protest against this scandal, the youthful pickets chanted "Free Smith, Free McClure, Bring the GIs Home!" The passing crowds were strongly attracted to the demonstration and seemed to watch with unusual thoughtfulness.

Five or six "Bomb-Hanoi" fascists attempted a counter-demonstration. At one time they lined up and gave the Nazi salute. In a previous Times Square demonstration the YAWF defense guard successfully defended the line against several attacks from a similar element. No defense was necessary this time.

The militant pickets raged at the consciousness of the passing thousands, even while right overhead, in the flashing, lighted ribbons of news, the usual indoctrination went on. "You never had it so good!" flashed

the good news at one point.

But the marchers reminded everyone that two young Americans (who represent many more) were not having it so good. They were being illegally and arbitrarily held prisoner by arrogant U.S. Army officials because they dared to oppose the war.

Army authorities have threatened to charge the two soldiers with "aiding the enemy." But no grounds were given for such a charge, and since the war is being waged without even a

STATE GIVES AWAY MILLIONS FOR A WORTHLESS RAILROAD

By Fred Howard

In one of the biggest scandals in railroad history New York State has just purchased for \$65 million a railroad which is not worth a dime!

A check for that amount has just been presented to the board of directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad which owns the bankrupt Long Island.

The Pennsy has owned the LIRR since 1900 and has been milking it dry for years. When the LIRR was declared bankrupt in 1954, it was losing money on passenger service but still showing a profit on freight hauls. But when the Pennsylvania merged with the New York Central last year, all the freight was re-routed away from the LIRR. Now the bankrupt rail system isn't worth the paper its stock is printed on — or it shouldn't be.

Governor Rockefeller, who a few weeks ago couldn't find any money to help pay 36,000 transit workers a living wage, has just come up with an outright gift of \$65 million for a handful of parasites whose greatest exertion is to order their secretaries to clip their interest-bearing coupons on the proper due date.

— Private enterprise, anyone?

fiction of legality, there is officially no enemy to be aiding!

So the two men are simply held prisoners by the U.S. Army to prevent them from giving their valuable — and to the Army war-makers, dangerous — information to the American people.

At a brief rally which followed the picketing, Key Martin, national chairman of YAWF, announced that the demonstration was only the first action in a campaign by YAWF to gain freedom for the two men.

"Getting their release," said Mr. Martin, "is important for the freedom of speech not only of soldiers, but civilians as well. Their imprisonment is an act of intimidation against all anti-war forces."



"Who, me?" — "Yes, you. Get over there into that peace offensive!"

WORKERS WORLD

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Vol. 8, No. 2 - January 27, 1966

Published Twice Monthly

**Wheeler Speaks Johnson's Mind**

When Chief of Staff Gen. Earl G. Wheeler demanded a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam last week, he was not just replying to the previous statement of Gen. James M. Gavin. He was speaking for Johnson and his Administration.

Wheeler's testimony before Senate subcommittees, where he advocated a new wave of bombing, was made public on the same day (January 22) and in the same news stories that quoted Johnson's letter to 76 "liberal" members of Congress as saying the same thing that Wheeler had said - but in more diplomatic and hypocritical language.

Gen. Gavin had published an article in Harper's Magazine the week before wherein he advocated a permanent halt in the bombing of the North and a U.S. retention of bases mostly along the coast of South Vietnam as "enclaves" of U.S. influence.

Gavin, of course, speaks for a section of big business, just as Wheeler speaks for Johnson and a bigger section of big business. Gavin may speak for those who feel that they cannot crush the Vietnamese revolution without their antagonizing and "losing" all Indochina, if not Asia itself - those who want to hold on to what they've got in Asia and not risk the destiny of the whole capitalist system in a mad military adventure - Or he may speak for those who want to prepare more cautiously for a bigger war - not now, but later on.

Wheeler represents those who want to have an early showdown with the liberation forces of Vietnam, Asia and the whole world - a showdown they feel more capable of coping with at this time than four or five years from now, when China, for one, will be much more capable of defending herself.

Johnson sometimes appears to be oscillating between the policies of Gavin and Wheeler. But he is really only maneuvering with the masses, who do not want war and who must be

convinced that Johnson wants peace before they are willing to fight his war. In reality, Johnson is the best civilian representative that the war-now clique have. His double-quick intervention in the Dominican Republic last spring was an eloquent proof of this.

Wheeler, after a long military-technical discussion before the Senate Armed Services and Appropriations subcommittees, stated the strategic problem of imperialism itself and got to the political heart of the matter by saying:

The United States is facing "the first of the wars of national liberation which have been preached by the Soviets and by Mao Tse-tung, and there is a very important stake here resting upon whether we win or lose.

"I believe that if we lose this war, which we do not have to lose, we will have more wars of liberation to face up to with the prospect of greater losses under less favorable circumstances.

Where the top military chief lays bare the political crisis of imperialism, the top political ruler covers it up with talk of "peace" and threats to peace by the "enemy" - a logical division of labor in the age of imperialist decline, when the masses must be wooed and deceived before they can be driven to war.

While Johnson prepares and conditions the American people for a bloody war in the name of peace, Wheeler tells the Senate what's really on Johnson's mind.

THE INFILTRATORS

McNamara's latest allegation on the "infiltration" of North Vietnamese troops going into the southern part of their own country is 1,700 a month.

What about *United States* infiltration? Over 160,000 GIs have been sent there since last February.

An average of 14,545 U.S. troops have been sent each month for the past 11 months to invade Vietnam.

"Red Massacre" - or CIA Frame-up?

Apparently the U.S. cannot have a "peace offensive" without framing up its opponents to look like super-barbaric advocates of war.

Last Wednesday, January 19, said the Associated Press, "the Viet Cong paid a bloody visit to a refugee camp in the final hours before their four day truce ... Thirty-three persons were killed and 54 wounded, many of them women and children... They executed whole families on the spot, mangled the bodies - and then (conveniently for U.S. reporters) left behind leaflets denouncing the U.S. 'dirty war of aggression against the people of Vietnam.'"

If this incident took place at all, it has the earmarks of having been staged by the CIA, not the NLF.

Last October 20, Senator Stephen M. Young of Ohio said that he had learned that the CIA hired persons to disguise themselves as "Viet Cong" and discredit the liberation fighters by committing such atrocities as torture, rape, mutilation and murder etc.

The CIA denied the worst part of the

allegations, but when the Senator insisted that his information (from a U.S. military officer) was correct, it apparently retreated a little. Senator Young said:

"I confirmed through the CIA today that it employed some South Vietnamese nationals to pose as Viet Cong - and I take a dim view of that."

The so-called "Red Massacre" of Jan. 18, as the newspapers headlined it in screaming letters, was of course nothing compared to any single raid by B-52's with 35 tons of bombs in each plane. But it does not sound like what a guerrilla force based on the people and needing the masses' friendship, would do. It is much more likely that the thing was staged by the CIA, and considering how well the action lends itself to imperialist propaganda, it is almost a certainty.

- If the struggle inside the U.S. ruling class over the conduct of the war gets any hotter, it is safe to predict that this infamous U.S. "department of dirty tricks" will try much bigger and dirtier stunts in the future in order to "unify" the country for an all-out war.

GROCER HELPS COP: HIS CUSTOMERS HELP COP'S VICTIM

Solidarity of the Poor in N.Y. C.

By Ellen Pierce

There's a lot said nowadays about how New Yorkers are apathetic, afraid; that they won't help a person in trouble.

But a few months ago 200 Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans in a Bronx ghetto area rushed to the defense of a man being arrested by a white cop. These people knew that for a poor black man - innocent or guilty - arrest means a beating in the station house and an almost certain conviction.

As the neighbors crowded around, it began to look as if the cop might not get out of it with his life, let alone his prisoner. Then somebody yelled, "Don't worry officer we're with you."

"We" was a stocky grocer, Enrique Negron, who helped the cop worm his way out of the angry crowd.

For helping the cop escape from the justifiable anger of his neighbors, the grocer was sent a letter of congratulations from Vice President Humphrey and \$1,000 from a policemen's organ-

ization.

In the neighborhood, though, he wasn't considered a hero. People stopped buying at his grocery store - the Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans figured if he liked the cops so much he wasn't for *them*. They taunted him on the street. And last week, he went out of business.

The capitalist press naturally laments the "cruelty" of the neighbors. But their treatment of the grocer was only an application of the principle of solidarity of the oppressed against their oppressors. And it was not one hundredth as cruel on the grocer as the daily diet of insults, threats, beatings and actual murders are on the oppressed people of the area, who suffer all these things from the police.

Besides, don't worry about the grocer. He's been taken care of. When word got out in several New York dailies that his store had failed, he was flooded with job offers from cop-loving businessmen.

Strikes Not "Obsolete," Brother Reuther, -- YOU Are!

That great "statesman of labor," Walter Reuther, says that strikes like New York City's recent transit strike should be made "obsolete."

"Society cannot tolerate strikes that endanger the very survival of society," intoned this "responsible" misleader of labor on Jan. 18. But he wasn't gunning for New York subway workers and similar "public service employees" alone.

He was aiming straight at his own membership in the UAW and threatening the living standards of the majority of the auto workers (and for that matter, all the workers).

Singing the old siren song about labor "peace," he proposed a "tripartite labor-management-government board" with veto power over both

wage and price increases (but not profits!) in the case of "any company producing over 20 per cent of a basic commodity."

Both the Ford and GM workers whom he represents would be at the mercy of such an arbitration board. (Each company produces considerably more than 20 per cent of all passenger cars.)

Since the "government" would have the deciding vote in this no-strike set-up, and the government in the long run, particularly in a crisis, obeys big business, Reuther's idea would exchange labor's right-to-strike birthright for a mess of "come, let's reason together" class collaboration potage.

- It's not strikes that should be made obsolete, but Walter Reuther.

3.2% for Workers-20.9% for Bosses!

The recent transit strike in New York City once more throws the spotlight on the government's arbitrary "guidelines" for wage increases. Any increase of more than 3.2 per cent, says Johnson, is "inflationary" and therefore impermissible.

But last year's corporate profits, the biggest on record, went up a whopping 20.9 per cent over the previous year. Johnson said nothing about this being over any guidelines for the profiteers.

Corporate profits (after taxes) rose from \$37.2 billion in 1964 to an estimated \$45 billion in 1965. Some corporations, notably Bell Aircraft, Sikorsky Helicopter, General Dynamics and other war supplies manufacturers did far better than the 20.9 per cent average.

Johnson makes a big show of holding

down prices - here and there. But he is delicately silent about profits.

Actually, of course, the profiteers would still be way ahead of the workers even if they only increased their profits by 1 per cent, never mind 20.9 per cent.

For example, a 1 per cent increase over \$1 million profits would be a \$10,000 raise for the boss. But 3.2 per cent of \$80 a week is a \$4 a week increase for the worker.

The percentage "guidelines" are phony and stacked against labor any way you look at it.

But, even accepting the logic that corporations are entitled to get an average of 20.9 per cent increase in profits, surely the workers are entitled to at least that much of a raise in pay!



Young Moslem girls learn spinning techniques from a veteran Shanghai textile worker in a modern mill in Sinkiang, far west China -Photo by China Features

THE HAWKS THAT COO LIKE DOVES

Last Act of Their "Peace" Masquerade?

By Milt Seaman

How goes the "peace" campaign? As U.S. politicians piously preached their peace sermons around the world, thousands of American troops swarmed ashore in South Vietnam.

While Washington's emissaries attempted to work up support and sympathy for the U.S. "peace" position in England, Japan, Australia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Vatican et al, on January 18 the U.S. military announced that 4,000 battle-clad infantrymen trained for immediate combat, were rushed to Bienhoa, outside Saigon, and 320 miles farther north, 3,000 marines joined the 12,000 already camped at Chulai.

The message sent on these bayonets spoke infinitely louder than the "peace" message of the State Department liars and fakers.

While the last combat troops were leaving the troopship and General

Walker and others were flying by Air Force transports to Bienhoa, President Johnson, speaking at the Harry (Hiroshima) Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace, was talking about the doors of peace being wide open.

(He sounded like the New York City bankers, who talked about a fair and equitable settlement for the transit workers' strike and then demanded that the National Guard be brought in to end it. Like the bankers, Johnson's purpose is clear - to bargain from "strength" for the surrender of the Vietnamese people.

While Washington "doves" were cooing their canned messages of "peace" during the lull in the bombing of North Vietnam, the U.S. rained 40,000 tons of death and destruction on South Vietnam; shot up \$100 million in ground fire and \$110 million in the air. This was reported by Defense

Secretary McNamara after a closed session briefing to the Senate Armed Services Committee - a report which well satisfied Chairman Russell, the chief Senatorial opponent of the lull in the bombing.

And right after retired Gen. James Gavin advocated a slower tempo for the war, Johnson's chief of staff for all the Armed Forces, Gen. Earl G. Wheeler, demanded the resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam.

From the second day of the McNamara briefing sessions came reports of an eventual troop concentration of 400,000 to 500,000 in Vietnam, and a request for an additional \$12.3 billion for men, fire power and planes.

Half a million men and endless billions for destruction of the people and the land of Vietnam - could there be a clearer comment on the hypocrisy of the "peace" offensive than that expressed by U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Arthur Goldberg: "Is the sincerity of our efforts being matched by the other side? ... The U.S. effort is based on sound moral and humanitarian principles."

A half million men and billions for death - could there be clearer proof that the only kind of peace the U.S. wants is Vietnam's surrender?



Through the Magnifying Glass

By John Moore

'Lost' Churchill Writings Show Rulers' Long-Range War Plans

Some naive progressives think it is likely that the U.S. and Britain may repeat their performance of 1941-45, take on West Germany instead of attacking the Soviet Union and China.

But it has now been revealed that Churchill, the allegedly anti-Nazi warrior, wrote in 1939, under the title "Will Hitler Repeat Napoleon's Mistakes?" -

"The choice is still open today. Hands are still stretched across the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, and

across the steel-clad frontiers of the French Republic, which would welcome and aid a genuine Hitler of peace and toleration." (This was long after Hitler had beheaded the German labor movement and lynched Jews on the streets of Berlin.)

Churchill had written the above in the original manuscript of a book entitled "Step by Step (1936-39)" but discreetly omitted the quoted paragraph when his book was published in June, 1939. The omission was publicized last month when a collection of his original manuscripts was presented to Columbia University.

Churchill was only expressing a then fairly common ruling class opinion that Britain (and the U.S.) should stay out of World War II and let the Soviet Union and imperialist Germany exhaust each other.

He changed his mind, as did Roosevelt, because Germany showed such overwhelming military strength as to threaten to take over all of Europe and Britain as well - unless the U.S. and Britain came into the war against Hitler. Churchill then began to consider Germany the greater immediate threat to British imperialism as opposed to the Soviet Union, even though the Soviet Union was the more basic enemy because its social character was irreconcilably opposed to Churchill's - and Hitler's - whole system.

Churchill withdrew his pro-Hitler paragraph in 1939 only because he wanted to delay the reckoning with the Soviet Union. Accordingly, he proposed the long-delayed anti-Soviet war drive in his "iron curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946.

Truman and the U.S. government agreed with that speech, and in fact anticipated it.

Today capitalist West Germany is the bosom ally of imperial Washington and the Soviet Union, in spite of its own leadership's "co-existence" illusions, cannot really take the place of the rehabilitated Nazis in the councils of imperialism.

Peace-Time Draft Conspiracy Began a Long Time Ago

A popular magazine recently had a picture story showing plump, forty-ish Art Buchwald, a clever bourgeois columnist, returning to go through marine drill training as he had in World War II. He was shown being glared at, yelled at, and looking wide-eyed and harassed. It ended with him in a sergeant's uniform yelling at the harassed-looking drill instructor now wearing a recruit's clothing. It was pretty funny.

Another recent story showed draftees as they came into the Army. It followed a draftee through several stages of induction and pictured him as unhappy but resigned and aware that he must "serve his country." It was serious "human interest" stuff.

Both stories were subtle pro-war propaganda: military training as a sort of a TV show comedy romp or just a kind of tough part of growing up and as American as apple pie. All in good fun.

The day-to-day bareness of imprisonment in the Army is not told.

And the end-product of invading foreign countries like the Dominican Republic and Vietnam - burning villages, destroying the food crops, killing kids - is not, of course, mentioned. That would spoil the effect.

The comedy approach and the human interest story kind of propaganda has been used effectively over and over in selling the draft to the American people since the draft began.

And when did the modern draft to supply the U.S. ruling class with world policemen begin - and how?

Though the draft actually began in 1940 before the U.S. was in the war, it was considered a war-time draft by most people. It was assumed that it

would end with the war's end.

After all, conscription - compulsory military training - was, Americans had been continually told, a characteristic of the fascist countries they were fighting, not of the United States which had never had a peace-time draft before the 1940 "emergency" measure.

Most World War II soldiers knew little or nothing about what was going on behind their backs. They were busy fighting the military machine of fascism. But unbeknown to them, the campaign for a permanent draft was beginning. When the soldiers heard of it later, it came as a stab in the back.

I know; I was one of them.

In April, 1944, before the D-Day invasion of Normandy, the then widely read Colliers Magazine was printing a "controversial" article, titled "Let's Train Our Youth Now!" Reader's Digest, true to its right wing orientation, reprinted the article in July of that year. And in the same month, Fortune, the big businessman's magazine, conducted a "survey" which asked in a nice impartial way: "Peace-time Draft to Maintain the Armed Forces?"

The opening guns for a permanent draft had been fired and the barrage continued through 1945. But few people knew that these guns had been moving into position for years.

The 1940 peace-time draft had been recognized as ominous by a few: "... a form of Hitlerism being pressed on the American people by high powered propaganda under the label of 'national defense'" which "in fact introduces the very disease which has proved so deadly in Europe," said one opponent.

But it really began long before 1940.

Started to Put It Over - While GI's Thought They Were Ending It!

The World War I draft had whetted the appetite of the military. They wanted the power to force all working class youth into uniform as they began to view the world and the ruling class began to think about the "American Century."

The 1920's saw them organizing their future moves. By 1926, the "study and planning for manpower procurement" - a draft - had already been officially set up.

In 1935, 100 reserve officers were chosen to be trained as a nucleus of the draft apparatus.

When the capitalist militarists finally got their draft law passed in 1940, (signed by Roosevelt on Sept. 16) they were fully prepared to enforce the unjust system they have used ever since.

And having prepared so carefully for the draft, they were not going to let it lapse when the war ended. They were already planning its extension

as a permanent thing; pushing, propagandizing and legalizing it.

Their work burst forth in banner headlines on January 7, 1945, with the popular liberal bourgeois President, Roosevelt, demanding a "National Service Act."

Overseas on that day, GIs were fighting in the frozen Ardennes Forest, turning back the last big German offensive. Most of them never heard what was going on. But back home the "American Century" boys knew all about it. They had formed a "Citizens' Committee for Military Training of Young Men."

Directors of the group were a Lt. colonel and a colonel. their appointment was announced on the same day as Roosevelt's draft proposal. The appointments, it was announced, were part of a drive "to educate the public for immediate action in establishing universal (military) service for all young men."

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Transit Workers Flex Their Muscles

Some Lessons of the Strike

Below are excerpts from a speech given the day after the settlement of the New York transit strike. Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party, was the speaker.

Last week, workers throughout the world, as far apart as Tokyo, Paris, London, Moscow, Peking, Buenos Aires, Vietnam — all over the world — for the first time in many years listened to something that was going on in the United States which did not concern sending more troops abroad or raising the budget for "defense" — so called — or building the Navy bigger, or sending "foreign aid" to mortgage the lives of the already starving millions.

For the first time, it must have seemed to millions of the workers throughout the world, that there was a ray of hope in the United States. And that ray of hope was the transit strike.

It is the first time in many years, I think, that workers throughout the world saw that this mighty metropolis was tied up, not by the bankers, but by the workers. It was the first time the workers defied the rulers of New York. It was the first time in a long time that their leaders were able to go to jail and stay there until the end of the strike.

U.S. Workers Can Do It!

And the strike was in a large and substantial way, a victory — not so much because of what the workers won, but because they didn't lose their union, they did not get fined, they did not get humiliated, did not get crushed, and they were able to stand up to the capitalist governmental structure right here in the City of New York, the largest and most important city in the capitalist USA.

Up until now we looked to the workers in other parts of the world to fight U.S. imperialism. And they are fighting with everything they have got. But the ultimate battle to crush U.S. imperialism can only be fought right here at home. And the transit strike showed that the American workers can fight that battle and win!

Class Struggle and War

The class struggle showed itself to be alive. It is not true that the workers are completely under the thumb of the bosses forever and anon. It is not true that the bosses are the masters and that they are going to rule and do as they want to do. And the strike proved that it isn't true.

The strike showed another important thing — that before every great war, and especially the coming war, the capitalist class is afraid. The big bosses and their political agents are afraid.

If the workers only understood that, if the oppressed masses, particularly the black masses in alliance with the white workers understood that the ruling forces are afraid, they would be infinitely stronger. The rulers are afraid because they know their own weakness. And they are especially afraid when they are about to embark on a mad adventure abroad as they are now. They must have stability at home.

They must have everything quiet on the home front so that capitalist exploitation can go on undisturbed. They must keep the wheels moving. They have to get the cannon fodder into the field and they have to transport ammunition and many other things over the oceans, too.

If everything is disrupted from within, how can they possibly carry on an imperialist war without?

Bosses Miscalculated

As we said during the strike, the capitalist government thought that with the aid of the capitalist press, which was unanimous, with the TV and radio, they would be able by sheer psychological pressure and whipped-up hysteria to break the

strike — that in a day or two the leadership would capitulate and send the workers back to work.

They felt sure that that would happen. They felt sure because a big section of the labor bureaucracy did not want the strike.

Then, too, they had a law which forbids the strike. The Condon-Wadlin law makes it very plain that strikes by city workers are outlawed. They're illegal. According to this law, the judges have the right to fine and imprison the leaders and the strikers too. And so the bosses figured that it was almost impossible for the leaders of any city-service union to defy them, let alone a union which has not shown courage in the past in relation to its own members.

The Workers' Strength

But when a crisis came, with grievances piled up for years and years, the strike was called in spite of everything. And when the workers were out for one or two days, they felt their own strength. They showed themselves they could tie up a whole city, that they're not just a bunch of automatons.

They showed they have a great deal of power. No machines, no soldiers, no National Guard, no police could do what they had been doing. And this was a wonderful experience for the workers to have, because it gave them confidence.

For the first two days the capitalist press made its most furious assault. But the workers stood firm — to the surprise of the big bosses. Then slowly and gradually, the furious attack against the workers began to fall off when the bosses realized they were not going to win that way and were even heating up the class struggle.

It became plainer to a lot of workers, little by little, that it was an attack against the whole labor movement. And the labor bureaucrats who originally thought they would come out against the strike — as one of their cronies did at the beginning — suddenly looked around and realized they had a lot to lose if this strike was crushed. It was a matter of necessity for them to support it.

Big Bosses Scared

And so by the third or fourth day it became obvious that if the government was going to break the strike, it couldn't do it by psychological warfare or verbal messages through the press and through TV. They could only do it by using naked force.

At this particular point the city rulers must have felt they were right in the middle of an embryo Vietnam. But the Mayor and all his new administrators hesitated to use force against the workers — not because they like the subway workers any better than they like the Vietnamese freedom fighters! No. But because they were scared. These great big

ruling class snobs were scared.

And this is such a wonderful experience for us to have, because it shows that the ones who are most timid in the face of a real struggle are the bosses themselves!

Split Over What to Do

Finally, there was the contradiction in the capitalist class itself. An oppressed class or an oppressed nation in order to win victory and liberation must utilize the contradictions in the enemy class to further its own ends.

A large section of the bourgeoisie in this country love Johnson and he is their man. But he is their man from another clique. And Lindsay is somebody from their own clique, someone who was born and bred by them. He's the son of an investment banker and the brother of a big J. P. Morgan banker.

But even the bankers' own darling could not call out the National Guard as so many bosses wanted him to do. First, that would have meant a terrific wrench out of the traditional methods of keeping the masses down in this city, a premature declaration of open war against the whole labor movement. Second, it would have spoiled Lindsay's liberal "image" before he even got started and ruined the bourgeoisie's chances of getting him in as President.

So the bourgeoisie hesitated — and instead of really starting a "back to work movement" and having the police man the buses as the New York Times and other papers were hinting, they began to talk settlement.

And when the union leaders saw that this was the case, they knew they could stick to their guns and get a reasonable settlement out of the bosses.

The union leaders did finally yield, of course, but it would be wrong to call it a capitulation.

Ruling Factions Got Together

In the last days of the struggle both Johnson and Robert Kennedy must have put pressure on the union leaders. Johnson's man, Secretary of Labor, Wirtz, had already done his bit. It was Kennedy, remember, who said on TV on the very last day that this strike was "intolerable." He didn't mean that statement for the bosses; he meant it for the workers.

And then he added, "It must be ended today." In 24 hours. And then he stood side by side with Lindsay on TV. You could see the two factions of the capitalist class getting together against the workers right before your eyes.

Republican Lindsay was smiling down on Democratic Bobby, because here was Bobby supporting him — even though they are bitter antagonists — rivals over the plums of capitalist super-profits. But they were finally united — on this. You could see how the so-called "friends of la-

bor" united against the workers.

It was right after this that the union leaders yielded. They got the signal correctly. They understood that they would now have to declare open and continuous war and burn all their bridges of future class collaboration if they continued the strike.

By a "Hair's Breadth"

The leader of the mediation team, Feinsinger, aptly summed up the situation when he said it came so close that only a hair's breadth separated them from having no collective bargaining any more in New York City.

But I think we have to translate that into the language of Marxism to get a clearer idea of what he meant. You know there would be collective bargaining even if the strike was broken, because the union would still be there.

But there was something else that did come within a hair's breadth of being broken — and that was *class collaboration*.

There's a big difference between collective bargaining and class collaboration. Collective bargaining can be conducted by a revolutionary trade union having an irreconcilable attitude to the exploiters and to the monopolies.

The Difference

You could have a Lenin sitting at the labor end of the negotiating table and bargaining collectively. But to collaborate with the bosses — that is, to be nice to them, to accommodate yourself to their class needs — that is something else.

The bosses wanted everything to wind up so that at the end, the union would shake hands with the Mayor — literally and figuratively. — That's class collaboration, and that wasn't lost. The bosses didn't lose that.

That's a very important facet of the struggle for their side because, so far, the trade union movement is collaborating with the employers on the larger questions of the struggle in this country and in particular in the political struggle.

So you can see that while the workers were able to win a considerable amount of their demands, to free their leaders from jail, to get out of the fines, the leaders still gave way on this and held on to what has become a tradition in the contemporary trade unions. That's the tradition of collaborating with the employers on the basis of conciliation rather than the class struggle, which is the only means by which labor will realize its ultimate goal — the abolition of the war-breeding capitalist system.

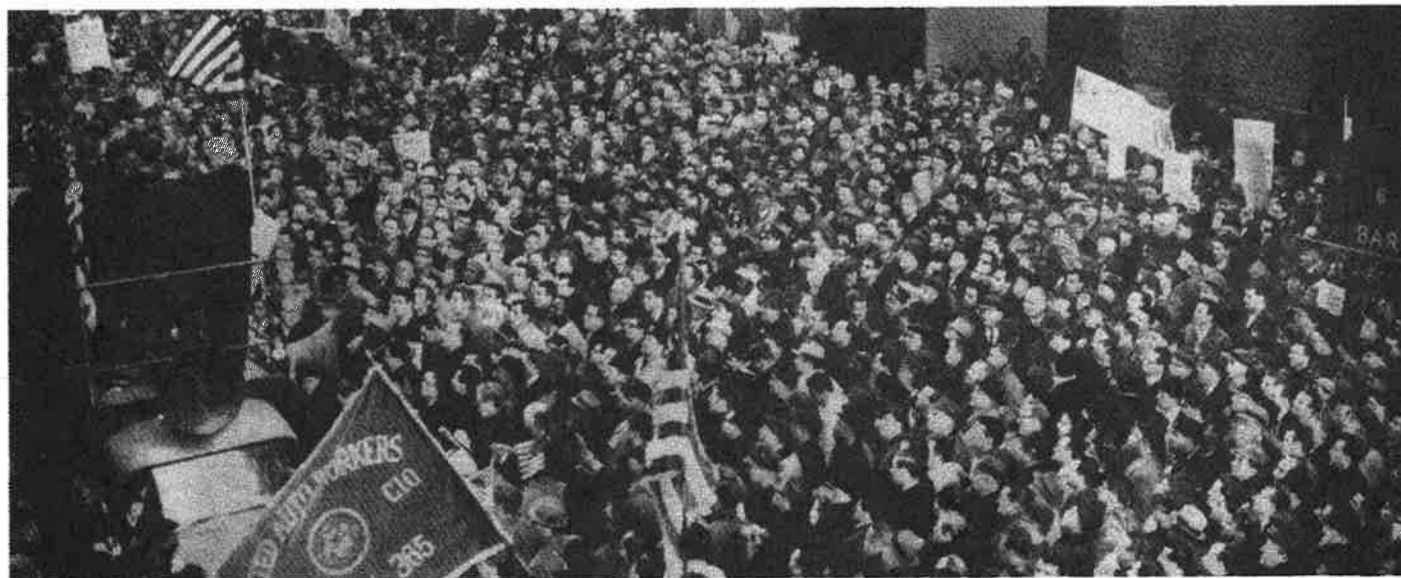
BUDGET TELLS WAR STORY

(Continued from Page 1)

ington official, "that Mr. Johnson was moving rapidly toward a decision to resume bombing of North Vietnam."

The "peace offensive," a fraud from beginning to end, is apparently about to be buried — with U.S. youth and women and children of Southeast Asia.

The Vietnam liberation fighters were never fooled by the "peace" propaganda. But many U.S. workers were. Johnson's vast preparations for war may now begin to undeceive them.



Transit workers and their supporters rally at New York's City Hall during height of the strike