

# THE MILITANT

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## King to Address April Peace Rally

NEW YORK — The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announced that Rev. Martin Luther King would address the mass rally at the April 15 Mobilization here and that Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. King's principal associate has become a vice chairman of the committee.

The Spring Mobilization Committee is a coalition of a broad spectrum of peace, civil rights, political and community organizations. It is organizing a massive nationwide antiwar mobilization in New York and San Francisco April 15.

People from all over the eastern part of the country will mass in New York's Central Park that day and march across midtown Manhattan to the United Nations where a rally against the war will be held. Rev. King will be among the speakers at that rally.

Rev. Abernathy, a Montgomery, Ala., rights leader, is a top leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The other vice chairmen of the Spring Mobilization Committee are Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, Prof. Robert Greenblatt of Cornell University, Edward Keating, publisher of *Ramparts*, Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University, Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, AFL-CIO and chairman of the Negro American Labor Council, and Dagmar Wilson of Women Strike for Peace. The late A. J. Muste was founding chairman of the committee.



Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy

Rev. James Bevel of SCLC is national director of the Spring Mobilization.

The Spring Mobilization Committee has registered significant progress for the antiwar movement in winning the support of those sections of the civil rights movement opposed to the war. Among the sponsors of the Mobilization are Stokely Carmichael of SNCC and Floyd McKissick of CORE.

## Chicago Peace Meet To Hear Emil Mazey

CHICAGO — Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers and a close associate of Walter Reuther, will be one of the principle speakers at a rally here against the war in Vietnam. Other speakers at the rally include Rev. Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Patricia Griffith of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy. Mrs. Griffith recently returned from a trip to north Vietnam.



Emil Mazey

The rally will be held in front of Chicago's Coliseum on March 25. It will be preceded by a parade down State St. The parade will begin at noon at Wacker Drive, and the rally will begin at 2:30 p.m.

The announcement that Mazey will speak at the rally is indicative of the fact that the antiwar movement is beginning to win support within the union movement.

The Spring Mobilization Committee, which is organizing the April 15 demonstrations in San Francisco and New York, has already won the endorsement of the Santa Clara, Calif., Central Labor Council and the Northern California International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union for the April 15 action. The state chairman of the California Federation of Teachers, and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 AFL-CIO and chairman of Negro American Labor Council, have become vice chairmen of the Mobilization.

The Chicago Peace Parade and Rally to End the War in Vietnam is being sponsored by a number of organizations and individuals, including the Trade Union Division of SANE, SDS and Veterans for Peace.

# LBJ Summit in Guam Is Prelude to Further Vietnam Escalation

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 14 — Washington is preparing a massive escalation of the air-war against north Vietnam which could include bombing the dikes, bombing industry in Hanoi and Haiphong and mining the port of Haiphong. Johnson's secret meetings in Guam later this week with the Pentagon high brass will evidently put the final touches on this plan.

However, the main outlines of it can be gleaned from the actual steps of escalation Washington has already taken since Johnson ended the Tet "truce" Feb. 13, and from the Pentagon blueprints Defense Secretary McNamara revealed to the House Committee on Armed Services, Feb. 2.

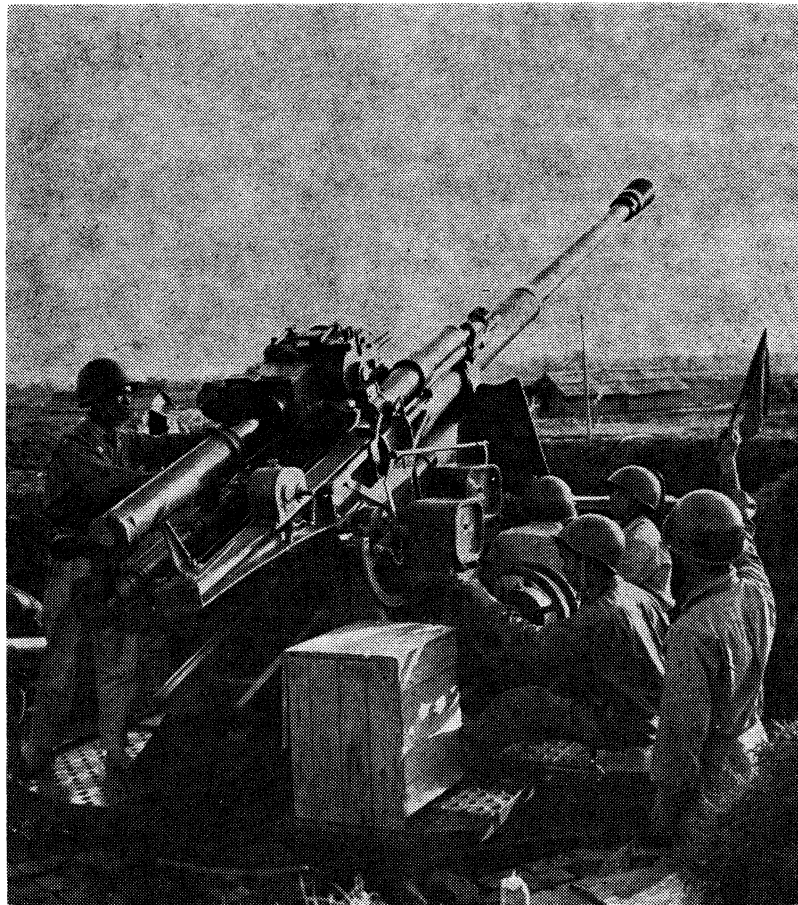
There have been two series of escalations of the attack on north Vietnam in the last month. The first, Feb. 24-27, included shelling north Vietnam from artillery batteries located in south Vietnam, air attacks on north Vietnamese power plants, shelling north Vietnam by U.S. naval ships within the three-mile limit, and dropping of mines into north Vietnamese rivers (see March 6 *Militant*).

The second series of escalations, March 10-13, was even more serious. This included bombing the largest north Vietnamese industrial plant, the Thainguyen iron and steel complex, March 10 and 11; and the bombing of a power plant 32 miles from Hanoi by Thai-based jets, March 13.

### Saigon Dispatch

A significant front-page article in the March 11 *New York Times* underlines the implications of the Thainguyen bombing step. We refer to an article sent from Saigon by *New York Times* correspondent R. W. Apple Jr., March 10.

"American sources described the attack on the steel plant as an escalation of the war," Apple's article states. "They said the raid was the first in which United States aircraft had bombed a target that was not directly in-



DEFENSE. North Vietnamese artillery emplacement used to defend country against aggressive air raids by U.S.

volved in infiltration of men and supplies into south Vietnam."

These official sources not only admit but stress that the Thainguyen attack is an escalation of the war.

Apple continued, "The attack was viewed by diplomats here as a more serious intensification than the steps taken last week by the American Command . . . An American source said that the strikes against Thainguyen represented 'another notch' in U.S. intensification of the air war."

"You haven't seen the end of it yet," he said. "I don't think the airfields around Hanoi are immune. I don't even think the docks

around Haiphong are immune forever. We are going to tighten the noose until they can't take it any longer."

In its *News of the Week in Review* section March 12, the *New York Times* editors added this:

"With the decision to hit Thainguyen, it seemed probable that other targets heretofore on the forbidden list would be approved by the White House. In addition to the airstrips and the docks, other possibilities were the dikes of the Red River delta and industrial installations in Hanoi and Haiphong."

And, the mining of Haiphong (Continued on Page 3)

## Economy at Turning Point

By Ed Smith

On March 9, President Johnson requested an immediate restoration of the seven percent tax incentive on business investment which had been temporarily suspended last Oct. 10 (see Sept. 26 *Militant*). Up until recently, it has been assumed that the tax-credit suspension would remain in effect until at least July 1, and possibly until next January.

Recent developments appear to have changed these plans. Johnson's action followed by several weeks the announcement that industrial production had declined in January for the first time in six years, for reasons not attributable to strikes.

And it followed by less than 24 hours the Commerce Department's prediction that investment in new plant and equipment would increase by only 3.9 percent in 1967, compared to the 17 percent increase in 1966. These facts raise questions about what is actually happening in the American economy at this time, and what the Democratic administration is trying to do about it.

When the tax credits were su-

suspended in October, Washington's main concern was to "relieve job scarcity," which means, to increase unemployment. Johnson cloaked this move to weaken labor's position in the job market under the guise of an "anti-inflationary" move. What he was really concerned about, however, was not the inflation itself, but the effect this was having on American workers.

### Price Rises

Prices had begun going up almost a year earlier and had already taken a considerable toll on the purchasing power of consumers. But this is of no concern whatsoever to capitalists provided profits keep coming in. Their concern stemmed from the response to the price increases by the organized working class.

Most worrisome to Wall Street and Washington, were the successes workers were achieving in militant strike struggles to gain catch-up wage increases. This was helped by the near full employment conditions and near capacity production. Workers cannot be pressured by the threat of lay-

off if there are more than enough jobs to be had.

Wall Street consequently looked to the "cooling off" of the boom as a means of cutting back enough production to weaken labor's position in the job market. The tax-credit suspension got a murmur of dissent for appearance's sake from the business world and was sped through Congress.

However, the economic situation five months later has changed considerably, and the capitalists have a new set of immediate concerns. Their present anxieties stem from the fact that the economy "cooled off" faster and further than last fall's plans anticipated. And the causes of this are much deeper than the tax-credit suspension, which only added fuel to a fire well underway.

The economic slowdown is basically caused by the same factors which initially caused job scarcity and peak production: the continued escalation of war production coinciding with the peak of a conjunctural business cycle.

The capitalist economy simply cannot expand production indefinitely (Continued on Page 5)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Reuther Sides with GM in UAW Walkout

Walter Reuther has ganged up with General Motors to break a second walkout by UAW Local 549 in Mansfield, Ohio. The latest strike followed a February tieup over the issue of GM farming out work to other plants, in which 17 workers were suspended from their jobs. When Reuther threatened to take over the local, the membership voted to end the earlier strike. International union representatives were then to sit in on local talks with GM over the disciplinary layoffs and the job issue that touched off the dispute. (See March 6 *Militant*.)

Only 12 of the workers given disciplinary layoffs were put back to work and it soon became apparent that the other five were to be fired. This led to the second walkout. When Reuther again issued a back-to-work order, a majority of the local union members voted to defy his order and continue their protest action.

GM quickly reminded the county sheriff of an outstanding court injunction issued against the February strike and started contempt-of-court proceedings against the union. It also threatened to "phase out" key operations at the Mansfield plant.

Leonard Woodcock, a Reuther lieutenant, issued a statement that GM has "a right to demand reasonable stability of production." Reuther followed up with a blast against "illegal work stoppages" caused by "the small minority inside the local union or by persons from outside our union."

One of Reuther's regional directors was then imposed upon the Mansfield local as administrator in a dictatorial action designed to strip the membership of all power of decision. An emergency session of the UAW's GM council — in which a big percentage of delegates are linked to the Reuther bureaucracy — was called to rubber stamp the takeover. The *Wall Street Journal* reports similar approval by GM, except that it doubts whether the particular administrator chosen by Reuther will be tough enough.

As the UAW headquarters swung its full weight against Local 549, its president, Robert Hall — who had supported the first strike — issued his own back-to-work order in the second walkout. His action was resisted by Frank Petty, chairman of the shop committee. Reuther seized upon this circumstance to claim "internal collapse of authority within the local" and consequent justification of his dictatorial violation of local autonomy.

Petty, one of the workers scheduled to be fired after the February strike, has spoken for a militant group of skilled and production workers in the local. He played a leading role in strikes over grievances in previous years and, like many other UAW members, appears to have grown deeply angry over an accumulation of back-to-work orders from Reuther which prevented the local from forcing GM to settle grievances. "I don't feel our leadership realizes," Petty told reporters, "that the people in the labor movement are younger and they can't be led



Walter Reuther

around by the nose or dictated to."

The "persons from outside our union," referred to by Reuther, appear to be members of a nearby Rubber Workers local, who were helping to picket GM at Mansfield. They seemed to be reciprocating aid they got from UAW Local 549 when it recently picketed a Swan Rubber plant where striking rubber workers were up against an injunction.

Willis Marcum, president of the Mansfield AFL-CIO council, said that one source of the trouble at the GM plant is that UAW Local 549 is "fed up" with the international union.

The U.S. Court of Appeals has ruled that General Motors must negotiate with the United Auto Workers when subcontractors are hired to work in a GM plant, reducing the number of jobs held by UAW members. The decision arose out of court action initiated by the UAW after GM hired an outside firm to take over an operation at its Southgate, Calif., plant.

Skilled workers are demanding that in this year's contract negotiations the UAW insist that the auto corporations be restricted from bringing in outside contractors or moving work from one plant to another.

Johnson has gotten a Taft-Hartley injunction to force 1,400 striking electricians back to work on terms dictated by West Coast shipyard owners. Protesting the President's anti-labor policy, an IBEW spokesman predicted that the 80-day "cooling off" period would be useless. "When it ends," he said, "we'll be back where we started."

An admiral was trotted into court to back Johnson's alibi that the strike "imperiled the national safety." A March 10 *UPI* dispatch shows that the old sea dog got into the spirit of the occasion.

He is quoted as testifying that the walkout was causing a "lack of amphibious assault craft" for

Vietnam; that it was holding up construction of vessels needed to combat "the growing submarine threat, not only from the Soviet Union, but from Red China, Indonesia and Albania;" and that it might delay "testing of a ballistic missile . . . linked to a missile-tracking ship being overhauled in Portland, Oregon."

The dispatch did not say whether or not he charged the electricians with obstructing the nation's defense against flying saucers.

In reality the admiral only carried to new extremes Johnson's fakery in invoking the injunction. The whole thing is a piece of naked strikebreaking calculated to back the shipyard owners against the workers. (See March 13 *Militant* for background.)

In its first strike in 45 years, the Elevator Constructors union has called out 16,000 workers at 70 companies around the country. The union wants clarification of language in the wage formula it has had with the employers association. Since 1921 the wage rate has been determined by averaging the five highest rates of the other building trades.

A March conference is scheduled between locals of the United Steelworkers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in the non-ferrous metals industry, preliminary to formal merger of the two unions. The Steelworkers represent 71,000 workers in that particular industry and Mine-Mill has a total of 38,000 members in the U.S. The immediate purpose of the conference, to which 13 other unions with contracts in the non-ferrous industry have been invited, is to coordinate negotiations with major copper companies, where existing contracts expire June 30.

Mine-Mill, which is now being absorbed into the Steelworkers, had its origin in the Western Federation of Miners, founded in 1893 and affiliated with the AFL at the outset. In 1897 the WFM — a union with a rich class struggle history during its early years — broke with Gompers' federation and after the turn of the century it helped to form the Industrial Workers of the World.

In 1911 the WFM returned to the AFL and five years later it was renamed the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. During the struggle upsurge of the 1930s, Mine-Mill was among former AFL unions that combined to establish the CIO.

In the McCarthyite climate of the 1950s, Mine-Mill was expelled from the CIO on charges of "Communist domination." The government later invoked the McCarran Act against the union, ruling it "Communist infiltrated," but in an ensuing legal battle the ruling was vacated for lack of evidence. Officers of the union were harassed for alleged conspiracy to file false "non-Communist" affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act.

When Mine-Mill was expelled the CIO awarded its jurisdiction to the Steelworkers. Years of inter-union warfare followed in which the bargaining strength of nonferrous workers became fragmented. With the unions up against some of the toughest corporations in the country, working agreements lagged far behind those in other industries on wages and other provisions.

For the first time in a long time, the impending merger will bring together in one union about 80 percent of the nonferrous workers in the country. It will take the specific form of each Mine-Mill local becoming on June 30 a chartered local of the Steelworkers. The Canadian section of Mine-Mill, with some 15,000 members, has not joined in the merger.

The Worker Paints Up Kennedy 'Peace' Stand

By Harry Ring

In our last issue we discussed Senator Kennedy's proposal for a temporary suspension of the bombing in Vietnam. We said that his dispute with Johnson on this question represented a division of opinion within U.S. ruling circles. Such disagreements in top circles tend to legitimize dissenting views on the war and, in a highly distorted way, are symptomatic of the mounting popular antiwar sentiment.

For the antiwar movement to benefit from this development, we said, it was first of all necessary to understand it for what it is. Kennedy's differences with LBJ are of a purely tactical nature. Like Johnson, Kennedy is in favor of the war and is concerned only over what he considers to be the best way for the U.S. to win the war. His proposal to temporarily suspend the bombing of north Vietnam is designed to put the responsibility on Moscow and Hanoi for continuation of the war and to further the hoax that Washington is genuinely concerned with a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

We added that for any section of the antiwar movement to urge support for Kennedy or his proposal would be a terrible disservice to the antiwar movement and to those fighting aggression in Vietnam.

Unfortunately, as we anticipated, such support for Kennedy has been all too quick in coming. An article in the March 12 issue of *The Worker*, voice of the Communist Party, is headlined: "RFK Stand Seen Opportunity for United Peace Campaign." Written by Mike Davidow, the article does not simply point to a division among capitalist politicians which the peace forces can exploit.

Davidow unabashedly characterizes Kennedy's Senate speech as one "calling on the President to halt the bombing of North Vietnam to clear the path to peace negotiations . . ."

RFK's Terms

Kennedy most definitely did not — as Davidow must surely know — call for a halt to the bombing. He made it very clear that he favored only a temporary suspension of the bombing to see if Moscow could get Hanoi to the bargaining table. If Hanoi did not agree to bargain, Kennedy declared, the bombing could resume and further military steps taken including "erection of a physical barrier" between north and south Vietnam.

Davidow must also know that Kennedy is fiercely opposed to any notion of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, that he has voted for every appropriation for the war and favors a U.S. victory over the Vietnamese freedom fighters whom he brands "our adversary." Yet Davidow quotes with obvious sympathy "one leader . . . who hails from one of the most powerful Reform Democratic clubs in New York and who has played an active role in the struggle to end the war in Vietnam . . ."

According to this "leader," Kennedy's proposal "would be 'warmly endorsed' by many N.Y. Democrats, particularly by Reform clubs active in the antiwar movement."

However, the "leader" warns, the "peace forces" must not "miss the boat" by failing to quickly

line up support for the Kennedy stand.

Any unbiased reader of the article will plainly see that while he does not specifically so state, Davidow agrees with the unnamed subject of his interview.

This, we submit, is the most terrible kind of disservice to the antiwar movement and to the Vietnamese freedom fighters, north and south.

From even a so-called practical viewpoint, it is an act of political stupidity. The north Vietnamese have properly declared that they will not consider negotiations while the gun of a temporary bombing pause is held at their heads. By supporting the Kennedy proposition, the CP is helping to lay the basis for putting the "onus," to use Kennedy's term, on the Vietnamese for continuation of the war.

Like LBJ in 1964

It is just as false and dangerous to paint up Kennedy as a peace partisan as it was to similarly paint up Johnson during his campaign against Goldwater. In his own way, Kennedy is simply playing the same demagogic game to day that Johnson played in 1964 and doing so for the same reactionary purposes.

Further, after dragging its feet for a long time, the CP finally took at least a formal stand in favor of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. For several years it had argued that this was "too advanced" a demand and that it was preferable to back demands for the U.S. to negotiate. The present move to back the Kennedy proposition represents a revival in a particularly damaging form of the earlier negotiation position. And it does so at a time when the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops is receiving its greatest support yet.

This stand flows directly from the CP's stubborn allegiance to Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" policy and from its continuing efforts to press the bankrupt line of working within Reform Democratic clubs and other "liberal" sectors of the Democratic Party. It is this policy, a direct corollary of the coexistence line, which leads to such things as plumping for Kennedy's fake "peace" proposition.

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Monday, March 20, 1967

## Powell and Black Political Action

The developments around the bi-partisan, racist ouster of Adam Clayton Powell from Congress indicate a growing ghetto sentiment to break with the Republicans and Democrats.

At the March 5 Back Powell rally at his Abyssinian Baptist Church, a clamorous ovation went to Eddie (Porkchop) Davis, president of the African Freedom Movement, when he blasted the Republicans, Democrats and Liberals as "Whitey's parties" and added, "I wish Adam would quit the Democratic Party and form a party that all Negroes can rally around."

This sentiment was further indicated when John H. Young announced he was circulating independent nominating petitions to give Powell a second line on the ballot in the special congressional election April 11. Young is a former Powell aide who was appointed public relations director of Haryou-Act. Powell has had a voice in shaping Haryou-Act personnel policies.

The petition will nominate Powell as candidate of the Congress Party, Young said, and its emblem will be a broken chain, "to symbolize the break from slavery and a break from the Democratic Party."

Young added that "There are people like me who cannot vote with good conscience on the Democratic line because of what the Democrats did to Mr. Powell."

Powell's associates are not generally unsensitive to the mood in Harlem. Clearly, the prospects for independent black political action are growing.

## ... New Escalation

(Continued from Page 1)

harbor is no longer on the forbidden list. The *Times* reported this in the usual Aesopian language of the Pentagon on March 13: "... some high Defense Department officials are counseling the White House against bombing or mining Haiphong harbor, for the time being at least. Others urge a major campaign to isolate Hanoi from outside supply by blocking its harbors."

Johnson paved the way for an escalated aggression in north Vietnam in closed congressional hearings with the House Armed Services Committee in the first week of February. These were the hearings on supplemental appropriations for the Vietnam war which cleared the House and Senate later in the month by overwhelming majorities.

Much of the testimony in the hearings, of course, is deleted in the versions intended for public consumption. Even so, the following points were made in those parts of McNamara's testimony that were made public:

"To support the larger deployments and higher activity rates in southeast Asia and to provide a more adequate training and rotation base for the longer pull, we have had to increase certain force levels ... A total of 220,500 military personnel have been added to the Army's fiscal year 1967 strength, 2,440 to the Marine Corps, 25,520 to the Navy and 45,240 to the Air Force ...

### More Bombs

"In the air munitions category, two of the principal items being increased are 500-pound bombs and 750-pound bombs, both of which are carried by B-52's ...

"Of the \$3.7 billion added to the fiscal year 1967 program for aircraft, about \$1.5 billion is for the replacement of future combat losses ... The original fiscal year 1967 program provided for spares consumption only through June 1967; we are now requesting funds to finance the full production lead-time, which in many cases extends through December 1968 ...

"The fiscal year 1967 supplement includes \$625 million for

military construction, \$398 million for projects in south Vietnam, \$109 million in Thailand, \$32 million in other Pacific areas ...

"The \$109 million requested for Thailand includes \$10 million for cost overruns on previously approved projects ... \$10 million for port facilities, \$19 million for roads from the port of Sattahip to various military installations ... \$10 million for utilities, \$7 million for personnel facilities, and \$53 million for other operational, supply and support facilities."

Even this glimpse of McNamara's testimony reveals the extent and long-range nature of the Pentagon's planned — and approved — escalation of the war. The buildup in Thailand is particularly important because it ties directly in with the escalated attack on north Vietnam. B-52's will be transferred from Guam to Thailand in the near future, possibly directly after the Guam conference.

### Kennedy's "Appeal"

One of the reasons the Congressional stamp of approval on these plans got so little attention in the press was the timing of Senator Robert Kennedy's "appeal" for a temporary cessation of the bombing of north Vietnam in the middle of the congressional debate on the 1967 appropriations.

Kennedy's "appeal" served two purposes in addition to paving the way for a possible phony "peace" campaign on his part. In the first place it distracted attention from the appropriations bill — which Kennedy approved along with all the other senators except Gruening and Morse.

And in the second place it ballyhooed support for the so-called Mansfield Amendment to this appropriations bill which is nothing short of a policy statement approving the appropriations bill itself, pledging support to Johnson and "other men of good will" in their quest to bring about an "honorable conclusion" to the war. This amendment was the first policy statement on the war passed in the Senate since the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964.

# Spring Mobilization News

The West Coast Student Mobilization Committee, with offices at 55 Colton St. in San Francisco, reports that at the University of California in Berkeley, the following activities are scheduled for Vietnam Week:

1. A vigil at City Hall April 9 to begin the week of protest.
2. A week of noon antiwar rallies on the Sproul Hall steps sponsored by the AFT, the Faculty Peace Committee, SDS and the Student Mobilization Committee.
3. An art show at the Student Union featuring antiwar works.
4. An April 12 colloquium on racism and the war sponsored by the Afro-American and Tricontinental Students organizations.
5. An antiwar happening and poetry reading April 13, featuring poets, musicians and other entertainers.
6. A series of films beginning the week prior to the Student Mobilization and continuing during that week.
7. Faculty lectures on the war in all the sorority and fraternity houses and living groups during the entire week.

The Oberlin College chapter of SDS has voted to support the Spring Mobilization, according to a report from Cleveland. The Cleveland Student Mobilization Committee is located at 10616 Euclid Ave.

A Student Mobilization Committee has been formed at San Francisco State College consisting of eight or nine student organizations, and unaffiliated individual students and faculty members. The committee is publishing a weekly *Campus Mobilizer* with news about plans for Vietnam Week and the April 15 Mobilization.

Several affiliated groups have already announced Vietnam Week activities. The Young Socialist Alliance will hold a forum on "War and Revolution in Vietnam" on April 10 at the Gallery Lounge. On April 11, the United World Federalists will feature a speech by Paul Hartley on American war crimes in Vietnam.

On April 13-14 there will be student body elections including two referendums concerning the war. An SDS referendum deals with campus complicity with the war and the draft. A Vietnam Day Committee proposition will ask if the U.S. should get out of Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs.

A Detroit meeting for Prof. Sidney Peck of Western Reserve University, vice chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee, was held at Wayne State University March 5. The meeting was attended by more than 80 people from the following organizations:

Detroit Women for Peace; Detroit Veterans Against the War; Fifth Estate; Citizens for Peace; Methodist Church; Young Socialist Alliance; Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Communist Party; Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam; National Student Association; Socialist Workers Party; Trade Unionists for Peace; SDS; American Friends Service Committee.

Ten of the cars on the peace train chartered by the Cleveland Mobilization Committee are being offered to Detroit and efforts are being made to sign up 500 people for the trip to New York. The plan is to link up the Detroit and Cleveland cars at Buffalo.

The Indiana University Committee to End the War in Vietnam

is helping to coordinate statewide Mobilization activity and expects to have about a hundred people in New York April 15. The Bloomington Peace Forum has agreed to help and is particularly concerned with raising funds for medical aid to wounded Vietnamese.

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee reported that the FDR-Woodrow Wilson Democratic Club voted to support the Spring Mobilization. Similar support was voted by the Universities Committee on Problems of War and Peace. (They're planning to have a large contingent of professors march in cap and gown.)

The Inter-Scholastic Council of Schools of Social Work, made up of representatives of all the Schools of Social Work in the city, voted 'to publicize its support for the Spring Mobilization and set up literature tables in every School of Social Work the week of the Mobilization.'

In addition, the Social Workers for Peace is holding an all-day workshop at NYU Loeb Center on April 8.

The Parade Committee is sponsoring two happenings at Sheeps Meadow (starting point of the April 15 parade) for April 2 and April 9. The first will be an End the War Kite Fly, with kites designed by graphic artists. The second Sunday there will be an End the War Bicycle Ride through Central Park culminating with a picnic at Sheeps Meadow. Further information on these events is available from Joan Levinson at the Parade Committee office at 29 Park Row. Phone 964-0070.

In Chicago on April 8, the Intercity Student Mobilization Committee sponsors a demonstration at the napalm-producing Witco Corp. Participants from throughout the Midwest are expected. Sponsors include Women Strike for Peace, Voters for Peace, Veterans for Peace and SDS. Charles Cobb of SNCC, Greg Calvert of SDS and Dan Styron of the Student Mobilization will speak. The Medical Committee of Responsibility and the War Crimes Tribunal will also send speakers. For further information contact: Dan Stern, 5322 S. Harper (312-643-2498) or the Chicago Peace Center, 1608 W. Madison (312-243-0022.)

Thirty people from all over Connecticut met in Hartford March 4 to map plans for the Spring Mobilization. Participants included students from the Universities of Connecticut and Bridgeport, representatives from the American Independence Movement (which ran several peace candidates last fall), several union members and antiwar activists from New Britain, Waterbury, New London, and New Haven and Hartford. The group is staffing an office at 74 Allyn St. in Hartford daily from 6-9 p.m. Plans are under way for chartering buses to come to New York April 15.

The New York Student Mobilization Committee, with offices at 29 Park Row, is conducting vigorous, successful activity to build Vietnam Week and the April 15 Mobilization. Six of a projected 30 high school and college meetings have already been held and all have been very good. James Bevel, national director of the Spring Mobilization has spoken at a number of the high school meetings. At New Lincoln High School an

audience of 250 gave him a rousing standing ovation.

The Student Mobilization Committee is planning a big fund raising concert for Saturday, April 8. Among the entertainers they hope to present are Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez and Pete Seeger. For further information call the Student Mobilization Committee at 233-4535.

The Liberal Party in Syracuse, N.Y., is considering sending several buses to New York April 15.

The first issue of the *SWOMP Vietnam-April 15 Activist* appeared March 2. SWOMP is the South-West Ohio Mobilization for Peace. It was formed by delegates from Wilmington College Committee for Peace and Freedom, Antioch College Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Wittenberg University and Dayton Area Committees to End the War in Vietnam. The purpose of SWOMP is to provide regional communication and coordination in order to build the April 15 Mobilization. Speakers, films, literature, buttons, etc., are available to interested area groups. The address is SWOMP, c/o Peace and Freedom Center, 221 Xenia Ave, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Some 50 people marched through downtown Dayton in near-freezing rain March 4 to protest Johnson's newest escalation of the war and demand withdrawal of U.S. troops. Organized by SWOMP, participants included students from Antioch, Wilmington College, the University of Dayton and residents of Dayton and Yellow Springs. Leaflets outlined the history of the war, the credibility gap and the recent escalation. The leaflet included a coupon for information on the Spring Mobilization and several of these were returned.

A local radio and TV station reported the demonstration and as a result, the escalation was referred to as an escalation for the first time in the local news media.

In a newspaper advertisement believed to be unprecedented in size, more than 6,750 teachers (nursery school through university) issued a statement calling on the American people to help stop the war in Vietnam by mobilizing public opinion in their community. The ad, which occupied two-and-a-quarter pages of the March 12 *New York Times*, was sponsored by the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy and the Teachers Committee for Peace in Vietnam.

Fifty high school students from various Los Angeles schools met March 5 to launch a high school movement against the war and to plan their part in the April 15 March on San Francisco. The meeting was called by the newly formed West Coast High School Students Against the War (WCHSSAW).

Speakers included a Danish exchange student; Suzi Montauk, Bay Area coordinator of WCHSSAW; Mike McCabe of the Spring Mobilization Committee and Terri Dawson, leader of the Los Angeles area WCHSSAW.

The Spring Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, has available the following material to advertise the Mobilization: calls to the Mobilization at \$8 a thousand; stickers at \$3 a thousand; buttons at \$6 a hundred; posters at \$5 a hundred; copies of issue No. 3 of *The Mobilizer* at \$3 a hundred. Checks should accompany all orders.

Sees Revolutionary Significance

Tricontinental on Black Power

[The following article appeared in the January 1967 issue of "Tricontinental Bulletin," published by the Executive Secretariat of the organization established by the Tricontinental Conference held in Cuba last year. We are reprinting it for the information of our readers.]

The struggle of the U.S. Negro population for their rights is moving toward new goals, which include a radical change of concept and attitudes. Those masses who are discriminated against already understand that their problems do not revolve around the right to eat in certain cafeterias, the right to vote or the right to send their children to certain schools. The question goes much deeper.

The radical Negro vanguard is becoming aware that their fight is a part of the independence movement of the colonized peoples and that their enemy is Yankee imperialism. It is from that awareness that the efforts of the vanguard organizations have arisen to liberate themselves from all alien tutelage and to achieve the unity of the Negro masses, as a

people belonging to an oppressed national minority in the United States.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) head this tendency which is growing by the day within the civil rights movement.

After the idea originated in the minds of the most militant Negro leaders during James Meredith's protest march to Jackson, Miss., the slogan "black power" was launched and it has caught on as rapidly in the "ghettos" of the larger northern cities as it has in the smaller southern communities. Black power calls for the use of the Negro vote as a determining political force through which pressure will be brought to bear so that Negro candidates will be put up in some regions; it also calls for use of defensive violence, as a method of struggle aimed at curbing the impunity of racist aggression.

Social Equality

Meanwhile, the leaders of SNCC and CORE hope to create an awareness of the psychological equality between Negro and white so that the Afro-American will not have any complex whatsoever about the color of his skin. The exponents of black power believe that for their organizations to depend on white cadres and financing is negative for the cause of the Negro population.

SNCC explains that "you may accuse us of being racists, but the whites who understand our problems will realize that we must determine our own destiny. And this does not mean that the whites cannot help. They can participate on a voluntary basis."

As it is a new phenomenon within U.S. society that could shake it to its very foundations and affect the capitalist order, the Negro leaders who hold the theses of black power are persecuted and slandered not only by the most reactionary sectors, but also by well-known "liberals" who at one time collaborated in the campaign for civil rights.

Revolutionary Epoch

Clifton De Berry, U.S. presidential candidate [of the Socialist Workers Party — Ed.] in 1964, explained the situation recently in the following way:

"We are living in a new epoch. An epoch of revolution. We have a young generation that wants to do a number of things. And they want to do them soon. If everyone would observe what is happening, not only in this country, but also throughout the world, they would see that action lies with the youth. The Negro population is learning that they have no friends in the White House. They never had any, but they realize it now. They know that they have to depend on themselves."

The new movement of black power which extends from San

Francisco to Atlanta, Cleveland and Philadelphia is a movement of rebellion. In fighting for their interests the Negro population is uniting its efforts with the efforts that the oppressed masses of the colonial world are making in the frontal battle against imperialism.

SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael, aware of the realities of this historic moment, has made statements in support of the Vietnamese people and of the peoples of the Dominican Republic, the Congo and Cuba, stating that "imperialism is an exploiting octopus whose tentacles extend from Mississippi and Harlem to Latin America, the Middle East, South Africa and Vietnam."

It is not necessary to be a prophet to predict what is going to happen. Carmichael himself warned President Johnson that if he does not rectify his policy on the Negro problem, "the cities of the U.S. will be in a state of constant insurrection."

"We are all for some kind of socialism, call it by whatever name we please." —John Dewey.

L.A. Students Victimized For 'Underground' Press

By William Hathaway

[William Hathaway is running for Los Angeles Board of Education Office No. 7, and is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.]

LOS ANGELES — At least six "underground" newspapers have appeared in Los Angeles high schools recently and more are being prepared. These newspapers protest repressive school administrations and include expressions of a growing high school movement against the war in Vietnam.

A recent example of student activity around such publications was the rally Feb. 24 cosponsored by Hamilton High's underground newspaper *Insight* and Students for a Democratic Campus. More than 100 students attended the rally.

*Insight* is probably the most widely read of the new papers with a circulation of about 2,000. At the rally, a student bill of rights was read calling for freedom to advocate controversial issues on campus and to distribute literature about these issues.

The bill of rights also called for the right of students to be allowed to organize political groups on campus, for their right to have student representatives on hand to help set administrative policies, their right to dress as they please, and for an end to forwarding of students' records to outside agencies without the students' consent.

The bill of rights also asked for a legal minimum wage for students while in school.

The Hamilton administration has agreed to meet with students to discuss these demands. In other high schools, the student protest movement is fighting harassment and intimidation. Editors of University High's *The Warrior* were suspended one day because they distributed copies of the school budget on campus.

A school security officer visited the home of the editor of *Sir-Press*, published off-campus at Venice High, and questioned his family about "possible subversive influence."

Synagogue Burned Down In a Suburb of Detroit

Anti-Jewish hate leaflets are being circulated in Detroit suburbs in the aftermath of the burning of a synagogue on March 1. The *Detroit Free Press* reports on March 9 that four suburbs were hit with leaflets calling on "White gentiles . . . to unite . . . under the swastika banner to sever the tenacles (sic) of the Jewish-Marxist world conspiracy." They were signed "Committee for German Re-Unification," a hitherto unknown organization.

The Beth Isaac Synagogue was heavily damaged in the March 1 fire in Trenton, Mich. A swastika and the word "Jeuden" were chalked on a blackboard in the basement.

Nat'l Guardian Sets Meeting on China

NEW YORK — The issues, the policies and the men involved in the upheaval of China's "cultural revolution" will be analyzed by author William Hinton and Professor Franz Schurmann in a controversial Town Hall discussion Thursday, March 23, at 8 p.m.

Hinton, who lived and worked in Communist China and has travelled widely through that country, is the author of *Fanshen*, the story of the experiences he shared with the people of a Chinese village. Schurmann is visiting professor at the East Asian Institute of Columbia University, on leave from the University of California at Berkeley.

NEW YORK

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beginning March 17.

GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR, By Mary-Alice Waters. A Young Socialist pamphlet, 25¢

This pamphlet is a concise history of the struggle within the armed forces against war, from the end of World War II to the war in Vietnam. Written by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine, it is important reading for every opponent of the Vietnam war.

Consisting of two articles reprinted from the *Young Socialist*, the first part of the pamphlet describes the "Going Home" movement after World War II. The American Army was cut from 12 million to one-and-a-half million in ten months in a massive troop revolt that stymied the plans of the government to use the U.S. military machine to crush the outbreak of the colonial revolution in Asia.

The second article is entitled "GIs in Korea and Vietnam." It exposes the truth about U.S. prisoners of war "collaborating with the enemy" in Korea, and examines the depth of antiwar sentiment during that period.

Fred Halstead, *Militant* writer and staff member of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, provides an interesting introduction. He describes his own experiences in the U.S. Navy in China in 1946, and the impact of the movement among American servicemen there.

—L.E.

PERSPECTIVE ON THE ATLANTA REBELLION, text by Julius Lester. Aframerican News Service, 360 Nelson St., SW, Atlanta, Ga. 30313. 50¢.

This study of the ghetto rebellion in Atlanta last September probes the causes of the outburst in the language of statistics and in the language of the pent-up anger of a dispossessed people. It is graphically illustrated by the photographs of Rufus Hinton, Jimmy Lytle and Julius Lester.

It refutes the red-baiting charge advanced by government officials and newspapers, who have claimed SNCC and Stokely Carmichael instigated the "riot," that "the

rebellions of this past summer have not been acts against a system that offers a living death to black men, but have been only the result of agitation by Communist and/or black nationalist groups."

Atlanta, the most "progressive" city of the deep South is becoming more and more like the big industrial cities of the North with their teeming ghettos. The pamphlet outlines the same pattern of "urban renewal" that has become a part of Northern ghetto life, where poor black families are evicted to make way for new middle-class housing.

Describing the Summerhill area

where the rebellion took place, the pamphlet points out that "8 to 12 percent of the families have annual incomes of less than \$1,000. Another 15-25 percent have incomes between \$1,000 and \$2,000."

The outbreak was touched off the day after Labor Day when a white cop shot a black man suspected of auto theft.

"How many other times," the pamphlet asks, "had white policemen shot black men? How many other times had white policemen beaten black men and taken them off to jail? . . . But this time was the one time too many."

—L.E.

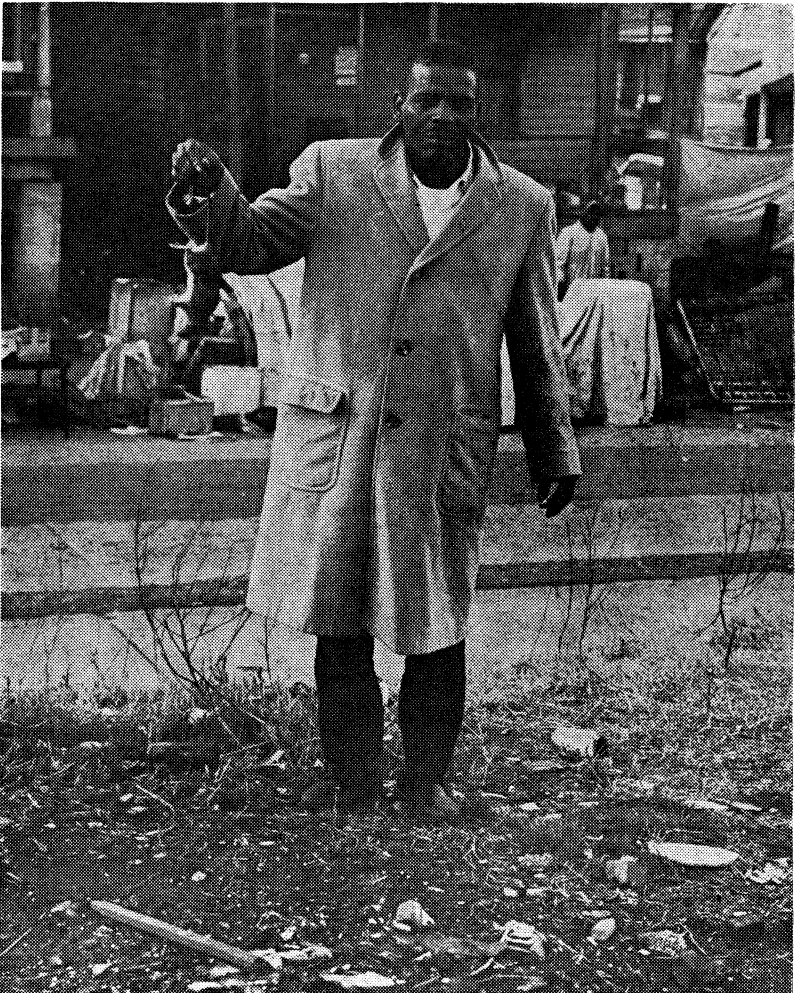


Photo by Rufus Hinton

CONDITIONS BEHIND "RIOT." This photo appears in "Perspective on the Atlanta Rebellion."



# N. Y. Meeting Salutes ... U. S. Economy at Turning Point

## The Late A. J. Muste

NEW YORK — A meeting to pay tribute to the late A.J. Muste was held at the Village Theater March 12. The speakers represented a range of views indicative of the breadth and scope of activities of the veteran pacifist leader who died here Feb. 11.

The meeting was co-chaired by Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*, and Al Haessler of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The speakers were: W.H. Ferry, vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; Nat Hentoff, biographer of Muste; Robert Gilmore, president of the Center for War-Peace Studies; Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party and Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee; George Hauser of the American Committee on Africa; Rabbi Isidore Hoffman; Kay Boyle, author; Stewart Meecham of the American Friends Service Committee; Arnold Johnson of the Communist Party; Bradford Lyttle of the Committee for Non-Violent Action; David Miller, who faces prison for burning his draft card; I.F. Stone, publisher of *I.F. Stone's Weekly*; and Marge Swann of New England CNVA.

Some of the speakers confined themselves to eulogizing Muste's rare personal qualities, a few made a point of separating themselves from his radical viewpoint, while others paid tribute to his contributions to the movement for peace and social progress.

Stewart Meecham spoke movingly of the first time he met A.J. As a freshman student at the Union Theological Seminary in the early 30s, he was taken on a tour of New York. One of the places they visited was the East Side storefront headquarters of the American Workers Party which Muste headed. Meecham recalled how impressed he had been by the fact that although Muste could have been prominent at an institution like the Union Theological Sem-

ary, he preferred to be with the AWP. "He moved out to the areas where the action was," Meecham said.

He also paid tribute to the valuable service Muste had performed in the mid-50s in heading the American Forum for Socialist Education which initiated a dialogue within the left and between the left "and those in the center."

Arnold Johnson said the growing peace movement constitutes a living tribute to A.J. He saluted Muste for his vigorous stand in favor of the policy of non-exclusion in the antiwar movement. He urged support for the April 15 Spring Mobilization as a tribute to Muste.

I.F. Stone expressed his vigorous agreement with Muste's concept of a non-exclusionary movement. He then discussed what he saw as the "disappointments" that he felt Muste must have experienced in the course of his life. He included among these the "failure" of socialism, and of the idea of a historically progressive role for the working class. Another "disappointment," Stone argued, must have come when SNCC gave up the idea of non-violence in favor of "violence" and what he saw as a form of racism.

Dave Dellinger took sharp exception to this statement about SNCC, declaring that Muste had been vastly encouraged by the growing unity of the peace and civil rights forces and regarded SNCC as a vital force in the civil rights movement and in the fight against the Vietnam war.

Dellinger said the great ideological issue which Muste still had not fully and satisfactorily resolved was how to relate the concept of nonviolence, which he strongly believed in, to the revolutionary process taking place in the world. He said that Muste's recent trip to Vietnam had convinced him more than ever that the world revolutionary process was on the rise.

(Continued from Page 1)  
itely at a rapid rate, and all the less so can it continue to expand consumer-goods production during a period of war production. The war inevitably attracts substantial investment out of the consumer-goods industry into war production with guaranteed high profits; and war funding, through heavy tax levies on consumers, combines with price inflation in driving consumer-purchasing power down.

The contradictions between the Vietnam war and the peak of a normal business cycle have been having numerous and contradictory impacts on the American economy since late in 1965. Its ramifications have already included an interest-rate inflation; a price inflation; and a lowering of real wages (see Feb. 6 *Militant*). The recent production downturn is only the latest manifestation of the basic contradiction.

The slowdown in consumer-goods production actually began in the beginning of last summer, with the drop in housing construction. By October, housing starts had fallen to a 20-year low, and although they have come back up some, they are still far behind last year's peak.

### Production Declines

Automobile production in January of this year was 20 percent below January 1966. Production has begun to fall off in consumer durables like electrical appliances and refrigerators. And all these declines have worked their way back into the means of production sector, most notably so far, into steel production.

The drop in consumer-goods production accomplished directly what the Democratic administration hoped to stimulate indirectly through the suspension of the tax credit: increased unemployment in certain industries. The *San Francisco Examiner* of Feb. 24, for example, reports a statement from the president of the California

Building and Construction Trades Council that:

"Lack of (construction) employment is, as of now, the worst that it has been in California for over 30 years. Questionnaires sent to local councils are revealing that the State is about to experience a great depression, one that could well rival the crash of 1929."

And there has been a wave of layoffs in the automobile industry, estimated by the March 4 *Business Week* to have already eliminated 16,500 jobs. The Feb. 20 *Wall Street Journal* reports: "Ford . . . is trimming auto output in the remainder of this month and next and will lay off 2,000 workers indefinitely."

### Auto Layoffs

"Chrysler confirmed that next Monday it plans to close two Detroit plants for one week, idling 4,800 workers, and eliminate one work turn on an assembly line at a third plant with 1,000 laid off 'permanently.'"

Wall Street's worries about a job scarcity in skilled labor have been temporarily eased. What the financiers appear to be more immediately concerned about now is how to prevent a "controlled" recession in the consumer-goods sector from developing into a major recession in the whole economy.

Capitalists have nothing whatsoever against a recession every so often to "soften up" (one of their favorite terms) the workers and to use up goods that have been over-produced. They have on past occasions consciously induced recessions to achieve these ends.

But the American ruling class appears to be unwilling to risk a major recession at this time if they can help it. Most likely, their reasoning here would include these points:

1) The country is in the midst of a war hated by an ever-increasing mass of the population at a time when Washington's perspective still includes escalating the war.

2) The popularity of the ruling administration that must prosecute the war is at a low ebb. The credibility gap is being widened every time Johnson opens his mouth.

3) Purchasing power has been cut by wartime inflation and workers are becoming more and more militant in their wage demands. A number of important contract negotiations are on the agenda for the present and near future.

### Oppose Recession

These factors would make a recession very unpleasant for the capitalists at this time. But the fact of the matter is there are an increasing number of economic developments which indicate that a recession looms as an imminent possibility. In addition to the factors of a declining consumer-goods production and shrinking consumer market that have already been mentioned, these others can be noted:

1) Accompanying the economic slowdown, there has been a rapid accumulation of inventories. *Fortune* magazine estimates the inventory accumulation rate of the fourth quarter of 1966 at \$17.6 billion, about three times higher than the average rate in the early period of the upswing.

*Fortune* calculates that a turn toward inventory liquidation at this time would lead to a drop of \$20 billion in manufacturing purchases, possibly even more.

2) Machine tool orders declined in January to a monthly rate of \$99.2 million. This compares to the ten-year high figure of \$187 million last March, and it indicates that the slowdown in the consumer-goods sector is having an effect on the means-of-production sector, even outside the steel industry.

3) The steep decline in 1967 capital investment plans suggests that the drop in machine tool orders is only the beginning of a

general downturn in new investment. The latest figure of a 3.9 percent increase is the third major downgrading of this estimate in five months. Even more significant than the level of the new figure is the fact that the Commerce Department now does not predict the significant upturn in the latter half of 1967 that was suggested in previous estimates.

All of these factors stack up to a business cycle entering its downswing side. Seventy-two months of "boom," as long as it was, did not serve to cancel out the basic contradictions of the profit system which produce the "boom-recession" cycle in the capitalist economy.

It is in this context that Johnson restored the tax credit, some several months earlier than originally planned. Heavy pressure from certain industries has been building up on the White House in the last three weeks. The most notable appears to have come from the railroads, who were in turn, the heaviest hit by the tax credit suspension in the first place.

According to the Feb. 27 *Wall Street Journal*, "Recent surveys . . . indicate a startling decline from a year ago of \$1.2 billion or about 80 percent in orders for freight cars and locomotives." Such a decline is no longer in the category of "controlled" recession.

"The months ahead," the *Journal* continued, "spell sagging sales and profits, layoffs, plant closings and a long, arduous return to normal operations . . ." (Rail suppliers, in addition, consume about 5 percent of steel production.)

As the contradictions of the present economic conjuncture deepen, the capitalists must resort to more and more make-shift manipulations to manage the economy.

### Tax Credit Impact

The restoration of tax credits is a case in point. While it could contribute to stimulating heavier investments in certain industries, like railroads, its long-run impact should not be overestimated. Last Nov. 11, the *New York Times* estimated that, as a whole, the suspension of tax credit would reduce 1967 capital investment by only about \$1 billion.

A return of \$1 billion at this time, if it takes place, will not bring total capital investment anywhere near back to the increase-level of last year. It could mean the difference of about a 5 percent increase as opposed to the projected 3.9 percent increase.

At the same time, it amounts to more inflation. The war still has top priority in Washington. Whatever the federal government consequently loses in war funds through returning the tax credit will be made up in increased deficit spending. This therefore increases the inflationary pressure on the economy.

In short, Washington's manipulations at present boil down to inflation-producing steps on one side or recessionary steps on the other (like the proposed increase in taxes). The masses of Americans are caught in between. They are faced with higher prices and higher taxes on one side, and increasing job instability as well as increasing unemployment on the other.

If Johnson plunges mankind into a continental war in Southeast Asia, needless to say, the American capitalist system will be rejuvenated for a time. Short of this, Johnson cannot remove the inexorable force of a classical business cycle recession from the scene; he can only postpone it.

And that means through a combination of recessionary and inflationary measures. Which of the two, in what kind of combination, for how long a period, depend on too many variables for an accurate prediction. What is certain is that these are the only alternatives capitalism can offer the American people today: inflation, recession — and war.

## A. J. Looked to the Mass Movement

[The following is the text of the speech Fred Halstead made to the March 12 New York memorial meeting for A. J. Muste.]

I worked closely with A.J. only in the last year and a half of his life, but I had heard of him much earlier, as a child during the great depression when my father was involved in, and when we literally ate at the table of, the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association in Los Angeles, one of the unemployed leagues which the Musteites, as they were known then, helped organize.

As a youth when I joined the revolutionary socialist movement I read the books about the class battles and faction fights of the 1930s, in which A.J.'s name figures prominently. I had more or less assumed that this historical figure had passed out of the picture, until about 10 years ago when I saw A.J. Muste in person for the first time. It was at a debate here in New York sponsored by the American Forum for Socialist Education, of which A.J. was chairman.

The American Forum, like so many things A.J. did, was an experiment launched at a propitious moment. In this case it was an attempt to get American radicals who hadn't been in the same room with one another for a quarter century back on speaking terms. It began to re-establish a tradition of exchange of ideas, of debate and discussion of differences which could be more constructive than the brick-wall separation or the slugging matches of the previous couple of decades. The American Forum didn't survive as an institution, but the idea and the new atmosphere it helped engender did survive, and it bore fruit.

### Antiwar Activity

But as I said, I worked closely with A.J. only in the last year and a half of his life when he spent most of his energies on building a mass movement against the war in Vietnam. A.J. had a rare feel for the mass movement — gained from his experiences with the labor struggles of the 20s and 30s. It wasn't simply a personal matter that everyone in the movement liked A.J. It was also because he knew how to utilize everyone who was willing to work, to find a place for their particular talents and qualities in spite of whatever imperfections they might have had. He was not a perfectionist, but a team man who made a special point of trying to bring out the best in each individual human being he had the pleasure to work with.

He had this approach not only with individuals but with groups and tendencies. Any group with something to offer on the matter

at hand was welcome. You didn't have to agree with A.J. on everything to work with him, just on the matter at hand.

I know that in this last great fight of his life A.J. wasn't fighting just to make the record. He was fighting to win. And he knew how to go about it. He was careful and shrewd, with fine tactical sense. He was bold when it was called for. And as far as I could see he had no fear whatever of the mass movement, which is an even rarer quality than having a feel for it. He knew that to win this fight powerful forces would have to be brought to bear, especially the chief force for social change in this society — the working class, including the Negro people and the organized labor movement. He carefully laid the groundwork for that kind of broadening of the movement months before the cracks and fissures and openings which we all see now had begun to appear.

### Ultimate Goal

He was fighting to win, not to win prestige or personal power, or an institution with his name on it, or anything like that. But fighting to win what he had started out to win: peace, the end of the war.

One last thing I'd like to say about A.J. A.J. had an aura of respectability about him that I can't honestly say wasn't cultivated to a certain extent. But this can be said: In my experience he never hesitated to use that aura of respectability on behalf of the unrespectable, the radical, the revolutionary; and we appreciated that.

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# The New Left and the Working Class

By Farrell Dobbs

Many young people consider trade unions incapable of looking beyond narrow questions of wages and job control. On broader issues they see the unions backing capitalist policy and this causes them to view the workers' mass organizations as instruments of repressive capitalist rule, against which youth are beginning to revolt. They make little distinction between the bureaucrats, who are responsible for reactionary union policies, and rank-and-file workers, who are victims of those policies. As a result many youth tend to write off the working class itself as a progressive social force.

Theoreticians of the "new left" seize upon such prejudices against organized labor and give them a sophisticated twist. As they put it, workers are job conscious rather than class conscious. The failure of union bureaucrats to organize white-collar workers in a changing labor force, which conjuncturally weakens the relative weight of the unions, is misinterpreted as an absolute narrowing of the labor base within society. Reduction of productive manpower through technological change is taken as a sign that strikes are losing their value as a means of struggle. The relative decline in union strength due to bureaucratic misleadership is held to reflect an ebbing of labor's former ability to play a vanguard social role.

## Objective Reality

Behind these dire forecasts of developing labor impotence lies an incapacity to perceive objective realities, which are presently obscured by factors that have given rise to the myth that the United States is exempt from the laws of capitalist development. One "new left" school holds that a permanent war economy assures continuation of relatively full employment; and there are built-in stabilizers to cushion the impact of conjunctural economic downturns. On this basis welfare state policies will remain able to appease economic discontent. This in turn bars radicalization of the working class and renders U.S. capitalism immune from the crisis predicted by Marxists.

Some "new left" thinkers take exception to the full-employment thesis. They see automation creating a new pattern of structural, instead of cyclical, unemployment. That, in turn, will give rise to a permanent and growing mass of jobless persons, who will stand outside organized labor's natural milieu and the unions, it is argued, will have little or nothing to offer them.

The "new left" seems generally agreed that revolutionary socialism is dead as a force within the working class, killed by a combination of New Deal politics and cold-war conformity inside the unions. As proof they point to widespread reformist illusions among the workers, their present integration into the capitalist social order and the isolation of ra-



**RECENT STRIKE.** Workers at Honeywell in Minneapolis recently showed determination to fight in face of union bureaucrats' willingness to capitulate to employers.

dicals from leadership roles in the unions. Revolutionary socialists are accused of holding romantic notions about the workers and of arbitrarily assuming that most rank-and-file unionists are class conscious. "New lefters" are advised by their mentors to shun such romanticism and to concentrate attention on young people who never experienced the history of the "old left."

Turning to their own perspectives, some on the "new left" pose as a key problem capitalism's ability to absorb dissident programs and leaders into the prevailing modes of political rule. In their view this does more than retard development of class consciousness. Given the new era of technology, it casts doubt on the possibility of political independence for any section of the population.

## Secondary Bureaucrats

Divergencies then arise over what to do. One school thinks "social unionism" — defined as adaptation of New Deal ideals to trade union strategy — can accomplish something. Exponents of this view would place reliance on the second echelon of trade union officials. The top bureaucrats are considered too far gone for salvation, while the union membership is too heavily permeated with middle-class values. Under the leadership of secondary union bureaucrats, it is held, labor could at least carry some weight in forcing social concessions from the capitalist class.

Other "new left" theoreticians consider "social unionism" incapable of developing a meaningful program for social change. They advocate a coalition of "radical constituencies" designed to enable democratic participation of the masses in economic, political and cultural affairs. Two general types of "constituencies" are projected: one based on class or social groupings, the other built around specific issues. Proponents of this line take for granted a perspective of cutting across class lines to speedily build a coalition large enough to contest for political power.

Such a coalition would rally forces by calling for a "democratic revolution." In this way decision making would be transformed everywhere, with the oppressed masses intervening in government and taking a hand in deciding national policies. The coalition's message would imbue people with an understanding that change can be achieved by concerted social action, thereby giving it a long-range strategy having political relevance. Stress would be put on immediate demands, avoiding the "old left's" intangible long-range goals that

lead to a stillborn movement. A fight would be made for structural reform within the capitalist framework, on the premise that the solution of immediate problems requires deep-going changes in the nature and priorities of existing society.

Radicals in the coalition would recognize the irrelevance of counterposing anti-capitalist political action to realignment within the present two-party system. The coalition would proceed on the premise that a realignment is now taking form within the Democratic Party. Its aim would be to inject "independent politics" into the realignment in the form of the "radical constituencies" structure of ideas.

Summarized in composite form, such is the fallacious theoretical structure now emanating from "new left" circles. With the Communist Party and the social democrats trying to latch onto the "new left" with their own brands of class collaboration, the confusion becomes thrice-compounded. Young militants, who are looking for a meaningful way to resist oppressive capitalist rule, find it hard to untangle the resulting political snarl and get at the truth. To help them do so, it is necessary to begin with the basic features of class struggle.

Labor's historic role is determined by fundamental relations between the exploited and exploiting classes within capitalist society, not by the given state of social consciousness among workers. Generally speaking, a young worker in contemporary U.S. society comes into the labor force brainwashed from childhood by a complex process of capitalist propaganda. At the outset he tends to consider employer domination over his life a normal, even necessary, state of affairs.

## Class Consciousness

His first social awakening usually occurs over simple job issues, such as wages and speedup. From his own direct experience he learns the need for a union at his own place of employment and for workers generally. He has then begun to attain class consciousness, but only in the most elementary form and to a very limited degree.

Although he now starts to perceive the class antagonisms within industry, the worker still doesn't know why capitalists must act the way they do under the operation of the system. He thinks his problems can be solved by economic means and, although he begins to oppose the employer on the job, he continues to trust capitalist politicians. It is this poli-

tical backwardness that union bureaucrats and liberal politicians seize upon to help perpetuate labor subservience to capitalist rule. It requires time and experience—and a series of social shocks—for a worker to see through the political trick played on him.

As a class, workers accept capitalism so long as they retain hope of solving their problems through reform measures, however slow and prolonged the process may be. Up to a point, they will also tolerate setbacks under the system, if not too severe and lasting. Reformism loses its hold over the workers only when it begins to produce losses with the prospect of even worse to come. Only then will a mass labor radicalization start to take hold.

Up to now accommodation to the system and reformism have prevailed in this country because capitalism has possessed sufficient wealth — already amassed through super-exploitation of labor — to make concessions that appeased working class discontent, especially within the unions. On that fundamental basis the union bureaucrats were able to devise a narrow, class-splitting policy that enabled them to hold dictatorial sway; they did so by basing themselves on workers who are relatively better off under capitalism.

An example is the policy of seeking "fringe benefits" in union contracts, such as health and welfare plans, pension funds and supplementary unemployment benefits. This policy divides and weakens the class in several ways. In separate collective bargaining procedures, stronger unions leave weaker ones on their own. The unions as a body leave unorganized workers out in the cold in these matters. Organized class pressure that should be put on the capitalist government to provide for the social needs of all workers is deflected away from Washington, and the union bureaucrats find it that much the easier to keep labor tied to capitalist politics.

## Conservatism

Factors of this general nature, along with an extended period of relative economic prosperity, have had their effects on the organized workers' mode of life and patterns of thought. Their sense of class solidarity at the union level was somewhat undermined and their feelings of hostility toward the industrial overlords lessened. Conservatism was generally strengthened in the unions and the bureaucrats were able to ride roughshod over dissidents in the ranks. Worker allegiance to the unions faltered, in some cases under the euphoria of good times, in others because the unions failed to meet given needs.

Today, however, the objective need for more aggressive tactics by the unions is beginning to reassert itself because of developing adversities. Consequent changes in rank-and-file moods are reflected in patterns of growing militancy. Broadly speaking, the present union struggles are limited to defense of buying power and jobs under the impact of runaway prices and the spread of automation. Under modern conditions labor can scarcely be said to have gone on the offensive against capital until significant motion develops toward a break with capitalist politics.

A significant feature of the change is the speed of the shift in working class moods. After an extended period of relative prosperity for a majority of the class, it has taken only a rather brief period of threats to existing living standards to provoke strong reactions among the workers. The abrupt shift reveals the development of marked internal alterations within what remains a relative political equilibrium between labor and capital.

It will take more than token concessions to alter the present trend toward increased labor militancy. This is shown by the manner in which union members are here and there rejecting contract settlements negotiated by the bureaucrats and sending them back to get some more from employers. Furthermore, when compelling needs are felt, concessions won have the effect of stimulating further struggles around demands based on the workers' needs.

As labor struggles intensify in coming times, doubters of the "new left" will find that the workers' fighting capacity remains intact and is becoming reinvigorated. Young workers are gaining increased weight in the union ranks and some are finding their way into union posts. They bring with them the drive, resourcefulness and daring of youth.

## Role of Young Workers

These young workers have much less interest in "fringe benefits," such as pensions and comparable matters, which preoccupy the older ones. They are vibrant with life and they want the wherewithall for a good life — right now. As draft bait they are not at all indifferent to the Vietnam war. There are signs that some of them are watching the civil rights movement and borrowing from its tactics; for example, holding a sit-in at union headquarters to pressure bureaucrats, who signed a no-strike contract, to get out to the plant and act on grievances. As they move into action over issues of concern to them, the young workers won't be easily cowed by union bureaucrats, corporation heads or the capitalist government.

Those in the "new left" who think automation is negating the value of strikes as a means of struggle will get their answer from the workers themselves. Time and events will show that neither the working class nor its traditional weapons have been outmoded. The working class retains its strategic role in the capitalist economic complex. It also possesses vital and distinctive characteristics as a relatively homogeneous social formation. Only one key factor is still lacking — class political consciousness.

Political radicalization of the class will be preceded by a further complex series of thwarted hopes, setbacks and doublecrosses at the hands of capitalist politicians. Even when labor moves to form its own party, the step will most likely begin around a program of reforms. New experiences will then be needed before thoroughgoing anti-capitalist radicalization assumes primacy within the working class. Before going into this more advanced aspect of class struggle dynamics, however, it is necessary to examine the problem of creating an independent labor party based on the unions.

(To be continued)

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## More on Cuba

Denver, Colo.

This is in answer to Dave Cunningham's criticism of Harry Ring's Cuba assessment.

Cunningham's general observations are penetrating and he is obviously well informed. Where one begins to question his observations is in his seeming failure to consider the present relationship of revolutionary forces and their maturation.

The colonial revolutionary forces are maturing at a pace far more rapid than those within the advanced capitalist countries. It is true that a crisis could bring about an overnight change in the working class of the advanced capitalist countries including a ripening of the revolutionary potential.

Such a crisis and such a ripening of the revolutionary potential has not yet occurred. We are therefore forced to recognize the fact that external revolutionary forces continue for the present to play the major role in confronting U.S. imperialism.

This is not to imply that the revolutionary socialists in the advanced countries should not continue to exert their utmost efforts to the necessary patient work that Lenin referred to when events were moving slowly in pre-revolutionary Russia. Neither is this to ignore "objective conditions."

My criticism of D.C.'s presentation is not so much with his observation of external fact and reference to statements, but with his mistaken evaluation of the material he has assembled. I have singled out what I consider to be the most important point of departure for D.C., the question of relationship of forces. I think this is one of the major problems Castro faces and lies at the heart of many of his decisions.

I would say that the April 15 Spring Mobilization against the Vietnam war offers an opportunity to participate in the living process of maturation of the revolutionary potential in this, the leading imperialist power in the world. And stimulate further such worthy discussion as friend Dave has brought to his fellow readers.

B.C.

## A Criticism

New Haven, Conn.

In your letters to the editor column a correspondent accuses you of sloppy researching. I will accuse you of not doing any research at all. In your haste and eagerness to eulogize A.J. Muste you make an assertion which has no basis in fact. In referring to his labor activity the writer in the article says that A.J. became actively involved in the labor movement in the Lawrence textile strike in 1918.

As a matter of fact it was on Feb. 1, 1919 that Muste first appeared on the scene in company of two other ministers, Cedric Long and Harold Ratzel. The three came to my house, introduced themselves and offered their help. This was two days before the strike was to go into effect. In spite of my personal feelings about pacifists and pacifism in those days I agreed to accept their offer and introduced them two days later to the general committee of which I was the secretary.

Help was sorely needed since our committee was disowned by John Golden, the president of the now defunct United Textile Workers, an affiliate of the AFL, after we refused to call off the strike.

The origin of that struggle was in the refusal of the mill owners to grant a shorter work week — from 54 to 48 hours a week — without a wage cut. I was a delegate from the spinners union at the time and introduced a resolution at a meeting of the Central Labor Union to sponsor the organization of the textile workers of Lawrence. Some of the delegates were reluctant to sponsor a movement that would inevitably be industrial in form because of their craft union background. But it was finally voted unanimously and a committee set up of which I became secretary. This committee later became the general committee, with representatives from the mills and national groups.

In response to the urgings of the CLU, John Golden came to Lawrence where the then-president of the CLU, a Mr. Menzie, and I met him at the railroad station. After some discussion he agreed to put me on as general organizer at a salary.

It was this committee that succeeded in a matter of a few weeks in grouping around itself some of the finest elements: socialists, right and left; anarchists, and syndicalists. Many of them were experienced in the labor move-

ments in the counties they came from; others had been active in the 1912 strike led by the IWW in which I also participated.

I have no quarrel with your eulogizing A.J. and his activities, especially against the dirty war in Vietnam. But the assertion that Muste "assumed" leadership of that historic strike is not only untrue but a slur and insult to the memory of that militant group of dedicated people. I might say in passing that in a recently published history of the city of Lawrence, in a chapter on labor, there is a section dealing with textile strikes. It reports, in an understatement of course, that on Feb. 3, 1919, Ime Kaplan led six thousand textile workers out on strike.

Incidentally, I had written some two years ago a refutation of the same assertion about Muste being the leader of the 1919 textile strike, by Nat Hentoff in his book, *A.J. Muste, Peace Agitator*. I intended to send it to Mr. Hentoff but refrained because I felt that Muste in recent years was doing a valuable job on the peace front.

Hyman (Ime) Kaplan

## ... And a Reply

New York, N.Y.

In stating that Muste became a leader of the Lawrence textile strike I certainly did not intend to suggest he was the sole leader. But it is a matter of historical record that Muste was a leader of the strike. The *New York Times* of the period refers to him as chairman of the strike committee.

## Thought for the Week

"It's hard to explain to people that the higher casualties [in Vietnam] mean we're doing a better job." — An anonymous government official quoted in the March 12 *New York Times*.

In the book, *American Protestantism and Social Issues: 1919-1939* by Dr. Robert Moats Miller, Muste is also referred to as chairman of the strike committee. In his own autobiographical sketch, in the just published *The Essays of A.J. Muste*, Muste states that he was elected executive secretary of the strike committee.

It is also a matter of historical record that Brother Kaplan played a leading role in the strike and this is also acknowledged by Muste in his autobiographical sketch.

The reference to the strike occurring in 1918 was a typographical error.

Harry Ring

## Likes Dobbs' Articles

New York, N.Y.

To me *The Militant* is like a breath of fresh air compared to the pollution I am exposed to by the so-called "radical" papers and of course the capitalist press.

This is particularly true of Farrell Dobbs' articles on the trade union movement which appear regularly, but all too seldom in *The Militant*.

Dobbs' articles expose both the labor bureaucrats and the distorted reformist policies of the Communist and Socialist parties in the labor movement and their support of the Roosevelt, Truman, Ken-

nedy and Johnson administrations — i.e., the Democratic Party — down through the years.

His articles disprove the fallacious idea that the trade union movement was created full-blown from the head of FDR and the Wagner Labor Act on a silver platter, and that it has been protected by the Democratic Party ever since. As he proves so well, it was only by struggle and against the wishes of these "benevolent despots" that the union movement grew in the 30s. It has stagnated ever since it allowed itself to be embraced during World War II and the ensuing cold war.

I have found these articles to be a powerful weapon in convincing trade union members — ex-Stalinist and otherwise — as to the falsity of supporting the Democratic machine. I feel strongly that a compilation of these articles would make an excellent pamphlet. (They are also a wonderful education for the young people now coming into the socialist movement.)

What is essential for the good health and survival of the labor movement is the fresh air and sunshine of Farrell's Dobbs' articles which will help to eliminate the pollution that threatens its very life.

E.B.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Class-Conscious Broker** — One of the intriguing characters in a *New York Times* feature on the city's marriage brokers was an Irving Field. With an apparent penchant for decorations, Mr. Field paints his partially bald head black instead of wearing a toupee. His place of business is decorated to resemble the Garden of Eden and features an artificial apple tree. His working files are divided into sociological categories — Laborers, White Collar, Better Middle Class, Wealthy and Society. He explains: "You just can't mix match a society person with a laborer."

**Saxon Sozzlers Only** — A tavern keeper in Leamington Spa, England, dropped a ban on foreign languages after government intercession. He had refused to serve Indians, Poles and other immigrants unless they spoke English.

**Birthday Party a Bomb** — The Washington's Birthday party held in Philadelphia by the Sons of the American Revolution was a bit of a flop. A slated award to the Chestnut St. merchant with the best patriotic window display had to be skipped because none of the merchants had patriotic themes in their displays. And when the society's first annual Good Citizen award was given to former municipal Judge Edwin O. Lewis, he took the occasion to blast the Vietnam war.

**Out of the Mouths of Headline Writers** . . . — A March 8 *New York Times* headline reported: "Success of Cosa Nostra Is Linked to Use of Big Business Methods."

**A Giver** — Louis Schweitzer, a chemical manufacturer, likes to buy his wife, off-Broadway producer Lucille Lortel, unusual gifts. Finding a Florida spa filled up when they arrived, he bought a two-story houseboat standing nearby. In Venice, he bought his wife a gondola. In New York, his wife complained of the difficulty of

finding a cab when she leaves the theater. So he bought a Mercedes Benz and converted it into a cab. Apparently not unmindful of business, he hired a driver to work the cab on a 50-50 basis, with his wife guaranteed a ride home at night.

**Shopping Hint** — If you find it difficult to get a really cold martini out of a glass pitcher, drop in at Cartier's in New York. They're featuring a silver and vermeil pitcher, complete with stirrer and matching double shot mixer. Only \$1,510.

**That Little Haven** — Discussing legislation to protect the public from fraudulent mail-order land sales of the \$10 down, \$10 a month type, Senator Harrison Williams said the interstate lands sales industry now does a business of more than \$1 billion a year. "Some in-

vestors," he said, "have been sold land in swamps, flood control areas, deserts, high arid plateaus, mountains, remote valleys and — in some cases — jungles and lava beds outside the continental United States."

**Sorry About That** — Jack White, a Clearwater, Fla., attorney, testified he had "forgotten" to file an appeal on behalf of Fredrick Cuffie, a Negro he had been assigned by the court to defend. Cuffie began serving three concurrent six-month to five-year sentences for assault on April 18, 1965. The lawyer's testimony came after the prisoner filed his own appeal. The judge said he admired the lawyer's "courageous" stand and "diligence" in admitting his mistake. He said he would take the appeal under advisement.

—Harry Ring

## Weekly Calendar of Events

### BOSTON

**CHARLIE CHAPLIN FILM FESTIVAL.** Includes: *The Immigrant*, *Laughing Gas*, *Easy Street*, etc., Fri., March 24, 8:15 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Hall 307. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### DETROIT

**CUBA TODAY.** An eye-witness report by Regula Modlich, Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Fri., March 31, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

**PROTEST THREATENED EXECUTION OF HUGO BLANCO!** Hear John Gerassi, author *The Great Fear in Latin America*, just returned from north Vietnam as investigator for International War Crimes Tribunal, speak on: *Vietnam and the Latin American Revolution*. Sunday, March 26, 2 p.m. Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church. 4607 Prospect Ave. Donation \$1. Aup. U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners.

**MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE DYNAMICS OF AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY.** Instructor: Max Goldman. Sat. March 25, 2:30 p.m. 2112 North Wilmington Ave.,

Compton. Aup. School of International Socialism.

### NEW YORK

**THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.** Speaker: Mburumba Kerina, South-West African National United Front (SWANUF) delegation to UN. Fri., March 24, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

**MARXIST LECTURE SERIES.** *Guerrilla Warfare* — Its potential and limitations. Speaker: Richard Garza. Mon., March 27, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Fee 50 cents. Aup. Socialist Workers Party.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**WILL THE SUN EVER SET ON THE U.S. EMPIRE?** Speaker: Scott Nearing, writer *Monthly Review*, just returned from Asia and India. Wed., March 22, 8 p.m. YMCA, 1530 Buchanan St. (off Geary Blvd.) Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### TWIN CITIES

**WHICH WAY FOR THE WORLD — WELFARE STATE OR SOCIALISM?** Speaker: Paul Chelstrom, Mpls. Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 24, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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## N. Y. Teachers Reject Meany Pro-War Stand

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK, March 11 — Deep opposition to the war in Vietnam among this city's school teachers was expressed at the Delegate Assembly meeting today of the New York United Federation of Teachers. The president of the UFT received a serious jolt when rank and file delegates of the largest local in the American Federation of Teachers voted overwhelmingly to dissent from the official AFL-CIO support of the war.

More than 1,000 delegates representing the 43,000 teachers in New York attended the meeting which saw UFT President Albert Shanker vainly try to keep the union from taking a position on the war.

A motion was presented that "The UFT dissents from the position uncritically supporting the Johnson administration's policy in Vietnam which was taken by the AFL-CIO Executive Council." This motion had been introduced by antiwar teachers in the hope of raising the issue of the war within the union.

At one point Shanker heatedly argued that if the delegates passed the motion, it would lead to the destruction of the union. So intense was the feeling of the members that Shanker was booed, especially when he argued that the question of the war was "far removed from the purposes of the UFT."

### Leadership Maneuvers

The union leadership engaged in a series of maneuvers to prevent the delegates from registering their real views on the war. Alice Marsh, a member of the executive committee, put a substitute motion on the floor which stated that the UFT should take no position on the war, but was opposed to curbs on free dissent and cuts in poverty programs. When this motion was defeated, it became clear to the delegates that the motion to dissent from the official AFL-CIO stand was about to pass, and the hall broke out into a tumult of cheers and applause. When the final vote was taken on the main motion, it was so overwhelmingly in favor of the motion that Shanker was compelled to admit it passed, without taking vote count.

A speaker was then recognized who moved that the motion be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. The delegates had previously rejected a similar motion, which would have cut off discussion on the war, but this time the proposal to take the issue of the war to the membership was passed.

Fearing that the delegates would now go on to pass a stronger statement on the war itself, the leadership made a motion to proceed with the agenda. This would have cut off discussion on Vietnam, and the delegates voted it down.

At this point, several groups and

## Indians Organizing Civil Rights Group

Representatives of the Sioux Tribe have announced the formation of the American Indian Civil Rights Council. Robert Burnette and Henry Crow Dog, both of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe of Mission, S.D., made the announcement on March 11 in Washington.

The March 12 *New York Times* reported that the Indian representatives said that the Indian Civil Rights Council would "use all the tactics of the Negro civil rights movement, including demonstrations."

individuals wanted to get a statement against the war passed, but were not prepared or agreed upon a common approach. In the confusion, a motion was put on the floor which called for the cessation of bombing of north and south Vietnam, and for support to the proposals of Kennedy, U Thant and Javits.

Before this motion could be amended, a substitute motion was put before the body by the leadership, blaming the war on both sides. Once a substitute motion was on the floor, the rules provided that no amendments could be made to either motion. Thus those against the war felt they had no choice but to vote down the substitute motion and carry the original.

### Attempted Stand

Several delegates attempted to get the floor to present the clear antiwar position passed by the California Federation of Teachers in December. However, before they were able to do so, the body voted to proceed on the agenda.

Although the motion finally adopted did not clearly express it, the sentiment of the great majority of delegates was obviously in opposition to the war.

The members of the union who are opposed to the war have an opportunity in this situation they should take advantage of. There are ways in which a strong statement against the war could be placed before the membership for a referendum vote. The fact that the California Federation of Teachers, another large section of the union, passed a strong position on the war, and the antiwar spirit displayed in the New York Delegate Assembly meeting, indicate that such a referendum would meet with a favorable response.

"Historically the great movements for human liberation have always been movements to change institutions and not to preserve them intact." —John Dewey.

## Bosch Hits U. S. Dominican Role

(World Outlook) — Juan Bosch, who lost out to Joaquín Balaguer in the elections conducted under the auspices of the Pentagon and State Department in the Dominican Republic June 1, 1966, and who is now staying provisionally in Spain, has become very "pessimistic, bitter, and without any illusions about the chances that democracy will be restored in his country in either the immediate or more distant future," according to Marcel Niedergang, who interviewed him in Madrid. (*Le Monde*, March 1.)

By running against Balaguer, the candidate favored by Washington, Bosch made it possible for American imperialism to get away with the scandalous fraud that the staged elections were "democratic" although the country had been invaded by an armed force of around 24,000 American troops.

Bosch's cooperation with the foreign imperialist army was thus of inestimable service to the Johnson administration, which is now busy welding together the dictatorial machine built by Trujillo that came to pieces under the impact of the April 24, 1965 uprising in Santo Domingo. Realizing that he now stands in the category of a thoroughly squeezed lemon, it is understandable why Bosch is in such a sour mood.

"Economically, we stand at the brink of catastrophe . . ." Bosch told Niedergang. "Thousands of workers have been thrown into the

## SWP Nominee Challenges Berkeley Cops on Posters

By Roger J. Filene

BERKELEY — Brian Shannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, was cited by a plainclothes cop on March 10 for putting up a socialist campaign poster on a telephone pole in front of the police headquarters. Shannon had notified the police of his intention to test the ordinance against putting up such posters.

Police have been tearing down socialist campaign posters around the city, while leaving untouched posters of the Democratic and Republican candidates. The Socialist Campaign Committee uncovered this selective enforcement of the ordinance by tracing down an unmarked car, whose plain clothes driver was seen tearing down the socialist posters. The car was found behind the police headquarters, and the cops admitted it was theirs.

Shannon appeared before the city council on March 7 to request permission to put up the campaign posters, and later sent them a written request. When the permit wasn't issued, Shannon went ahead and notified the police of his intentions to test the ordinance.

### Republican Assembly

Earlier in the week, supporters of the socialist campaign picketed a red-baiting meeting of the local Republican Assembly. The subject of the meeting was "Subversion at the University," and it was chaired by incumbent Mayor Wallace Johnson. One of the groups under attack by the meeting was the Campus Communist Forum, and the socialist campaigners carried signs reading, "An Attack on One Is an Attack on All," and "End McCarthyism in Berkeley." When the meeting started, the pickets walked inside, carrying their signs.

A Mrs. Athowe was the first speaker. She claimed that tax money was being spent through

the War on Poverty and through various grants to the university to finance ghastly things like organizing farm workers and ghetto protests against substandard housing.

A high point of her talk, especially for the excited audience of right wingers, came when she held up a copy of a Campus Sexual Freedom League publication and decried the picture of a "bare breasted mulatto" on the front cover. She sat down to loud applause.

### Professed "Socialist"

The next speaker was a Mr. Grendon, a researcher in biochemistry at the University of California. He said he was a Democrat with "socialist leanings." He explained that he believed in law and order and that was why he was against things like the Free Speech Movement. The right wingers gave him a lusty cheer — it's not often that they find such a congenial "socialist."

Grendon complained that when he once demanded "equal time" to explain his support of the war in Vietnam at an antiwar rally on Sproul Hall steps at the university, organized by a faculty group, he was given only five minutes. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, was in the audience and, at this point, shouted for equal time to present his views that evening, but was drowned out by a chorus of boos and hisses.

In the question and answer period that followed, Brian Shannon requested that Camejo be given five minutes. The microphone was grabbed out of Shannon's hand. Jerry Rubin, also a candidate for Mayor, managed to ask Mayor Johnson a question over a chorus of boos. Rubin asked Johnson if he wasn't ashamed to be chairman of the meeting. Johnson quickly answered, "No, I am not ashamed."



Photo by Hermes

**BRIAN SHANNON.** Socialist candidate putting up campaign poster in front of Berkeley police headquarters. He was arrested immediately after photo was taken in spite of the fact Democratic and Republican campaign posters are allowed all over town.

## Racists Burn Down A Rights Building In Lowndes County

Offices of a community civil rights organization were burned to the ground in Lowndes County, Ala. on March 12. Headquarters of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, Inc., in a former church building in Hayneville, Ala., were razed. This was the first of a series of fire and bombing attacks that struck civil rights and antipoverty organizations in Alabama and Mississippi last week.

Lowndes County is the home of the Lowndes County Freedom (Black Panther) Party, the militant, independent black political party that won ballot status in last November's election. Many of the members of the Black Panther Party are supporters of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, which has succeeded in forcing the federal government to send antipoverty funds into the county.

On March 13, the Macedonia Baptist Church, 20 miles away in Fort Deposit, Ala., went up in flames.

The same day a bomb did heavy damage to an antipoverty office in Liberty, Miss. According to the March 14 *New York Times*, "Authorities said the blast had been caused by an 'explosive device' hurled through a front window. Jimmy Sharp, a local appliance dealer who owns the small building, said the front had been 'blown out.'"

The office was run by Project Head Start, a pre-school teaching program for poor children.

leased in such bad condition that he died the next day from the torture he had undergone. The family filed a complaint, stating that the prisoner had been seen each day in the police headquarters by witnesses. Despite this, the head of the police replied: "We never saw the fellow."

"Maximo Fiallo, a known organizer of ultrarightist commando killers was arrested after repeated complaints. The pilots of the San Isidro base, the former general headquarters of General Wessin y Wessin, protested. He was their 'friend.' The police turned them down. The next morning, a commando group of pilots came to release Maximo Fiallo by force. Nobody said anything."

Bosch declared that "The real government is not in Santo Domingo; it is in Washington. The real master of my country is the United States. I said that the day the Marines landed, I say it again today. From this point of view, nothing has changed."

Should Balaguer display too much independence, Bosch suggested, he would be assassinated, and the army would put one of its generals in. The U.S. had probably already anticipated this. And wouldn't there be protest? "The United States," said Juan Bosch, "pays absolutely no attention to public opinion. They have only one objective — to maintain and reinforce the group in the armed forces which they have gained."

streets. Never has misery been so great."

During the election campaign, which the American Social Democrat Norman Thomas later certified as being in the "democratic" tradition, Juan Bosch was afraid to leave his villa. He remained under constant guard. "After his defeat in the elections," declares Niedergang, "Juan Bosch continued to live under the constant threat of being assassinated. A number of his bodyguards were killed in opposing terrorist commandos of the extreme right. He himself, at the time he left, was able to get to the airport only thanks to multiple precautions and the intervention of friendly diplomats."

### Balaguer Terrorism

Bosch spoke freely of how Balaguer is running the country under the auspices of the Johnson administration: "The terror is permanent. The assassination of former members of the Constitutionalist forces occurs almost daily. It is no secret. The Dominican press reports from day to day the extortion, violence, kidnappings and murders; but the impunity with which the terrorists of the right operate is beyond comprehension. Here are two examples among others:

"A former Constitutionalist official remained in the hands of the police for a week. He was re-