**LBJ Summit in Guam Is Prelude to Further Vietnam Escalation**

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 14 — Washington is preparing for a new escalation of the air-war against north Vietnam which could include bombing the Hoa Binh, Hanoi and Haiphong and mining the port of Haiphong. Johnson secret meetings in Guam later this week with the Pentagon brass have evidently put the final touches on this plan.

However, the main outlines of it can be gleaned from the actual speech of escalation Washington has already taken since Johnson ended the Tet “truce” Feb. 13, and from the $20 billion in “defense” money Secretary McNamara revealed to the Senate Armed Services, Feb. 2.

There have been two series of escalations, March 14, 1965, was even more serious. This included bombing the largest Hoa Binh power plant, an industrial plant, the Thanging oil refinery, the warhead factory at Hanoi, and 11; and the bombing of a power plant run by Thal-based jets, March 13.

**Salon Dispatch**


The American source 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 jets—led by B-52 bombers—had targeted a target that was not directly in-

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

**Chicago Peace Meet To Hear Emil Mazy**

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

By Ed Smith

On March 9, President Johnson requested an immediate restora- tion of the seven percent tax in- centive on business investment which had been temporarily sus- pended last Oct. 1 (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 the end of 1965.

Recent developments appear to have changed this view. Johnson’s action followed by several weeks the suspension of in- dustrial production has declined in January for the first time in six years, for reasons not attribu- table to strikes.

And it followed by less than 24 hours the Commerce Department’s prediction that investment and inventory would in- crease by only 3.9 percent in 1967, compared to the 17.5 percent in- crease in 1966. Those facts raise the possibility that a third factor is happening in the American econo- my at this time, and what the Democrat administration is try- ing to do about it.

When the tax credits were ex-

**Economy at Turning Point**

Byline: Emil Mazy

The rally will be held in front of Chicago’s Congress on Monday, 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 3:30 p.m.

The announcement that Mazy will speak at the rally is indica- tive of the fact that the antiwar movement is beginning to win support within the union move- ment.

The Spring Mobilization Com- mittee, which is organizing the April 15 demonstrations in San Francisco and New York, has al- ready won the endorsement of the Santa Clara, Calif., Central Labor Council and the Northern Cali- fornia International Longshoremen and Warehousemen’s Union for the April 15 action. The state chairmen of the California Fed- eration of Teachers, and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 AFL-CIO and chairman of Negro American Labor Coun- cil, 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, in- cluding the Trade Union Division of SANE, SDS and Veterans for Peace.

**Price Bises**

Prices had begun going up al- most a year earlier and had already taken a considerable toll on the purchasing power of consum- ers. But this is not a concern which so- ever to capitalists provided profits keep coming in. Their con- cern stemmed from the response to the price increases by the or- ganized working class.

Most worrisome to Wall Street and Washington, were the suc- cesses workers were achieving in militant strike struggles to gain catch-up wage increases. This was helped by the near full employ- ment conditions and near capacity production. Workers cannot be pressured by the threat of laid-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 posi- tion in the job market. The tax- credit suspension got a warmer lift for appearance’s sake from the business world and was speed through Congress. However, the economic situation five months later has changed considerably, and the capitalists have a new set of immediate con- cerns. Their present anxieties stem from the fact that the economy “cooled off” faster and further than last fall’s plan anticipated. And the cause of this is much deeper than the tax-credit suspens- sion, which only added fuel to a fire well underway.

The economic slowdown is ba- sically caused by the same factors that initially caused job scarcity and peak production: the con- tinued escalation of war produc- tion coinciding with the peak of a conjunctural business cycle. The capitalist economy simply cannot expand production indefinitely.
The Worker Paints Up Kennedy's Peace Stand

By Harry Ring

In our last issue we discussed Senator Kennedy's proposal for temporary suspension of the bomb- ing in Vietnam. We said that his disposition of the problem represented a division of opinion within U.S. ruling circles. Such disagreements in top circles tend to legitimate dissenting views on the war and, in a highly distorted way, are symptomatic of the mounting popular antisean sentiment.

For the antiwar movement to benefit from this development, we said, it was imperative that all necessary steps be taken to make the war irrevocable. In the next two months the antiwar movement has maintained a peaceful pressure on the President. Only by this method have they achieved militiaman to the peace platform of the dead soldier-the soldier that stood guard over his fellow-man as he died: "Let us and heaven."

The National Picket Line

Reuther Sides with GM in UAW Walkout

Walter Reuther has ganged up with GM in a second walkout by UAW Local 549 in Mansfield, Ohio. The latest strike involved a February 17 walkout by 17 workers who were fired for participating in a strike on the company's 13-passenger bus plant. The workers threatened to take over the local, the membership voted to end the contract, and the union representatives were then to sit in on talks with the company. By the time the walkout began, the plant was closed over disciplinary layoffs and the job of the unemployed appeared to be in dis- pute. (See March 26 Militant.)

Only 12 of the workers given disciplinary layoffs were put back to work and it soon became ap-显, since the other five were to be fired. This led to the second walkout. When Reuther again in- presented a bar to the job by the secretary of the local union members voted to defy his order and conti- nued their protest action.

GM quickly responded to the unions' request for an immediate injunion against the Feb- ruary walkouts, but this time the court ruled that the antiwar frenzy was "not warranted by the facts" of the Mansfield plant.

Although Woodcock, a Reuther lieutenant, stated that GM is planning a strike to "withstand the workers' demands," Reuther's much-publicized "humanitarian" professions of "the rights of the individual" caused "by the minimal numbers involved."

One of Reuther's regional di- rectors, in connection with the Mansfield local as administrator in a strike, has made a step toward the mem- ber's right to strike. By an agreement of the community's UAW-CIO council, the local is a bargaining agent to the workers in the $55,000 strike. The local has 13,000 mem- bers, and one of the terms of the Mansfield strike, which is the first walkout in this area in the UAW's labor war over "the rights of the individual" of the local union.

Mayor Pete, one of the workers scheduled to be fired after the February strike, has spoken for a 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 mem- bers, is a veteran activist who is likely to be angry over an accumulation of bad debts which he is forced to pay from GM. The union's stand is not in the local's favor as it is in the UAW's favor of as it is, the 10-member UAW-CIO council, which is the local and the central's international union and the local's union, has just determined that the 12 workers on strike are "not guilty.

Johnson has gotten a Taft-Hart- ley injunction to force the 1,400 strick- ers back to work by court orders. The UAW-CIO is the point of the walkout. The UAW-CIO has its own court in the area to keep the strikers from striking again. The UAW-CIO's local, which is the local, has a set of rules to keep the strikers from striking.

New York

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Watts and Harlem

By Robert Vernon and George Novack

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Committee to Free Morton Sobel...
Powell and Black Political Action

The developments around the bi-partisan, racist outburst of Adam Clayton Powell Jr. have generated 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 (Forkshop) Davis, presented by a group of Negroes. After the rally, the Republicans, Democrats and Liberals as "Whitey's pawns" 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 F. Young announced his independent nominating petitions to give Powell a second line on the ballot in the special congressional election April 11. Young is a former Powell side who was appointed public relations director of Haryo-Arc. Powell has had already filed nominating petitions.

The petition will nominate Powell as candidate for the Congress Party, Young said, and its emblem will be a broken chain, "to free the Negro from slave labor and a break from the Dem-

Rocratic Party."

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

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

(Continued from Page 1)

...New Escalation

The Times reported this in its editorial: "The White House will be at the Pentagon on March 13: ... some high Defense Department officials. From the White House against bombing or mining the Soviet Union, one is in the time being at least. Others urge a major campaign to isolate Hanoi from outside supply by blocking the harbors."

Johnson moved to the way for a escalated aggression in north Viet- nam, and the "parallel" moves with the House Armed Services Committee in the ex-

Hentai and long-range nature of the war. The new - and the ex-

... approval - escalation of the war. The buildup in Thailand is par- ticularly important, and it is not directly in the escalated sti-

... "the buildup in Thailand will be transferred from Guan to Thai-

... the preferred" by N.Y. Times, "innocent lives will be killed in Viet- nam."

Kennedy's "Appeal"

One of the reasons of the Congress-

strial appeal of this meeting is to attract more attention to the problem of the war, the rising Senate. Robert Kennedy's "appeal" for a national "No War" movement, the con-

... the war. The appeal is par- ticularly important, and it is not directly in the escalated sti-

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Kennedy's "appeal" served two purposes: one was to pave the way for a possible "peacetime" reality; the other was to remove the war, to get more attention to the problem of the war, the rising Senate. Robert Kennedy's "appeal" for a national "No War" movement, the con-

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Sees Revolutionary Significance

Tricontinental on Black Power

[The following article appeared in the January 1967 issue of "Tricontinental," 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 proving to be an ever-growing movement in both strength and popularity. Those masses who are discriminated against are learning to fight back, not only for their own rights, but for the rights of all the other peoples. This struggle is rapidly becoming a part of the world's struggle for freedom and justice.

After the initial wave of the most militant Negro leaders during James Meredith's successful integration of Ole Miss, the slogan "black power" was taken up by thousands of people on the right and left, as a method for struggle aimed at increasing the impact of black aggression.

**Social Equality**

Meanwhile, the leaders of SNCC and CORE hope to create a new awareness of the psychological and social equality between Negro and white so that the Afro-American will not have any complex whatever about the color of his skin. The exposures of black power believe that they are responsible for their organizations to depend on white codes and finance is necessary for the carrying out of the Negro population. SNCC explains that "you may feel yourselves are the Negroes you use to be, but the whites who understand our struggle will recognize that we must determine our own destiny. And we would ask you to understand that you cannot help. They can participate with us in this struggle."

As it is a new phenomenon within U.S. society that could affect the most influential and affect the capitalist order, the leaders of SNCC and CORE believe that black power is persecuted and slandered not only by the state reactionary forces, but also by well-known "liberals" who at one time were involved in the campaigns for civil rights.

*Revolutionary Epoch*  

China is one of the U.S. presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party — so stated in "Tricontinental," published recently in the following way: "We are living in a new epoch. An epoch of revolution. We have a situation that was a number of new things, and they wish to do them soon. Every-who who the population is learning that they have no friends in the White House. They can say no, 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 colonized world are making in the world's challenge against imperialism. SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael is the leading mind of this historic moment, has made statements in support of the National Liberation Front of the Dominican Republic, the U.S. anti-imperialist and anti-colonialism in the slit, Mississippi and Harlem to Latin America, the Middle East, South Africa and Vietnam."**

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

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.]

**L.A. Students Victimized For Underground Press**

L.A. students have been arrested and subjected to a variety of police brutality during recent student activity protests.

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 sponsored 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 local school boards 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 influences."

[Photo by Rufus Hinton]

**REVIEWS AND REPORTS**

**Glis and the Fight Against War, By Mary- Alice Waters, Young Socialist** pamphlet, 25c

This pamphlet is a concise history of the armed forces in America and the growing armed forces against war, from the first American war in Vietnam. Written by Mary- Alice Waters, editor of the Socialist, it is important reading for every opponent of the war.

Consisting of two articles reprinted from the Socialist, the first part of the pamphlet describes the "Glis Going Home." The American army was cut by 28,000 troops which surrendered in the ten months in a massive troop revolt that stunned the plans of the U.S. military machine to crush the revolt of the colonial revolution in Asia.

The second article is entitled "Glis in Korea and Vietnam." It describes the troops who have no patience with war "collaborating with the enemy," and names the depth of antiwar sentiment during that period.

By癞史Low, 14th writer and staff member of the New York Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, provides an interesting introduction. He describes the protests that were crushed by U.S. Navy in China in 1947, and the current antiwar sentiments.

By L.E.

**PERSPECTIVE ON THE ATLANTA REBELLION**, text by Rufus Hinton, New York City, New York News Service, 400 Nelson St., SW, Atlanta, Ga. 30313

This study of the ghetto rebellion in Atlanta by Rufus Hinton probes the causes of the outburst in the language of statistics and in the language of anger of a dispossessed people. It is based on firsthand interviews and photographs of Rufus Hinton, Jim- lyd and Julius Lester. It refutes the red-baiting charge advanced by government officials and Republicans that SNCC and Stokely Carmichael instigated the riot.

**WHAT'S HAPPENING IN CHINA AND WHAT DOES IT MEAN?**

With:  
**WILLIAM HINTON**  
heton wrote of his own experience in *White Labor in China*.  
**FRANZ SCHURMANN**  
Schurman's works include *Gandhi: the Man and His Ideas* and *The Congress of Chinese Studies* and the *Historical Studies* of the Columbia University Asian Institute. Columbus University

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Institute of Eastern Studis, Dartmouth College

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**CONDITIONS BEHIND "RIOT."** This photo appears in "Perspective on the Atlanta Rebellion."
N.Y. Meeting Salutes . . . U.S. Economy at Turning Point

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By Farrell Dobbs

Many young people consider trade unions incapable of looking beyond narrow questions of wages and job security. They see the unions backing capitalist policy and this causes them to question the value of trade union initiatives as instruments of progressive change which might rescue the working class. They see a split between the bureaucrats, who are responsible for reactionary union policies, and rank-and-file workers, who are victims of those policies. As a generation of young workers begins to write off the working class itself as a progressive social force, The Militant argues that the concept of the "new left" sells us upon prejudices against organized labor and gives them an asceticized view. As they put it, workers are joining these prejudices themselves.

The failure of union bureaucrats to organize workers, their failure to change labor force, which is consuming, and the failure of organized labor to win rights, is misunderstanding as an absolute failure of the labor force within society. Reduction of productive manpower through technological means has been taken as a sign that strikes are losing, or that the labor movement is in trouble.

The relative decline in union strength due to bureaucratically organized unions and the passing of the"left" of labor's former ability to play a social role in society.

Objective Reality

Behind these dire forecasts of decline there is the possibility of actuality, which is presently obscured by the reality that workers are rising to the myth that the United States is an "exception" among advanced capitalist states. One "new left" which fails to grasp the pernicious economic consequences of relative full employment in a stagnant economy is not a utopianthreads to cushion the impact of conjunctural economic downturns. On this basis wage and welfare policies will remain able to appease economic discontent. In this turn towards "radical" workers, theポンミルトア earners are the F.D. Robert capitalists from the crisis of the working class.

Some "new left" thinkers take exception to the concept of trade unionism, they see automation creating a new pattern of structural, individual, and spiritual conditions. That, in turn, will give rise to a new pattern of social relations of the class. Jobless persons, who will stand outside organized labor's natural milieu and the union, is argued, will have little or nothing to lose.

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 union. As if the process of widespread reformist ambitions among the workers, their present integration into the capitalist social order and the isolation of resistance to that order lead to a stultifying movement. A right would be made for structural reform within the capitalist frame, work on the premise it is so the nature and priorities of existing society.

In the recent event in the United States, we are more concerned about the fall of the Montenegrin labor force in the United States. The whole concept of the "left" is on "left" terms and the labor movement is always involved with the leadership of the"left." The new left does not have to stress the importance of the leadership of the working class, which is a possibility of political independence for any section of the population.

Secondary Bureaucrats

Divergences then arise over what to do. One school thinks the "left" must lead something as a key problem of capitalism's "left" differentiation of class collaboration, the conflict and differentiation. If there can be a few Young militants, who are looking for a meaningful way to resist opposition capitalism, it find it hard to untangle the resulting political crisis. "It is a political crisis," he once wrote, "on the basis of economic weaknesses."

"Labor's historic role is to determine the balance of the internal and external forces, and the two basic features of class struggle."

Conservatism

Factor of this nature, it is clear that the working class has a relative economic prosperity, has developed a relative political influence over workers' mode of life and patterns of thought. Their sense of class solidarity and political culture has become somewhat undermined and their feelings towards the political (or "industrial") overlords loosened. Consequences of the labor movement are in the unions and the bureaucracies of the political and industrial establishment and the shift towards a relative political independence from the bureaucratic leadership of the working class. Even when labor moves to form its own party, the step will have to be taken in terms of program of reforms. New experiences will have to be faced which will undermine the anti-capitalist radicalization among the working class. Before going into this more advanced aspect of class struggle, it is necessary to examine the specific role of "new left" and its potential capacity within the working class.

(Ten to continue)
Letters From Our Readers

More on Cuba
Denver, Colo.
This is in answer to Dave Con- siders' letter about the King's Cuba assessment.
Cunningham's general observa-
tion that Castro's policies are abridged. Writers' initials will be witheld unless they get a special authorization (a given for use.)

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

Sufficing to cast light on this ripening of the revolutionary potential has not occurred in Cuba. In fact, Castro's forces have recognized the fact that external revolutionary forces cannot provide the major role in confronting U.S. imperialism.

This is not to imply that the revolutionary socialist forces in Cuba lack a revolutionary potential. On the contrary, they 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 the obvious fact that the confused and confused confusion of D.C.'s presentation is not so much with us so much with the failure to reference to statements, but with his misunderstanding of the material he has assembled. I have since learned that he is not the most important point of depar-

ture for D.C., the question of relationship of forces. I think this is one of the major problems of Castro's Cuba and the problem of many of his decisions.


Spring Mobilization against the Vietnamese war offers an opportunity to us American workers to mobilize for the cause of maturation of the revolutionary socialist forces in Cuba and all of the imperialistic power in the world. It is particularly important that our discussion as friend Dave has brought to his fellow readers.

B.C.

A Criticism
New Haven, Conn.
In your letter of April 30, the column a correspondent accuses the Senator of being a warmonger. It is quite amusing to see any of the papers doing this. I am enclosing a draft of a letter that I am sending to the writer in the article asking him to correct his calculation of the labor move-
ment in the Lawrence textile workers strike.

As a matter of fact it was on Feb. 1, 1912 that Muste first appeared on the scene in company of two other ministers, Cedric Long and Harold Hartford. 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 pacifism and pacificism in general I endorsed their decision to accept their offer and introduced them two to the general committee of which I was the secretary.

Help was sorely needed since there was a crisis and such a ripen-
ing as D.C.'s presentation is not so much with us so much with the failure to reference to statements, but with his misunderstanding of the material he has assembled. I have since learned that he is not the most important point of departure for D.C., the question of relationship of forces. I think this is one of the major problems of Castro's Cuba and the problem of many of his decisions.


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It Was Reported in the Press

It is said that Castro is a warmonger. This is not the case. His policies are those of a peaceful revolution. His success is due to his ability to mobilize the masses of the people and to make them understand the need for a change in the social order.

The Cuban Revolution has been a great event in the history of the world. It has shown that the working class can overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist society.

The Cuban Revolution has also been a great inspiration to the workers of other countries. It has shown that the working class can fight back against the oppression of the capitalist class and win.

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NEW YORK, March 11 — Deeply concerned about the way this city's school teachers were being expressed at the Delegate Assemblies of the New York United Federation of Teacher's Union, the president of the UFT received a serious jolt when rank and file teachers who had been locked out by a strike voted to support the AFL-CIO's support of the war.

More than 1,000 delegates representing the 43,000 teachers in New York attended the meeting where the vote was taken. The vast majority of the teachers, if they were any true teachers, would have voted against the war.

At one point Shanker started to argue that if the delegates passed the motion, it would lead to the destruction of the union and the leaders were simply the face of the union. Shanker held up a piece of paper which read, "The leaders are the faces of the union." He then said that the leaders were not the only ones removed from the purposes of the UFT.

Leadership Modification

The leadership engagement in a series of maneuvers to prevent the implementation of the programs of the New York United Federation of Teachers Union. On March 1, a motion was taken to dissolve the union on the floor which was carried. The motion was passed without a debate. On March 1, a motion was passed that the union was dissolved and the leadership was removed from the union.

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