

### AS OTHERS SEE US

#### Japanese Reviews of Marxism and Freedom

(Ed. Note: The following are excerpts from two Japanese reviews of Marxism and Freedom, by Raya Dunayevskaya, published in Japan by Gendaishishioshiya (Modern Thought Publications), under their title of Alienation and Revolution—Reformation of Marxism.)

##### Review by Jiro Shimiju in Waseda University Paper

This book should be introduced to Japanese under the original title of Marxism and Freedom, not as Alienation and Revolution. I suggest this not only from a moral point of view, but from the view that the original title symbolically points out its significance and its limitations. That is, that present orthodox Marxism loses humanistic freedom. The basic standpoint of the author consists in advocating rebuilding freedom which Stalinism lacks.

In the first and second parts, the author analyzes the trends of philosophy which formed the historical basis for Marxism. In the third part, titled "Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice", the author takes the position that we should seek the "unity of a theory and practice" in Capital.

The contents of the fourth part, titled "World War I and the Great Divide in Marxism", which the author should have analysed with a revolutionary investigation, comes on the pages without any relation to the third part . . . Therefore, the significance of the book up to the third part is that the author focused on Marxism in relationship to humanism as pointed out in the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts." But she does not try to reconstruct Marxism in opposition to the Stalinist distortion of Marx's philosophy. Rather, her argument only gives support to the accusation that the present-day Soviet Union is "the theory and practice of enslavement." Here the basic limitation of the book is exposed.

Since the author discusses the present day Soviet Union with the blinding assumption that the Soviet Union is bureaucratic state capitalism, she fails to analyze it as a desperate problem of how to defend the proletarian power once established and develop it into the world revolution, an analysis which is more practical.

The originality of this book, rather, lies in her unique view about the main controversial points of the Bolshevik party after the revolution. She made an important criticism that Stalin and Trotsky lacked philosophically what Lenin had.

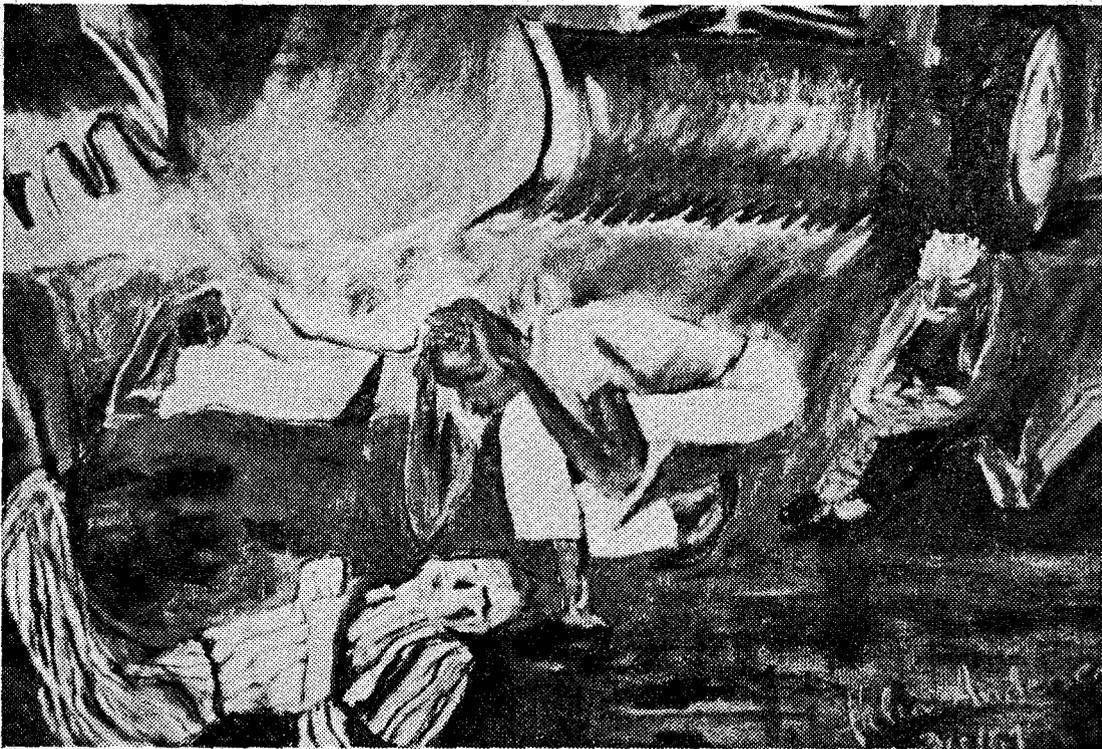
##### Review by Soboku Yamada in Reader's Weekly

The book has something impressive for us, post-war Japanese Marxists, with a singular conception and strange passion: stress on early Marx, criticism of Soviet Communism, and a tendency to return to Lenin.

On the one hand, the author declares a passionate struggle not only against American state monopoly capitalism, but also against a state monopoly capitalism of Soviet Communism. And on the other hand, she criticises the Asiatic despotism of the Chinese Communist Party from the standpoint of various conditions which these developed nations (the USA and the USSR) have already attained. (There is a view that mainland China is moving toward a communism which is state monopoly capitalism—this chapter of criticism of Mao Tse-tung is newly added in this edition).

Looking at it in this way, the composition of Miss Dunayevskaya's book has something unique which no Japanese Marxist has. It is interesting when you read this book, to consider that something in America brought about such a theory.

When I read this book in 1958, I was interested in the analysis of the history of the theoretical formation of Capital in relation to the Paris Commune and the Civil War in America. But now that I have read it in a translated edition, I find it suggestive, but rough. As a whole, the book is based on an old composition and cannot be a basis for the re-establishment of Marxism. With regard to particulars, however, it has much that is instructive for reconsideration of the views of Marxism by the various factions which are accustomed to a Japanese way of analysis.



"THE DEMONSTRATORS," an original painting created by Canadian artist Helen Andersen, was inspired by Civil Rights demonstrations in the United States.

## Negro Pressures Score in Elections; Labor Leaders Play Same Old Role

In the off-year elections held Nov. 2, voters went to the polls to cast their ballots for candidates seeking state and city offices throughout the nation. The results brought claims of victory from Democrats, Republicans, labor and Negroes. But what overshadowed all else was the new independent quality demonstrated by the voters that reflected an awareness and growing concern over vital issues at stake in the nation.

In one of the most important elections, in New Jersey, the main issue in the campaign for governor revolved around academic freedom. A Rutgers University professor

had openly declared that he would welcome a Viet Cong victory in Vietnam. The Republican candidate for governor, Wayne Dumont, tried to revive McCarthyism in his campaign based entirely on Democratic Governor John Hughes' refusal to use his power to remove the professor. Not only did the voters uphold Hughes, they gave him the greatest vote ever won by a gubernatorial candidate in New Jersey, as well as the first Democratic state legislature since 1914.

In Virginia, in order to defeat Birchite William Story and GOP Goldwaterite-supporter A. Holton, the unlikely coalition of Negro, labor and segregationist Senator Harry Byrd's political machine produced a victory for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Mills Godwin.

**NEW YORK UPSET**  
New York liberal Republican candidate for Mayor, James Lindsay, pounded away at the need for a change — while his Democratic opponent Abraham Beame prattled about sound city money management, a nd Goldwaterite William Buckley dripped clever sarcasm. Lindsay, who avoided the Republican label like a plague, went into Harlem's ghettos to talk to the Negroes. He won 40% of their vote, and the election in an upset.

In Cleveland, Ohio, independent Negro candidate for Mayor, Carl Stokes, came within some 2000 votes of winning the election over the Democratic incumbent — and the final tally is still to be decided by a recount of the vote. In Springfield, Ohio, a Negro won the greatest number of votes for the city commission, thus qualifying for the mayoralty.

In Louisville, Ky., the first Negro to ever serve as prosecutor of the police court was elected; in Buffalo, N.Y., three Negroes were elected to the City Council;

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### Editorial

#### Wind of Change Moves in Rhodesia

(Ed. Note: The following guest editorial from Scotland was received before Ian Smith and the white segregationists in Rhodesia made their threatened "declaration of independence" a reality. It has since become clear that the failure of Britain and the United States to use force—or to ask the United Nations to use force—against the white Rhodesian counter-revolution exposes not only Western imperialism's lily-white character, but the hoax of the economic sanctions. The refusal to use force assures the rule of blood and violence and terror in South Africa, in Rhodesia, and in the final settlement of Africa for the Africans.)

By HARRY McSHANE

Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson is a slick talker, but it will take more than that kind of talk to extricate him from the difficult position he has been placed in by the white settlers in Rhodesia. In sane circumstances Britain should not be involved in an African problem, but it is a heritage from the past, and the direct result of British policy. It is the wish of ordinary people that the people of Rhodesia be given their independence, but what the white settlers demand is the right to dominate the Africans who form the vast majority of the population. As things are, four million Africans are under the rule of 217,000 white settlers. If Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith has his way, that position will continue without having to worry about the attitude of Britain.

**BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY**  
Because of Britain's position in relation to Rhodesia, she cannot be allowed to shirk her responsibilities. Rhodesia has the right to independence, but it must be for all the people of that country. It is the British Government's job to see that nothing short of that is accomplished. The British Prime Minister, despite his eloquent utterances, has done nothing to deserve the confidence of the African people. Mr. Ian Smith has more to thank Wilson for than have the Africans.

Without the intention of doing so, Wilson, during his visit to Rhodesia, provided an occasion for the Africans to show by their demonstrations their opposition to white rule in their country. That

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# WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

## Terrible Price for Simple Justice

Many Negroes feel that the Civil Rights Movement has made some great gains toward human justice in an unbelievably short space of time—the ten years since the Montgomery Bus Boycott. But these gains have been made at a terrible cost of human life, misery and suffering which they feel is unnecessary—and sometimes also unbelievable.

Workers in our shop were talking about the recent arrest of over 100 Negroes in Natchez, Mississippi, during a demonstration there. They had been sent to the state penitentiary, Parchman, more than 200 miles away, although none had yet been convicted of anything.

When they were released some told about their treatment at Parchman. They had been sent to the maximum security building on arrival, stripped of all their clothing, and forced to swallow approximately eight ounces of laxative. While naked they were herded into small cells with concrete floors and steel bunks minus mattresses. The guards then opened all the windows and turned on the air-conditioning. They said the temperature fell to 40 degrees that night, and some began to scream and cry. Some were even reported to have fallen into fits.

The Movement has not only brought out how inhuman the Southern white power structure can be to American citizens—but how useless the Federal Government has been in stopping these things. The Movement has exposed what Negroes knew all along, to many open-minded whites in this country and throughout the world who did not know these things before now. It has shown the world the naked truth behind the cover-up words of "Democracy" and "Freedom."

### LBJ's WORDS AND ACTIONS

President Johnson made a big threat after Mrs. Liuzzo's murder that the government was going to crack down on the KKK because they were "hooded bigots." But the KKK has gone right on bombing (which is supposed to be a federal offense), murdering, and shooting up homes—and not a single KKKer has been convicted of anything yet.

One white worker in our shop said that he thought the current government investigation of the Klan is the biggest "front" he has ever seen. With enough evidence to send any other American citizen to prison for life, they just seem to be playing games with the KKK.

### HOW MUCH EVIDENCE DO THEY NEED?

The government does not have to "expose" the KKK—they have exposed themselves for years by their murderous activities. But the KKK are not the only ones who have been exposed. When the murderer of Mrs. Liuzzo was acquitted in Hayneville, after an FBI agent testified as an eyewitness to the crime, all the U.S. Attorney General could say was that this is the price we have to pay for a jury system in this country!

By contrast, friends of mine who were there during the trial said that some local white women who were outspoken against civil rights workers coming there "to stir up trouble"—and who felt that Mrs. Liuzzo should have "been at home"—were nevertheless so shocked that both Tom Coleman and Collie Leroy Wilkins were allowed to go free that they walked away in disgust. This, however, is how President Johnson's Great Society is operating.

The freeing of both Coleman and Wilkins means that the White Citizens Councils and the KKK have been given license to do just as they please, and to continue their open season on Negroes, white civil rights workers, or any white citizen who dares to be sympathetic to the Negroes' cause. But, despite all these odds, the Negroes, organized into a Movement, are determined to keep moving on and not back. They are determined to keep Lowndes County before the eyes of the whole world until they have achieved all the freedom they, like every human being, desire to have.

# Workers Last to Hear of Shipyard Closing

Glasgow, Scotland — The press has been giving a great deal of space to the news that the Fairfield shipyard is in debt and may require to close. This is a matter of concern to the 3,500 workers employed in this shipyard, but they were the last to be informed about it.

Steps were taken to have the London Stock Exchange made aware of the position before the shop stewards were called together to hear the news. The management made a brief announcement and then tried to bring the meeting to an end. The shop stewards made an effort to have the matter discussed but they had only a limited success. Since then there have been meetings of the men at which decisions to campaign against the closure of the yard have been arrived at.

A few days before the news was made known, Mr. Lenaghan, the general manager, made a speech in which he talked about the future of shipbuilding and said that the industry would be confined to fewer yards. He was only giving expression to something that has been happening in recent years.

But in view of the fact that Fairfield has plenty of orders on hand and is one of the most modern yards on the Clyde, no great significance was attached to his remarks. Everyone was taken by surprise when, a few days later, it became known that Fairfield might close down.

### WHOSE SHIP?

It is right and proper that Mr. Wilson and his colleagues be told in the strongest possible manner about the threat facing the men employed in this shipyard. One wonders, however, whether the shop stewards are capable of understanding the lessons that come from this situation.

On hearing that some workers were looking for other jobs, they said, "Don't leave the sinking ship." They went further and promised greater efficiency to keep the yard open. "Here we are," they said in effect, "we have been producing surplus value for years and provided the means by which this has become a modernised shipyard, we are now prepared to submit

to greater exploitation in the future."

No thought has been given to the fact that shipyard workers everywhere have produced the profits that went to increase the capacity of the industry to produce more ships than are required. They did all this, but they have no control over anything in the shipyards. The owners can decide that because there is a drop in profit they will close a shipyard. The sinking ship does not belong to the workers.

### PRECARIOUS POSITION

The future of the shipbuilding industry is far from bright. Britain is faced with serious competition from a number of countries. Some countries that never built ships in the past are playing a part in this industry now. The new Russian liner, built in East Germany, is an indication of what is happening. But that is not the whole story.

The sweep forward in technology means the speedier building of ships and a consequent reduction in the labour force required, not only in Britain, but throughout the world. All the ships in the world could be replaced within a few years. It is a problem of world dimensions — but it would not be a problem in a society based on the satisfaction of human needs.

The head of Scott's shipyard, only a few weeks ago, complained about not being allowed to build warships for South Africa and Spain. He made it known that, outside the Government-owned dockyards, one-third on the labour force employed in shipyards was building naval ships. Is that not a reflection on the kind of society we live in? Without war work more shipyards would close down. Is this the basis of the "affluent" society?

### WE MUST FIGHT ON.

Some of the shop stewards at Fairfield called for the shipyard to be nationalised. They must know that railway lines and coal mines are being closed down despite the fact that the railways and the mines are nationalised. Nationalisation would not solve the problem.

In present circumstances the workers must fight for the right to earn a livelihood, but we must never forget that none of our problems can be solved while the workers are divorced from the means of production. We cannot afford to separate the immediate struggle from the struggle for power in the hands of the workers. The new society will be ushered in by the workers themselves. Do the shop stewards in the shipyards know that?

# Negro Clergy in Election

Detroit, Mich.—Detroit, a city that runs on the wheels of its factories and its automobiles, was slowly grinding to a halt with its City Council. The present council members, the primary election and subsequent polls were showing that the ultra-conservatives were taking over. The mayor, liberal though he may or may not be, is not all of city government. Other minds helped make decisions. And these conservative, biased decisions were slowing progress in Detroit. It was time for other voices and other minds to be heard.

And these voices came ringing on the air, "We want representation." Even as the prophets of old spoke out when needed, the voice of the church was peal-

ing forth the needed message for the hour, "Four and no more." A threat or only words, whatever they might have been, the intent was clear. We need nine qualified Councilmen, and four of them should be Negroes.

### NO NEGRO REPRESENTATION

Detroit, which had over 30% Negro population, had no representation in the top positions of government. And on the City Council were those who wanted to keep the Negro oppressed and subject to police brutality. Yes, there were liberals on the Council, but they were usually overruled and overcome by the conservatives, especially those who had the support of the Greater Detroit Homeowners' Council. Even organized labor had endorsed one who in former years had led a vicious attack on Negro areas of the city by police.

Negroes had been fair in the primary and had voted for white and Negro liberals, but many whites had "plunked," voting only for whites. The message of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (IMA), strong though it may have been, struck home. The churches rallied, with leading churchmen on all the news media extending invitations to Negro candidates to speak to their congregations and encouraging their congregations to vote for all the qualified candidates, not just white candidates. Even organized labor was getting on the bandwagon, although a little late.

### BIGOT APPEAL

Of course the conservatives were rallying their forces to combat this. Their champion, and incumbent on the City Council, wrote to all the white Protestant ministers of the city stating his position as the only white Protestant on the Council. And the black racists had a field day.

Nevertheless, Nov. 2 proved that the people were stirred in their thinking. Two incumbent conservatives were defeated, one elected conservative did not receive as many votes as the polls had predicted, and one Negro was elected with more votes than the polls predicted. It was not all that was desired, but the way was opened.

# Two Messages from Lowndes County, Mississippi

Thank you for your appeal for our Movement that appeared in the last issue of your paper. It is so true that money is a way of carrying on the movement. It is terrible that we were so short that we could not get our people out of jail, but here in Alabama, as in the many other Southern states, many of us are paid only \$10, \$12 or \$15 a week — and from that we have to care for our families.

If a person with ten people in his family earns \$15 a week and donates 25 cents a week to the Movement, he really misses it. But this is what our people do. We have a good many people working for free in this struggle.

We are counting on many things to happen to Lowndes County. We do hope that we will be aided, so that changes will come about peaceably. We have had a lot of unfair things happen to us here, and there are those who think that we have tried the nonviolent method long enough. They are out of patience and ready to try something else.

What happens when there are

no attorneys who will wait for their fees, or give us their help free? Where can we turn for help? We have made some advances, but too few. It is time that all fair-minded persons realized the truth, and joined hands for the betterment of all America and the so-called free world. Thank you again for your help.

Lillian S. McGill  
Alabama

### Send Aid

The Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights is working together with SNCC, against great odds, to register Negro voters in Alabama. In Detroit, a group of former-Alabamians have organized as a Detroit Chapter to help the Lowndes County Movement, and will sponsor a dance on Dec. 11 to raise funds. Tickets are \$1.50 and may be obtained from Mrs. I. Rudolph, 5577 Vancouver, Detroit (898-8495)

Contributions can be sent directly to Alabama by writing to: Lillian S. McGill, Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights Box No. 25, Whitehall, Ala.

LOWNDES COUNTY, Ala. — When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check — a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we are working to cash this check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. Now is the time to make real the promises of Democracy . . .

We must forever conduct our

struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must rise to meet physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence in Lowndes County, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny, and their freedom is bound to our freedom . . .

There are those who are asking "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the horrors of police brutality; as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream . . . until the day that the state of Alabama — whose governor's lips are now dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" — will be a place where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

# Grape Strikers Face Police Harassment

By Bob Solodow  
 DELANO, Calif. — There are two things that have made the grape strike effective so far, both of which the growers are trying to stop: (1) we were able to get people out of the field by showing up with a mass of pickets and (2) the pickets were able to make a lot of noise shouting "Huelga" (strike), talking to the individual workers and letting them know what was happening.

These were our two major weapons. The first was taken away when many of the growers began getting injunctions which limited us to no more than five pickets at any one location at their ranch. As for the second, they were able to bring pressure on the various county sheriffs' departments, and in Kern County, began telling us that there were circumstances under which we could no longer shout to the workers in the fields. In some instances we couldn't even talk to them, and in some really absurd cases couldn't even talk to each other on the picket line. "DISTURBING THE PEACE"

They said that many of the growers, and some of the workers,

had filed complaints that we were disturbing the peace — which is an interesting concept in the middle of a grape vineyard. They had not acted on this, we were told, because they felt that we had the right to "advertise" our strike. But they felt that now that all of the people knew about the strike, anybody who was coming into the fields wanted to work, and that we would be interfering with the harvest. Thus they would in future prosecute us for disturbing the peace, except where the sheriff in charge permitted us to talk to workers.

One Sunday we were going to read to the workers in the field, almost all of whom spoke English, Jack London's definition of a strike breaker which had appeared in EL MALCRIADO. The sergeant refused to allow it because he said he found it offensive.

David Havins, a minister and a member of the Migrant Ministry, challenged this ruling on the part of the sergeant. Reverend Havins read the entire definition from El Malcriado and was arrested on the spot. He was charged with disturbing the peace. His bail was set at \$56 and he was released the next

day. This issue of course has not been settled, and it won't be until Rev. Havins' trial.

## SHOUT "HUELGA"

The next day about 10 ministers, about 15 to 20 local women and many local men—a total of about 44 people — went out to the fields. They lined up carrying "Huelga" (Strike) signs. We just shouted one word repeatedly, "Huelga." The sheriffs came by, noted all of this, took pictures of us. They did not tell us to stop; they just went into the fields and recorded what we sounded like from in there.

Pretty soon about five or six police cars and the paddy wagon arrived.

The sergeant came over and spoke to me and the two other co-captains of the line that day. He told us that we were shouting and that we would have to leave. He said that he was declaring all of this an unlawful assembly.

We asked on what grounds he was doing this. We also asked if there was an injunction at this particular field. We knew there was none but we asked him anyway.

He said that he didn't know if there was an injunction, but he was declaring this an unlawful assembly anyway and that we would have to disperse. He then walked away, went to his car, got out a paper of some kind and read it to us. It was an order to disperse. It was then translated into Spanish.

Then he came back across the road and again asked us to disperse. We asked again on what grounds was this an unlawful assembly in his opinion. He refused to tell us and we were all arrested.

## CRAMMED INTO PADDY WAGON

We were taken to the Sheriff's Facility in Bakersfield. Almost all of us were crammed into the paddy wagon, men and women together. There was no ventilation and most of the people had to stand.

We were in jail Tuesday, and arraigned in Delano Justice Court Wednesday morning. The charge against all of the defendants was violation of the California Penal Code Section 409, failure to disperse from an unlawful assembly. We were finally bailed out Thursday night.

In the meantime, in Kern County we are obeying sheriff's directives about shouting. We are asking on the spot what our rights are for the day. That is, if we are at a shouting field, whispering field, a talking field or a quiet field. In Tulare County none of this is a problem. We go out and exercise our rights of free speech.

The Tuesday that we were arrested Cesar Chavez was on a speaking tour of the Bay area. He announced our arrest to 2,000 students at Berkeley and we have since gotten a lot of support in numbers from the students in the Bay area.

The support was so good that the next weekend about 75 students came down. The sheriffs and growers, thinking the number might be something like 2,000, decided that it would be best not to pick this weekend. So literally no one was picking grapes Saturday or Sunday on the strength of 75 students being here on the weekend to work with us.

We expect that student support will continue and that most of the students and some faculty who were here will be coming back. There was a rumor that there was a large massing of National Guardsmen near here should they be needed.

## On the Line

# Production Line Sows Seeds of Rebellion in Young Worker

By John Allison

The auto companies, both large and small, are hiring many young workers, including men and women. These new workers are shown no mercy in the world of work they learn to know as the production line.

They are given a 90-day break-in period; a book on company rules which are just as binding as the provisions of the union contract; a talk on safety and production, but mostly production.

## NO PROTECTION

From the briefing room to the production line they go for 90 days, days when they have absolutely no protection from the union and are at the complete mercy of the company.

And they must cut the mustard. The strong stay on, the others are discharged with their work record damaged by the discharge to go on to the next employer.

This rat race goes on day after day. A new worker trying to get in enough time to make his seniority is like a fox trying to outrun the dogs. Only these younger workers aren't as smart as the old fox who has been around for a while and knows the tricks of the trade.

## MUST KEEP RUNNING

So these young foxes, with their strength and energy, find out that the only way they can keep ahead of the dogs, their foremen, is to run. And they run and run and run, trying to keep up with a pace that's impossible to believe sometimes.

They are burning themselves up, and sometimes the heat from the pace singes some of the old foxes. The old ones know plenty of tricks, and always try to tell the younger ones about them. Some times they succeed, some times they don't.

What is so hard to break through is the fact that the young ones don't have any seniority, they have no protection whatsoever. So they can tell the old

hand that it's all right for him to tell them about these tips, but when the push comes to a shove, it's the foreman who is king because nobody can touch him for 90 days.

## COMPANY PRACTICE

And both the old and young ones know that it is common practice for the company to keep a new worker for as much as 89 days—then fire him to keep him from getting his seniority, and hire a new worker and go through the same process again.

The union just can't seem to call off the management pack and keep it at bay. There are plenty of union officers who would like to be able to give every new worker protection, and every rank-and-file production worker wants this. But that 90-day provision is in the contract, and the company holds onto it with a death grip. And nobody can do anything about it.

## INHUMAN WORK

Those who leave as well as those who stay say the same thing: that a man just wasn't made to work the way he has to on a production line. It's true, now, it has been true in the past, and will get worse in the future.

This writer has been in many a strike—wildcat as well as legal—but never in a rebellion like these young workers will bring down upon industry. All of the things are present now and more so, that caused the sit-down strikes 30 years ago.

Unsolved grievances, safe working conditions, job security have always been problems and still are. But production speed-up is the daddy of them all, a great big daddy.

# Company Oppresses Workers In Plant Move Maneuvers

Detroit, Mich.—Our plant is going to move away. They're going to move the machine shop to Ohio. Gov. Romney's jumping in and saying, "I want to keep it here." Chrysler's Townsend is saying they are going to expand and make more jobs. But the fact remains that they are moving the machine shop out of this city. It's going. Definitely.

There are employees who hired in who don't have seniority (you must have 90 days to have seniority). They started at the bottom of the list. As they cut 20 people from the bottom of the list, they cut 20 people above to beginner's rate. I have 24 years seniority. I was cut down to beginner's rate. The company is making this transfer. I didn't ask for it. I was cut 13 cents on the hour, and will never get it back. Some lost as much as 30 or 37 cents an hour.

The union at Chrysler Highland Park was not concerned with the method by which they were eliminating a whole unit. They were not concerned about those individuals, because they were still on a pedestal. Now they're going to eliminate the whole shop.

News & Letters had an article when it first began: "Chrysler Uses Expansion to Eliminate Seniority"—and to destroy other things. Nobody paid much at-

tention when two or three guys with two or three years seniority got it. But when you started getting guys with 20 and 30, and 35 years it became a cry of "Me? Is it me?"

Well, if they start at the bottom of the list, it will get the guys at the top with the most seniority one day, too. Thousands of dollars were given up in wages alone. The company made a lot of money just transferring people.

The union wasn't too concerned about it because the representatives were concerned about themselves. They were getting top rate. Certain representatives were transferred into districts where they were not supposed to be in order to get a rate to walk around. The foreman says to the representatives, "You're doing all right. You're doing all right." This is the corruption. "You're doing all right. What's the matter? You want to go to work?"

The union representatives in our day and age can justify anything. They can show you where the company is right. You can go get it from the contract. The international and the local union goofed. Well, maybe they don't think they goofed because they're still getting theirs. They work in air-conditioned places. They get their money. The way it is now, the union is the best thing that management has ever had going for it in the last decade of the last century.

# Grape Strike Leader Tells of Gains and Battle Needs

(Interview with Cesar Chavez, head of National Farm Workers Association.)

DELANO, Calif. — We would like the people to know the strike is still on. It may be one of the largest strikes in agriculture, if it is not that now. We also want them to know that in order to maintain the strike we need the support of every person who has a desire to help those who are underprivileged.

We have decided to make a stand here. Because of this we hope that someday we will be able to bring to the farm workers that which they have not had since the beginning of agriculture in California—dignity and respect and a living wage.

## INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

This is a unique strike in many ways. Our movement is non-violent, and we are very pleased with the outcome of our first experiment. For the first time in agriculture two unions are cooperating to get the job done. But perhaps the most significant thing is that there are no less than five racial groups involved in the strike (Filipinos, Mexican-Americans, Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Caucasians) and they are cooperating with one another.

Usually agricultural strikes tend to last from one week to three weeks at the most. Somehow we have been able to hang on for going on into our seventh week. Although we are having our problems we will continue to strike the grape growers right on through harvesting. Then into pruning, then into the other operations which come after, and perhaps into the next harvesting.

## THE SCAB PROBLEM

Scabbing, of course, is the problem right now, and there has been a pattern to it. When the strike began most of the local labor force went out on strike. Immediately we were assaulted with a lot of scabs from elsewhere and we were able to get rid of them in about a week or so. Subsequently we have had about four other assaults. That is, four major recruiting attempts

have been carried on by the growers.

During the first four assaults we were not hampered with any of the restrictions that we face now. The restrictions which I am referring to are restrictions imposed by the courts on picketing, especially those injunctions where we are limited to only five pickets per location.

The pressure on our pickets by law enforcement agencies has also been more severe now than it was in the beginning. All this is rendering our picketing less effective.

Although we have scabs there are certain things to consider. One is that the scabs are inexperienced. Secondly, is that the scabs seem to be rotating quite a bit among themselves. They are not the same scabs from week to week. Thirdly, many are leaving once they see that the strike is on. Still others will be leaving as soon as the weather gets a little colder. If we have some rain a good many will be leaving.

## TRY TO DIVIDE WORKERS

But we are now faced with the growers using one group against the other. We are finding more Negroes in the field, something that we were not faced with in the beginning. There will be some restraint on our part in trying not to be too aggressive for fear that it will be interpreted as trying to blame one race for breaking the strike.

On the other hand black, white or in between, they are still scabs. And that is something we have to consider. It is unfortunate that they are here. I would rather have them all be Mexican-American or Filipino scabs, because then we would feel a lot freer to go ahead and harass the hell out of them.

## HELP GRAPE STRIKERS

Pressures are increasing to break the grape strike, the biggest agriculture strike in modern history. Help the strikers and their families win victory by sending food, clothing and money to:

Farm Workers Association  
 Box 894  
 Delano, California

## Editorial

## Wind of Change Moves in Rhodesia

(Continued from Page 1)

marked a beginning which neither Smith nor Wilson can afford to ignore.

Harold Wilson is confronted with the fact that the Tories when in power declared that independence would be granted to Rhodesia only if she had representative government. It is obvious that to grant independence on Smith's terms would amount to the sanctioning of a minority dictatorship over the majority. Wilson can wriggle as he likes but that is the choice he is faced with.

## AFRICAN LEADERS IGNORED

It is amazing to think that Harold Wilson accepted the proposal by Ian Smith to set up a Royal Commission without consulting any of the African leaders. He can hardly complain if some of the leaders are suspicious and use the word "betrayal" as some have already done. This was a big victory for Smith who was already pleased that Mr. Wilson had come all the way from Britain to see him. Smith has made no concession, and is not likely to make any.

Those viewers who heard the T.V. interviews with some of the white settlers were shocked at some of the things that were said. Many of the remarks were provocative and they did not endear the settlers to the ordinary people of Britain. They took one back to the days of the old swash-buckling empire builders. One began to wonder if we were still in the sixties of the 20th century. It is a good job for them that the Africans were not in the position to hear what was said.

It is clear that Smith and his friends have deliberately thrown away any chance there might have been of cooperation with the African people. Genuine independence will bring the rule of Smith and company to an end. It could not be otherwise.

## FROM WIND TO HURRICANE

"The wind of change" has been slow to reach Rhodesia, but it is coming along. It will reach hurricane level when it does. Wilson is worried about it almost as much as Smith. It was Harold MacMillan, when visiting South Africa some years ago, who used that phrase. South Africa has withstood it up to now, but when it starts up in Rhodesia there is no saying where it will stop. Wilson would like to reduce the "wind of change" to a gentle breeze, but he will be as helpless as King Canute was said to be in regard to the tide. Public opinion in Britain wants to end the rule of Ian Smith. Wilson will require to watch his step.

He must take account of opinion in other parts of the world, particularly in those African countries that have already won their independence. A sell-out to Smith will not be tolerated.

Everyone is aware of the difficulties due to the defects of British rule over many years, but the African people will find their own way if left alone. This does not mean that they should be denied help, but they should be allowed to develop initiative on the basis of experience. The white dictatorship has already been there too long.

## QUEEN'S LETTER IS MEANINGLESS

An interesting feature of the situation is the contact made by Harold Wilson with the Queen. He has gone to see her on three occasions since the Rhodesian crisis came to a head. Not since the days of Queen Victoria has a British monarch had so much say in politics. She has, of course, been dragged into it by Smith's strong declaration of loyalty. Wilson carried a letter (probably written by himself) from the Queen to Smith who read it solemnly to his colleagues. Who are they all trying to kid? The Queen's letter did not make the least difference in the situation. It is this sort of thing that reveals the shallowness of all the leading politicians.

The British Prime Minister has made it clear that force will not be used to bring about a settlement in Rhodesia. His declaration is made at a time when force is being used in Aden where Britain is not wanted. The question of the reliability of British troops has been brought to the forefront. It is being said that British soldiers will not shoot "their own people." Ex-servicemen in Smith's Rhodesia have threatened to send their medals back to Britain and to burn their passports. Some have spoken about their readiness to shoot at British soldiers.

Would this be tolerated if it came from the working class movement? It brings to mind the imprisonment of Tom Mann for calling on soldiers not to shoot miners who were on strike. Has Mr. Wilson been influenced by the Rhodesian propaganda? Perhaps no one will use force in Rhodesia. We will see in time.

Harold Wilson is a worried man. Whether or not, he, or any other British Prime Minister, will preside over another Commonwealth conference may be contingent on how he deals with the situation in Rhodesia.

## ASIAN AND AFRICAN NATIONS WATCH

The Asian and African nations attached to the Commonwealth are all interested in what Mr. Wilson is doing. By giving support to white rule in Rhodesia—no matter how it is disguised—he could wreck the already shaky Commonwealth. Judging by the remarks of Ghana's President Nkrumah, some of the African member nations could become militarily involved over the continuance of white rule in Rhodesia.

The fight for African independence must be supported. In the case of Rhodesia, British responsibility must end by ensuring that the coloured people be given full democratic rights regardless of what measures are necessary to attain that goal. This is not the time for splitting hairs. It is imperative that the Smith gang be thrown out of office. The African people will do it themselves in the course of time, but Britain owes them a debt that will never be paid if she leaves them under Smith's rule.

## Readers'

## THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The impact of the mass teach-in at UCLA on Nov. 13 — in which more than 4000 took part — transformed the campus from a quiet, almost lethargic atmosphere into a campus alive with debate and discussion. A dozen groups set up tables with literature on the Vietnam War, Civil Rights, Marxist-Humanism, and so forth. Those tables were a focal point for lively debate on a multitude of issues. To one who has been on the campus a number of years, as I have been, it seemed to be an entirely new campus.

While Vietnam War was the main issue, one CORE worker was saying: "Vietnam is in Mississippi. That is what we should be concerned with." He attracted a large group of supporters.

The transformation of the campus into a forum for discussion of important issues of the day was revolutionary.

Eugene Walker  
Los Angeles

The Birchite thugs that heckled at the anti-Viet Nam demonstration here were small in number (I would say about 50 in all compared to at least 15,000 marching) but they were boisterous and out to start trouble. Not only did they attack the man carrying the flag at the head of the parade as it neared the rally itself but they got into the middle of the crowd with their own signs and held them up to disrupt the proceedings.

One block away the police held about 20-25 of them off behind barricades but let them yell all kinds of obscenities at people who were leaving had to walk past them.

They attacked some of the people as being unclean because they wore beards. They, however, exemplified their own clean-cut-American-boy-mentality by yelling such things as "scum" and "you want to go to bed with the Commies, baby?" to the women passing by.

Disgusted  
New York City

You might be interested to know that after first predicting that 100,000 people would march in a parade here to support the war in Vietnam, the number officially reported was only 25,000.

In fact, one TV station reported that many observers estimated it closer to 10,000—and they themselves thought it even less than that.

Anti-War Supporter  
New York

At the anti-war demonstrations here in the "City of Brotherly Love" the YAFniks were shouting horrible things. Real filth. They made you feel the counter-revolution is a real threat...

There are also a lot of other dangerous trends in the amorphous New Left and in the Maoist or neo-Stalinist Left. At the City Hall rally, only a few speakers, including somebody from one of the civil rights organizations, spoke about domestic concerns. Others (Staughton Lynd among them) had nothing to say about what the war in Vietnam meant to the people here in America. It was all an attack on what "we" were doing to "those" people. And I'll be damned if

I accept being classed with the American ruling class.

I heard Lynd at a Socialist Scholars Conference in New York this fall also, and there he said something like, "It may not be that the socialist society is the millenium, or that it represent a more human society". To me this is crazy. I think people like that call themselves socialists because they think that what they call socialism (i.e. state-capitalism) precludes war. But it obviously doesn't. In fact, it looks as though the more the so-called "socialist" countries of Asia become industrially developed, the more wars there will be between them. The kind of naive that some "socialists" seem to have about the "third world", the more it keeps them from seeing anything.

Student  
Philadelphia

My son just learned that his friend, who left school last year and joined the Army, was killed in Vietnam. He was 18.

My son certainly doesn't want to go. I just hope he doesn't get involved with these groups that are springing up. But my neighbor said she felt that if the fellow who burned his draft card got away with it, all the mothers should follow through and burn their sons' draft cards.

Electrical Worker  
New York

## GRAPE STRIKE

We are entering the third month of our strike with strength and unity. We can make this claim in large part because of the help received from friends such as you...

44 of our pickets were arrested because they raised their voices in the battle cry, Huelga (strike)... This is the biggest obstacle the growers have placed in our path so far. But we shall win.

We will strike throughout the winter's pruning and into next year's harvest if there are no contracts signed. And so, at the same time we say "thanks," we ask you to pass the word about La Causa.

Cesar Chavez (FWA)  
Delano, Cal.

The local people here are learning that this is not just a problem in Delano and that it does not concern just the grape-pickers.

I was talking to someone last evening who works in a grocery store here. He said that he was for the strike in every way because by raising wages of the workers in the fields, the whole structure of wages in the valley will be raised.

There are people here, not only in the fields, but working in all capacities who are earning less than people doing the same work elsewhere. It seems clear that the structure of farm wages sets the structure of wages for the area. When wages are so absurdly low it keeps the standard of living down in the entire valley.

Worker  
Delano

Editor's Note: For more on this important strike and information on where help may be sent to the strikers, see p. 3. More strikers have just been arrested and outside support is vital to "La Causa." We urge our readers to help.

## SOPHISTICATED VOTING

Voters here showed a good deal of sophisticated ticket splitting. They elected an ADA-backed "reform" candidate for district attorney on the Republican ticket, and an incumbent city controller, known for exposing shady procurement contracts, on the Democratic ticket. Many other voters refused to vote for candidates of either party, but just voted on the loan and constitutional question that were also on the ballot.

Pennsylvania voters approved by a ratio of six to one an amendment to the Pennsylvania Constitution that would exempt people earning less than a thousand dollars a year from paying the occupational privilege tax.

Observer  
Philadelphia

## CLAUDE BROWN CRITIC

I found the article "Students Reject Unreality" (Oct. issue) not only interesting but heartwarming. It was good to find at least one teacher who feels this way.

However, since she began with a quote from Claude Brown's book "Manchild in the Promised Land" I feel that I must write a few words about him.

Some time back he was interviewed on TV. The program was taped in the streets of Harlem and he says he still lives in Harlem and attacked James Baldwin and Leroy Jones for "moving out." I must say that at the end I thought less of him than I do of Leroy Jones — and that is going some.

He has a plan. A plan to better living conditions in Harlem. He also has political ambitions. Will he come out now with his ideas for "helping" the Negro people? Of course not, he says, why give away his ideas now when he is going to run for elective office seven to eight years from now. Obviously another seven or eight years of ghetto living for the thousands of Harlem citizens means little. I might add that during the interview he made sure to put in an anti-semitic remark and would not retract it when the interviewer (Editor of Commentary) was obviously disturbed by it.

All this, of course, does not detract from the merit of his book. I just feel if he doesn't change his way of thinking soon we will have just one more opportunistic politician on our hands seven years hence.

White Worker  
New York

## AFRICAN CONFERENCE

The Organization of African Unity certainly did not take much of a stand on Rhodesia. Ghana supposedly spent 40 million dollars for the meeting and it looked like a 40 million dollar flop. The press referred to the maturity of the conference because it did not get excited about Rhodesia or Nkrumah's proposal for an African-wide federated government. The point is it did nothing.

They deferred debate on our U.S. intervention in Vietnam to the Afro-Asian summit which was supposed to be held in Algiers beginning November 5. They all knew that this was not going to be held. When Ben Bella was overthrown the Chinese did not pause for a second but insisted that the conferences be held.

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# Views

Now that Indonesia has occurred they suddenly say that this is not the right time for the conference and they would not come. Everything seems to be power politics and not human freedom.

Intellectual  
California

## ALABAMA "JUSTICE"

The first paragraph of Mike Walters article in the Oct. issue (*Blatant Injustice...*) really hits the nail on the head when he writes that the injustice in Ala. is "the prevalent attitude of this nation's legal system."

How could I have been fooled into thinking that Attorney General Katzenbach was a "fair" minded individual when he defended the Negro people against the slanders of Goldwater during the presidential election campaign? I was, of course, quite wrong. It was just to make Johnson look good.

The day they acquitted Tom Coleman of the murder of Jonathan Daniels, after all that slanderous and phony testimony, Katzenbach was asked what he thought of the trial. He had the nerve to reply that you had to take into consideration the section of the country it took place in — "they don't like outsiders" (sic) coming in there.

Taken out of context or not, if the Attorney General of the U.S. thinks this way, it is no wonder they can get away with murder in Hayneville, Alabama!

White Mother  
Queens, New York

The outright acquittal of Mrs. Liuzzo's murderer—with Alabama's State Prosecuting Attorney Flowers presented as the "great fighter for civil rights" — was so horrifying, and the silence from the civil rights movement so hard to take, that even Rev. King's statement from Paris was wonderful to hear. There was at least a sense of urgency in his response that he would come back to head new demonstrations. Yet I see nobody in the North taking up his call, and in the South the official leaders seem just to keep talking. What will erupt from below, however, we have yet to see.

Activist  
Los Angeles

Why did they bother to go through with another trial down there in Hayneville, Alabama, when everybody knew they were going to let that white boy go? They acquitted the one who killed the religious student and shot the Catholic priest, so they certainly weren't going to hang this one.

They just have managed to get a lot of us upset. People are not going to keep taking this abuse. If they keep it up, there will be a lot more Watts' — and it will be their fault.

Negro Woman Worker  
New York

During the trial of Wilkins for the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo, I asked my students to read the papers every day, and we discussed it in class. Many of them told me that they had never read a newspaper before, but during this trial they read every word about it.

The day after that Alabama jury acquitted Wilkins, the kids were so mad they were boiling. One asked me, "What's wrong with our government? This isn't justice." Another one said, "I don't think we should be in Vietnam, I think we should be in Alabama." I couldn't get them back to "routines" for two full days after the trial ended.

High School Teacher  
Detroit

## THE COAL FIELDS

Preston County, here in West Virginia, is notorious for being non-union territory. There are no union mines in the whole county. But now the miners at Chapel Coal Co. have walked off their jobs and begun a move to affiliate with the UMW. They want more money and better working conditions.

There has been some violence already, and tensions are pretty high. The company already has an injunction against "blocking the roads to the mine," and it looks like it's going to be a hard fight.

Then there was a case at one of the biggest garages where they were working the men overtime and on Sunday, but not paying them time and a half or double-time. The workers called in the Labor Relations Board and some of them are going to get from \$1,200 to \$1,400 in back pay. There is a big squawk about that, too.

There is also one shirt factory in Terra Alta that just started up, which won't pay one cent to the girls for the first six weeks while they are training them to operate the sewing machines. It's disgusting to hear of the wages they pay. All in all, I think all hell is going to break loose in Preston County very soon.

Woman Worker  
West Virginia

Things looked good a few weeks ago for the Union coming back to these parts. But there are dark days again for us now, for the scabs seemed to outnumber the union men. It looks sometimes as though the wheel just can't get turned. I don't get too much chance to get around, but when I do I try to make it count. I make one word count for a dozen or more. And sometimes I just boil over — that's when things start moving.

Miner's Wife  
Hazard, Kentucky

## LETTER FROM MISSISSIPPI

Please send us a copy of The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution for our Freedom Library.

I enjoy News & Letters very much, although I sometimes disagree with it. A local leader of the Freedom Labor Union was especially interested in the California grape-pickers strike, reported last issue.

There is a great deal of feeling against the Vietnam War here. There is also a feeling that the big-name civil rights group have sold out. This is among the very poorest and most illiterate, who seem somehow to perceive things clearer than the relatively well-educated.

The poverty board in a nearby large town includes only two poor people. The

director and assistant director, both of them already well-to-do, are getting salaries of \$18,000 and \$13,000 respectively. Six members of the board are also in the White Citizen's Council. More than that number are planters who pay the prevailing \$3 a day wage that causes the poverty here . . .

Civil Rights Worker  
Mississippi

## FROM OTHER LANDS

You are doing fine and great work, you, the new radicals in the U.S. You are opening your peoples' eyes, you are shaking up your leaders, you are forcing people to take part in a human and political choice and, finally, you are putting a new face on that America, which until now has appeared to us simply as reactionary imperialism.

Your struggle is already being felt down here. People's mentality is changing, a new attitude is visible, against that simplistic and demagogic anti-imperialism which says that all our troubles come from you: (if cars are expensive, it's the Americans' fault, if we're poor, it's the Americans' fault, if our wealth is unequally distributed, it's the Americans' fault, if there is corruption, etc. etc it's the fault of "Los Gringos.")

Most of this is true, but so over-simplified that it doesn't matter. Our Left (Communist) doesn't do anything, or think anything either. It is far beneath its task. And now I am beginning to see a new horizon. You are doing great work!

Artist  
Mexico City

Your article on Indonesian Communism by Raya Dunayevskaya in the last issue interested me very much. I believe it would be a stimulating analysis for the whole Japanese Left, and am going to see if it can be translated and published in one of the journals here.

We have also begun to translate and publish several other works by Dunayevskaya as a series of pamphlets for discussion. The first, her analysis of "Soviet Economy and the Law of Value" is already finished. Number two will be her "Philosophical Essays" on Alienation and Marxist-Humanism. Third will be on "State-capitalism and Revolution."

We also are translating and publishing "Workers Battle Automation" and your pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions, as time and money permit. It is an excellent time for us to spread the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

Marxist-Humanist  
Japan

We have an Archives of Working class History in the Institute of Modern and Contemporary History at Genoa University and would like to include in it copies of your paper, and if possible, copies of your past issues. We would also appreciate copies of everything you have published concerned with the workers' and Negroes' struggles in your country. Thank you for your help.

Professor,  
Italy

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

## Indonesian Communism: A Case of World Communism's Decomposition

ED. NOTE: The following is the second and concluding installment of Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of the collapse of the Indonesian Communist Party. The footnotes at the end of the article include those for Part I, which appeared last month, as well as those for Part II below.)

### PART II

#### AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT WITH THE "PROGRESSIVE" ELEMENTS

Aidit's conception of "left" politics is that which gives the widest room for maneuverability to the Communist Party thirsting for power. In 1953 when PKI backed the strongly nationalist Sasroamijojo cabinet, it not only saddled the SOBSI (central trade union federation) with a no-strike pledge, but it actually expelled Tan Ling Djie, a party functionary and general secretary of SOBSI's largest affiliated trade union, the Plantation Workers' Union, for his opposition to the no-strike pledge. A decade later, when the PKI became Peking's strongest backer, Aidit maintained that "the proletariat plus revisionism constitute a mighty strength of the bourgeoisie." Not that Aidit was in a hurry to overthrow the Indonesian bourgeoisie. On the contrary. So long as the bourgeoisie was "national" and "patriotic" it was welcomed into the NASAKOM.

Indeed the "progressive" elements included also the rich peasantry who, though they exploit those to whom they lease their land, and are usurers besides, do perform "some" work and "can also help the struggle against imperialism." This, despite the fact that none described better the actual conditions of the poor peasants: "The Indonesian peasants, who comprise 70 per cent of the population, are still in a position of slavery, living a poverty-stricken and backward life under the oppression of the landlords and usurers. . . . The non-participation of the peasants means the non-participation of the majority of the Indonesian people, and this is a very great weakness in our united national front. . . . Because of this, the primary task of the Communists is to . . . eliminate the survivals of feudalism, to develop the anti-feudal agrarian revolution. . . ."

Lest any one take this agrarian revolution seriously, however, our expert in doubletalk once again reiterated that one must "first" oppose the "five devils," and "above that," . . . "the world devil." Meanwhile, and for a long while to come, even into the "People's Democratic Government": "The lands and other property of the rich peasants do not come under confiscation; the lands and other property of the middle peasants will be protected by the government." (6).

Only those who have short memories and have conveniently forgotten that this was the road also of Mao to power can possibly think that Aidit will be expelled, and especially so by those fire-breathing Chinese "revolutionaries." The truth is that ever since Stalin's rise to power and the transformation of the young workers' state of Russia into its opposite—a state-capitalist society—Communism has been a euphemism for a new stage of capitalistic state-power.

With his concept of the "bloc of four classes," Stalin helped kill the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution. Mao, who never knew much about genuine Marxism, took over this Stalinist legacy, adding a perversion of his own: where Lenin laid the theoretical and practical basis for an alliance of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia in particular and Europe in general with the revolutionary nationalist and peasant forces in the "East," Mao raised the guerrilla army to such primacy that he shattered to smithereens the alliance of proletariat and peasantry, and, in the process, debased internationalism to racism.

It is this racism which has won Mao not only Aidit but Sukarno, who, during World War II, saw nothing wrong in collaborating with the Japanese when they occupied what was then the Dutch East Indies, and, tomorrow, may see nothing wrong in choosing to side with his army against Mao. The overriding truth about Maoism, however, is that it itself is the consequence, not the cause, of the decomposition of world communism into its national component parts. What began with Stalin when he christened his nationalism "socialism in one country" reached a new low with "Mao's Thought," which anoints racism and wars as internationalism and revolution.

Aidit's "original" contribution to this debasement was the cynicism evident in his use of the word, "proximity," when he first explained why he chose the Peking side in the Sino-Soviet conflict. What Aidit wants, above all else, is state power. What he distrusts, above all else, is revolution, masses in motion, spontaneity that he neither can anticipate nor control. The class collaborationism this opportunist indulged in in Indonesia has made Khrushchev's goulash Communism look very nearly Marxist. Since, however, the one and only criterion Mao uses is whether the party in question follows his foreign policy—anti-Americanism and anti-revisionism being its two poles—Aidit was pictured as a sterling revolutionary and President Sukarno as "an anti-imperialist fighter" who was very nearly a Marxist. The Peking Review of June 4 put it all in bold headlines: "Great Victories of Indonesian C.P.'s Marxist-Leninist Line."

#### WHAT PRICE "INTEGRATION"

The tragicomic aspects of "integration," of "boring from within," is seen nowhere more clearly than in asking Sukarno to establish a "people's militia" and also introducing "political commissars" into the army! Once, however, you eliminate the comic aspects of trying to get the fruits of power without the necessary revolution, the tragedy is unrelieved, totally encompassing the whole of this nation of 100 million that has fought and won its independence from Dutch imperialism only to exude from within itself a gangrenous combination of strident nationalism and unprincipled national-Peking Communism.

Here was but yesterday the largest mass Communist Party anywhere in the non-Communist world, and second only to Peking and Moscow where Communism is the state-power and you belong

(Continued on Page 7)

## YOUTH

# Humanism: Renaissance and Marxian

By Eugene Walker

"Socialist Humanism is no longer the concern of a few dispersed intellectuals," writes Dr. Erich Fromm in his introduction to the unusual international symposium that combines the writings from East and West, Socialist and Christian, "but a movement to be found throughout the world, developing independently in different countries." This, in a nutshell, is the reason for the appearance of this volume of thirty-five essays. (See ad, below.)

The youth in America that have involved themselves in the Negro struggle for freedom, or in the poor whites' struggle in Appalachia, or in their own more affluent, but alienated existence as students, and tried to find a more meaningful life both in these struggles and in anti-war activities, will welcome this work as it responds to their own search for a different type of society, a new humanism.

It is impossible in a single review to deal with all of the essays in this symposium. Moreover, they are of uneven calibre and importance. The five sections into which it is divided — On Humanism, On Man, On Freedom, On Alienation, On Practice — indicates some of the problems, but by no means all. I would like to select for analysis those I consider the most significant both from those with whose views I agree and those with whom I disagree.

### VEJKO KORAC, YUGOSLAVIA

With very few exceptions, the main deficiency of these essays is their abstractness. Thus, a writer like Vejko Korac, a Yugoslavian, fails to relate what he writes to the conditions in his country, but he writes beautifully when it concerns his attack on those who would make a vulgar materialist out of Marx. He shows that Marx "examines man in history itself and asserts that 'the whole of what is called world history is nothing but the creation of man by human labor.' Thus, man is not the worker of 'higher' powers (no matter how such powers must be conceived), nor is his being determined once and for all. Creating history he creates himself, creating himself he creates history . . ."

And again: "Freedom of human personality, for Marx, is not an empty abstraction, nor is it merely a youthful dream, as his conservative detractors would like to maintain. In Capital he says clearly that freedom in social relations lies with freely associated men . . ."

The question is: are men "freely associated" in Yugoslavia? Did the break from Communist Russia mean a return to the true Humanism of Marx, or

only national independence? Mr. Korac does not even raise the question, much less answer it.

### EUGENE KAMENKA, AUSTRALIA

Or, take Eugene Kamenka of Australia, a "Western" man. His concern is mainly ethical, and he is most persuasive, when he contrasts Marx's concept of communism to that which calls itself communism today: "Least of all did Marx see communism as a form of state socialism in which governmental or 'representative' power and authority replaced individual power and authority over men . . . In his own life, would find that true and ultimate freedom which is the necessary destiny of man . . . Man would become praxis—the subject and not the object of history."

But is man "the subject and not the object of history" in Australia, or, for that matter, any other part of the Western world? The fact that the "West," as contrasted to the "East," does not claim to base itself on Marx is no answer because, theoretically, democracy too claimed that man, not things, would rule the world. Kamenka's need to resort to "ethics" when the need is to grapple with what is, flows from his failure to relate ideas to reality.

### WHERE IS THE REALITY?

In this day of falsehoods, claims and counter-claims, of confusion unbounded on the question of Communism as if that were Marxism, it is certainly good to have Marxism restored to its genuine humanist origins and Fromm is to be congratulated for gathering these scholars together in a single volume. But, for myself, I cannot help feel uneasy about the failure to deal with concrete issues, or, when dealt with, (except in Raya Dunayevskaya's essay to which I'll come later) to then have the concrete issues unrelated, seriously, comprehensively, to theory. Thus, Norman Thomas does deal with present-day America, but his essay could hardly be called a theoretical contribution, though it is a political one.

There is one other contribution by a Yugoslavian — Danilo Pejovic — that is concrete, but it is not about his own country, but that of China. It is good that he goes hammer and tongs at the Chinese vulgarizations of Marxism. It would have been better still if he considered his native land, or, when criticizing Russia, did not leave the criticism only as it relates to Yugoslav independence, but rather as both relate to Marxism, or, more correctly, its transformation into opposite in Communist hands. Iring Fetscher of West Germany does deal more concretely with Communism, and more profoundly with Hegel, but, again, does not relate it to his country.

It goes without saying that abstractness, though of a more

"divine" nature, characterizes the religious writers Oscar Schatz and Ernst Florian Winter in their essay, "Alienation, Marxism and Humanism (A Christian Viewpoint)." I wish that Umberto Cerroni had not used fragments of Marx's ideas for his own use, especially when his generalization is as penetrating as this: "it (socialist humanism) should also be liberated from the abstractionism of the old dogmatic rationalism and from the merely utopian characteristics of social projections. The one, in fact, reduces the empirical prison of things, while the other confirms man in his present social conditions."

### TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES

Only Raya Dunayevskaya seems never to separate the universal from the concrete, history from the present, comprehensiveness from any single element either in Marx or in her view of our world today, political or philosophic. Her essay, "Marx's Humanism Today," roots Marx's universals of freedom and socialism in the freedom struggles of today: "The Freedom movement of the Negroes, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the 1962 missile crisis over Cuba, which made real the nuclear threat have helped to rekindle the debate (on Humanism). In his own way, the scholar too must grapple with the inner identity of the Marxian economic, political, sociological, scientific and philosophic categories . . . Let us not debase freedom of thought to the point where it is no more than the other side of the coin of thought control."

The last sentence is an attack on the manner in which American universities teach "Marxism-Leninism" as propaganda in the very same manner as Russian or Chinese universities teach courses both on "the West" and on Marxists who oppose the Communist interpretation, or misinterpretation.

Dunayevskaya opposes both private capitalism, as in the United States, or state capitalism, as in Russia or China. Moreover, the opposition is not only political but on the solid philosophic basis of the Humanism of Marxism as it developed from his early essays through Capital as well as in Marx's activities, whether on the side of the North in the Civil War here, or in the creation of the First International in England, or in the Paris Commune in France.

### RE-UNION OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

Insofar as our epoch is concerned, she evidently considers the point of reunion of theory and practice to have been the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which, she maintains, "transformed Marx's humanism from an academic debate to a question of life and death. Interest in it intensified the following year when the Hundred Flowers blossomed briefly in China before the totalitarian state caused them to wither abruptly. From 1958 to 1961 the African revolutions gave proof to a new, third world, whose underlying philosophy, again, was humanism."

We highly recommend Socialist Humanism not only for the unique contribution it makes towards grappling with ideas so quintessential in our age (which has correctly been characterized as an age for the struggle for the minds of man), but because we hope it will first start a dialogue in which you, the readers, will make your contributions. Our pages remain open to all.

# Threaten to Draft Anti-War Students Who Demonstrate

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—In response to a genuine anti-war feeling on the part of many college students various government officials have been using draft laws to threaten the demonstrators.

A resolution has been introduced into the Wisconsin State Senate to expel 10 University of Wisconsin students who took part in anti-war demonstrations.

At the University of Michigan, students arrested during a sit-in at a draft board were not only fined and given 10-day jail sentences, but threatened with loss of their student deferments and induction into the armed forces. The director of the state selective service system believes the sit-in

violates the University Military Training and Service Act. It was a "draftable" offense and the students "could be declared delinquent, have their status changed to 1-A and be ordered for immediate induction into the armed forces."

At the University of California at Berkeley the students were refused the right to have an anti-war march through Oakland and were met by several hundred billy-club armed police at the boundary between Oakland and Berkeley last Oct. 15. A second march is now planned for Nov. 20th. Meanwhile, in response to these plans many government officials, local to state, are demanding that University officials not allow another march to be started on campus. The word treason is being batted around like a tennis ball.

The Chancellor has as yet not made known his decision, but has indicated that if city permits are not given for the march he will not let it start at the University. In other words he seems to be trying to take away what the Free Speech Movement fought for and won — the right to mount demonstrations on campus which may be declared "illegal" off campus.

These responses, coupled with the federal government's response from the President on down, make one wonder how much dissent the government will allow on the Vietnam War.

# Rusk Rejects Questioning By Students

By MIKE WALTERS

Baltimore, Md.—It did not appear to be much of a demand. Just a simple request for a question-and-answer period following Secretary of State Rusk's recent speech at John Hopkins. Yet it struck at the fabric of the power elite. They don't give speeches in order to receive a response. Their motivation is only to stimulate the proper response. The college lecture platform thus becomes another propaganda weapon of our military-industrial complex that dominates this society.

Included in the gimmick was a special hour-long seminar with foreign policy graduate students. Only the students that saw the world situation in the proper perspective were invited. There would be a dialogue that possesses the stench of totalitarianism. This is the fake dialogue in which, although it is actually a monologue, the participants are manipulated into believing that their attitudes shape policy. This mode of using the intelligentsia in spite of itself has been perfected by the Bundy-Rusk axis.

### SDS ASKS FOR REAL DEBATE

The Hopkins Students for a Democratic Society accurately analyzed this procedure and challenged Rusk to a real debate. He attempted to barter off their demand by inviting two members of SDS to the seminar. A confrontation was thus conducted that displayed the true nature of the Administration's style.

First of all, since SDS considers itself a democratic organization, it selected its own delegates to the seminar instead of accepting the designated representatives. When the SDS members arrived at the seminar they also brought a tape recorder with them. They were told that they couldn't bring it in with them. Furthermore, there was an objection to carrying their notebooks with them. Finally, they were warned that the seminar had to be completely secret. They refused to attend. The PR man for the State Department claimed that in this way Mr. Rusk could be more "honest." At that point he corrected himself and said he meant "candor."

The SDS members boycotted the seminar on the basis of their commitment to democratic procedures. The American Establishment is discovering on the campuses of this nation that there are areas of American society that demand intellectual integrity and will not be bought out by a VIP badge.

# New Union Shows Old Type Leaders

Philadelphia, Pa.—There was a lot of hope last February when the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers won a representational election for the city's public school teachers against a "company-union" teachers' association. The Federation, an AFL-CIO affiliate, promised to end the autocratic control of the principal and the central administration, to do away with bureaucratic narrow-mindedness, pettiness, and interference with teaching.

The union promised to better teaching conditions generally and to modify racial, religious, and ethnic discrimination. A prime factor in the PFT victory was the vocal support of Dr. Martin Luther King, who commands a great deal of respect among the city's Negro teachers.

Unfortunately, the union's leadership has as much contempt for the rank and file teachers as the union bureaucracies in many other occupational fields. The leaders feel that little worthwhile can come from the ordinary teacher.

Demands to be presented at contract negotiations with the school board were formulated by the leadership clique and then put before the teachers for approval in a most undemocratic manner. The local president, John Ryan, read proposals which were also flashed on a screen. He then asked for discussion, but he hardly gave dissenters a chance to think about the newly presented proposals before he was asking for approval.

A few half-hearted ayes were taken as approval in the face of just as many nays. Questioners who got the floor were given unsatisfactory answers by Ryan. When many teachers dissented at once, they had power to change things. (At least one division of the house forced junking of a prepackaged proposal and the adoption of one composed from the floor.)

The union has not fulfilled its promise since February, but some things, such as class size, seem to be improving.

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# Bogalusa: the Terror and Rewards

Part III

**BOGALUSA, La.** — The children, the cliché tells us, represent the hope of the future. This is as true in Bogalusa as elsewhere. As a CORE worker in Bogalusa last summer, I became acquainted with many children whose parents I never met. I could only guess why they seemingly never took an open part in the civil rights activities to which they sent their children so faithfully.

Bright, well-mannered children came day after day, shining clean in the heat and dust, with neatly combed hair and carefully ironed clothes. Most had smiles on their faces, and were eager and cooperative, whether the scheduled activity was a French class in the Freedom School or a long march in the midday sun.

### FAMILIES JOIN IN

Other parents came with their children, or were involved in parallel activities. Sometimes whole families sacrificed virtually all their spare time and resources, not to mention risking their lives, for a future of "freedom". I tested restaurants one day with a teen-age girl whose father was a Deacon for Defense, and was the driver of the car transporting our group.

Children are the backbone for many a picket line. Some that I saw wore shabby or outgrown clothing, but almost without exception they were quiet and well-disciplined. They walked patiently back and forth for an interminable two hours or more while the temperature hung in the upper nineties. This might be followed by an occasional reward of a bottle of pop or a meal, but

more often by no material reward at all.

In the past, the only real hope for the future of a Negro child born in Bogalusa seemed to lie in escape, the sooner the better. And indeed many do leave as soon as possible, with or without a high school diploma — that questionable document signed by the "director of Negro Education."

### NEED NO OUTSIDE AGITATORS

Others marry and start families, meanwhile carrying on as best they can. The struggle needs no "outside agitators" to spur them to action. They consider themselves free Americans, fighting against oppression, but in no way inferior to their oppressors. They are trying to face hatred and cruelty without allowing themselves to become embittered; to resist brutality while not becoming brutalized. The leaders of the Negro community in Bogalusa are making no attempt to imitate the Klan groups or the Citizens Councils.

There is no possible way for Negro parents to build a decent society for their children without subtracting from the power which many white citizens with a "master race" complex still hold in a death grip. The problem is to persuade them to relax this hold, preferably without bloodshed. Almost always the bloodshed has been initiated by the white masters against their Negro victims. Improvements in the "system" have been excruciatingly slow and prone to heart-breaking reversals, except when constant heavy pressure can be maintained.

And so the struggle continues for human dignity and equal opportunity. The white "masters" are not about to give up any significant part of what they consider to be their God-given power and privilege unless they are forced to by law or some other form of no-nonsense persuasion. Parents of the coming generation of Negro children are equally determined that their future shall not be sacrificed.

# Police in Night Rampage Attack Bogalusa Negroes

**BOGALUSA, La.** — Police in Bogalusa, La., had already arrested 75 persons on Wednesday, Oct. 20; that night they charged into the Negro section of town after a protest meeting and beat, clubbed, and kicked any Negro who happened to be in the area, arresting 20 additional persons. This was the charge leveled by CORE Southern Director

Richard Haley at Bogalusa and Washington Parish (county) law officers following what he called a "night of terror in typical Bogalusa style."

"They ran wild," said Haley, who reported that police dogs were let off their leashes, that officers pulled Negroes from cars that were simply passing through the neighborhood, that in several cases officers beat Negroes inside places of business, and that one officer fired shots at a fleeing Negro youth.

Haley's charges are especially serious in view of a federal court order issued in July, and still in effect, ordering police and sheriff's deputies to protect Negroes and civil rights workers, to allow them full exercise of their rights and to refrain from using any form of brutality.

"There is no doubt in our mind that the officers violated the court order," Haley stated and added, "our lawyers have collected a stack of signed statements to prove our charges." The U.S. Justice Department has dispatched several of its attorneys to Bogalusa and is reported to be considering filing contempt of court proceedings.

### DEMONSTRATIONS

The night beatings climaxed a long day of demonstrations and arrests. Early Wednesday morning six adult leaders of the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League were arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. The League was supporting a Negro school boycott by 1400 students, 70% of total enrollment, out of school.

Later in the morning 47 students and CORE worker John Hamilton from Los Angeles were arrested for allegedly disturbing the peace when they attempted a protest march. Twenty-one more students were arrested during an afternoon march to the Board of Education and to the city jail.

### DEMANDS

The school boycott was aimed at getting more books and supplies as well as more science and shop equipment. The students demanded more and better-qualified teachers and also that an additional foreign language be taught at the Negro High School. Further, the students asked that a full-time doctor or nurse be assigned to each school and the physical education equipment be made as good as that of the white schools.

# Indonesian Communism: A Case of World Communism's Decomposition

(Continued from Page 5)

because you have to, not because you want to. To the three million members in the PKI and three more million in the youth movement, you must add that it controlled also the main trade union federation as well as the peasant organization. No less than 22 million voted Communist before voting was abolished to be substituted by Sukarno's corporative "guided democracy."

All this was used not to move the national revolution into the socialist one, but to go on with endless demonstrations "against U.S. imperialism," direct actions "as such"—like taking over British-owned companies not to establish workers' control over them, but to give them over to Sukarno's state—approval of all actions that move toward an axis with Peking, including persecution of Trotskyists, Socialists, and the banning of the neo-Trotskyist Murba (Proletarian) Party which opposed becoming a satellite of China. And just as the Communists helped to discipline labor by using the trade unions only when the policy of struggling for better conditions did not upset Sukarno's "anti-imperialist policy" and erratic balancing of Communists against army and vice versa, so it helped the army and military policy "to maintain law and order" during the "crush Malaysia" campaign. If now—and the situation is changing daily as I write this—Sukarno has failed in his balancing act, and must now bow to the army, where does that leave the masses of Indonesia, except to become the victims of another reactionary axis, with U.S.-British imperialism, now?

\* \* \*

In the immediate post-war period in Europe when the Communist Parties in Italy had become mass parties, the saying was that all Stalin had to do to get power was to raise his telephone and give the proper order. Only he never picked up that telephone because, while he wanted power, he was as scared as any capitalist ruler of power in the streets, power he could not control with his "Red Army," power therefore that might really be in the hands of the masses themselves. Whether, for Indonesia, Mao did finally pick up that telephone or not, for him, too, the masses could not be trusted unless his "Red Army" was nearby and the Communist Party led them, preferably with Sukarno's aid, but in no case should a spontaneous revolution develop which might escape their control.

The result has been precisely that which it was in Western Europe: capitalism has gotten its second wind and is poisoning for new alignments in World War III. And now not only Indonesia, but all of Asia, will move to the right, unless the masses, once and for all, release themselves from the hold of Parties "out to lead" and take destiny into their own hands.

### FOOTNOTES

(1) Fundamentally, of course, there is nothing whatever in common between the Communist Party founded in 1920 (under the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the work done there by the Dutch Marxist, Hendrik Sneevliet, before the Revolution and in the early years after it) which stood for a socialist reconstruction of society, and the present opportunist Communist Party. Peng Chen, be it noted, is skipping not only this early Leninist period, but also the Stalinist period beginning with 1928. Obviously, history for him begins only when the Communists came to power in China.

(2) "Intensify Revolutionary Offensive and First Oppose 'Five Devils'" appears in Peking Review, June 4, 1965, which also printed Peng Chen's speech as well as excerpts from President Sukarno's address, "Indonesian C.P. Is a Thoroughly Progressive, Revolutionary Party."

(3) Tan Malaka, one of the early founders of the PKI, broke with the Comintern in 1928, when he attacked Bukharin's program and was called by him a "Trotskyite." He carried on revolutionary work in Indonesia, building a new revolutionary party. It was strongly suspected by the Trotskyists that the Communists were responsible for his murder. In any case, the "Trotskyite personalities" Aidit now refers to are probably the banned Murba (Proletarian) Party, for a new attack on genuine Marxists was begun by Sukarno in 1964-65. For Tan Malaka's position at the 4th Congress of the CI, see the Abridged Report, published in Great Britain, 1923.

(4) NASAKOM, the "popular front" now in existence, represents "nas" (nationalists), "a" (religious groups), and "kom" (Communists). Since Sukarno has done away with parliament, asking that "all parties be buried," the manner in which this "popular front" operates actually depends on Sukarno and whom he chooses to include in his "inner cabinet."

(5) In the full speech, New Year's 1964, Aidit evidently was concerned arguing against "dogmatists and revisionists who hold that a good communist party cannot possibly exist without a strong proletariat as its basis." He wished to show that the peasantry is more revolutionary than the proletariat. Nevertheless, the only possible conclusion one could draw is that the proletariat ("plus revisionism," it is true) constituted "a mighty strength for the bourgeoisie." See two interesting articles on Indonesian Communism, one by Donald S. Zagoria, and the other by Ruth McVey in the January 1965 issue of Survey devoted to "International Communism: The End of an Epoch."

(6) Quoted by J. S. Van der Kroef in "Communism in Indonesia in Problems of Communism, Nov.-Dec. 1958.

(7) The confused story of that period led to Sukarno's being first branded by Communists in 1945 as a "fascist collaborator," but later presented as one who collaborated only with the express agreement of the underground movement. See Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia by George McT. Kahin. It is the most scholarly work on the subject and has the advantage also of being an eye-witness report for the critical 1948-49 period. The work was published in 1952, and should therefore be supplemented by a 1965 work, Mohammed, Marx and Marhaen, The Roots of Indonesian Socialism, by Jeanne S. Mintz. Neither work deals with theory in a serious way and must therefore be supplemented by "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in Marxism and Freedom.

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## Negro Pressures Succeed; Labor Leaders in Old Role

(Continued from Page 1)  
In Chester, Pa., the first Negro was elected to the City Council.

In Detroit, a Negro was elected to the City Council, and a racist incumbent Councilman was defeated, due primarily to the continuous pressure exerted by the city's 500,000 Negro population.

This local pressure by the Negro community had combined with the warning and challenge hurled by the Watts Revolt in Los Angeles: stop your empty talk about justice and equality and demonstrate it by your actions, or you will face your own Watts.

And Negroes won victories.

### LABOR LEADERS RUBBER-STAMP

In contrast to this is the pitiful role played by the labor leadership, and nowhere more clearly than in Detroit, stronghold of the United Auto Workers Union and its president, Walter Reuther.

His political organization, the AFL-CIO, for the most part, merely rubber-stamped capitalist-endorsed politicians. Rather than offer an independent labor slate and program, the AFL-CIO acted as nothing more than a Civic Searchlight, passing on the qualifications of candidates. And of the three new candidates it endorsed for the nine-man City Council, two of them, a woman, Mary Ball, and a Negro, Marc Stepp, failed to win because they did not get full support from the UAW. Both could have won with this support.

In his politics Reuther misrepresents the rank-and-file no less than he does in their daily struggles against inhuman conditions of work.

The fact that the labor leadership has tied the union movement to the Democratic Party in order to win a few crumbs from the Johnson Administration rather than launch an independent labor program does not mean that the rank-and-file workers agree with their leaders.

Nobody knows better than the workers that their problems on the automated production line will not be changed by a change in a Democratic or Republican administration. And their dissatisfaction with their conditions can be seen in the fact that over 1,160,000 American workers engaged in 2,910 strikes in the first eight months of this year, for a grand total of 16,800,000 man days — the highest since 1959.

This ferment in the ranks of labor, however, is ignored by their leaders, both insofar as it affects old established union members and efforts being put forth to create new unions.

### CIVIL RIGHTS—LABOR UNITY

Among the most significant labor developments in modern times is the huge grape strike that has hit California, where labor, minorities and students have united (see articles, p. 3). Similarly, the civil rights movement as a whole is striving to link up with labor. The majority of Negroes are workers, and in the South especially, where the established labor leadership to this day has failed to start a union organizing campaign, SNCC has joined with Negroes to form Freedom Democratic Labor Unions, to fight against economic discrimination.

Because of this continuous pres-

sure on the part of the Negroes and the rank-and-file workers, the forces of counter-revolution have stepped up their activity all over the nation.

Frantic Klan activity has been revived in the South to terrorize both Negroes and moderate whites, along with a new wave of police brutality directed against Negro communities. (See "Workers Journal," p. 2, and Bogalusa article, p. 7).

The fact that the juries in Hayneville, Ala., could so blatantly free Tom Coleman for the murder of civil rights worker Jonathan Daniels and follow this immediately by freeing Collie Leroy Wilkins for the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, reflects the frightening growth of counter-revolutionary power and fear.

It is also seen in the concentration of activity by the Birch Society in Alabama, and in the fact that the Birch Society can report it has a yearly budget of 5 million dollars to carry on its reactionary work.

### NEED FOR NEW DEMONSTRATIONS

But what is more serious is the lethargy on the part of some of the leadership of the civil rights movement. These leaders are acting as if the need for demonstration is over, and seem to have adopted a "wait and see" attitude.

One reflection of this is that only Martin Luther King, and he was in Paris at the time, seemed to recognize the need to launch a massive protest campaign against the freeing of Wilkins. He cut short his trip to organize such a protest movement that is first being started in Alabama by his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It was the demonstrations of the masses of Negroes that produced every gain that has been made, and only the continuation of demonstrations can assure further social gains. This mass activity, and this mass activity alone, is responsible for the passage of the Civil Rights Act, for the Voting Rights Bill, for the Congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, for school desegregation, for the recent political Negro victories.

### MUST NOT ALLOW DIVERSION

Clearly, the Negro Revolution represents the greatest force for social change that this nation has seen since the organization of the labor movement in the 1930s. Nothing must be permitted to divert from this Movement the energy and resources it requires to maintain its momentum.

There is, however, a danger that exists. The appalling barbarism of the Johnson Administration's senseless war in Vietnam has been so great that many students have become completely absorbed in the anti-war protest movement, in effect leaving the Civil Rights Movement.

This partial division must be closed, for it was the unity of the students with the Movement that produced the new consciousness of alienation in the students and resulted in the Berkeley student Free Speech Movement that spread through campuses throughout the nation. And it is only in the unity of action by the students, Negroes and labor that any fundamental change can take place in society.

## Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

### Canadian Election Changed Little

Lester B. Pearson, leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, will return to power as the result of the recent election, the fifth to be held in the last five years. He called for elections in the hope of obtaining a clear majority for the Liberal Party, but failed.

He has 129 seats to 99 for the Progressive Conservatives of former Prime Minister Diefenbaker, who gained seven seats compared to two gained for Pearson. The New Democratic Party, whose ideas are socialist, now has 21 seats, a gain of three seats. It was this party that Pearson hoped to split. He failed. The gains of these three parties were at the expense of the Social Credit and Creditiste Parties.

An estimated 25 to 30% of the Canadian voters refused to get excited about the contest between 68-year-old Pearson and 70-year-old Diefenbaker, whose programs were not sufficiently challenging to create a clear majority for either party.

The New Democratic Party has the balance of power with its 21 votes and will undoubtedly demand conditions in return for its support of the new administration.

None of the political parties involved ran on platforms as crassly conservative as that of

Goldwater in the U.S. As a matter of fact, all recognized the need for more social services and public spending aimed at improving their conditions of life.

The auto trade pact (which favored the Canadian manufacture of parts for U.S. cars) was an issue, as was a plan for medical care, and Federal loans to the provinces. Another issue was the defense of Canada against the invasion of U.S. capital, which threatens to overwhelm the native exploiters, and against U.S. domination of the news and periodical field, which threatens to stamp Canada into the U.S. image.

Pearson's huge sale of Canadian wheat to Red China and his sales last year to the Soviet Union removed an agricultural surplus problem from Canada, a problem that costs U.S. taxpayers billions of dollars each year.

The relations between French and English speaking Canadians is a thorny one which has been under "study" with no satisfactory solution proposed by either side. Certainly the separation of French-speaking areas in this day of the consolidation of similarly-minded people is not a solution, yet greater recognition of the French Canadians is on the order of the day.

### RHODESIA

The action of Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, in declaring unilateral independence from the British, could well create another situation like the Congo. (see Editorial, P. 1).

The excuse of the white minority is of course "the backwardness of the black majority." If the country today lacks black doctors, lawyers and administrators, it is the fault of the white minority who have denied them the opportunity for training.

Over 1,000 years ago the country was known as Zimbabwe and was the seat of a high level of culture, industry, architecture and trading. The natives of the area developed well-constructed cities which stand to this day. They mined and refined gold and copper as far back as the days of King Solomon. Forms for the famous oxhide-shaped gold bars that formed King Solomon's treasure have been found at the mines in Zimbabwe. Art works looted from the country can be found at Berlin and British Museums. The writing of these people on stone has not been deciphered to this day, yet evidence exists that they imported trees and types of fruit from thousands of miles away and grew them around their cities. Ming pottery has been found in their ruins and evidence that they exchanged goods with Chinese ships plying the coast thousands of years ago. One wagon trail, worn into solid rock, has a Baobab tree over 1,000 years old growing between the tracks.

The people of the country ruled themselves until 1888, when Rhodes led a group of British mercenaries into the area and slaughtered the native population.

Only history will show who are the backward ones, the Zimbabwe or today's white segregationists who seek to destroy history along with the people who created it. (For historical detail see *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, by R. N. Hall & W. G. Neal, E. P. Dutton Co. 1902).

### BRAZIL

After the sweeping reverses suffered by the military dictatorship in Brazil's gubernatorial elections, Dictator Cas-

tello Branco, with Army backing, has suspended all political parties and given to himself alone the right to pass all laws and to amend the constitution.

The new decree states that the next President will be elected by the Congress and not by the people. It also gives him the right to declare a state of siege at any time.

When the Congress, for the first time since the dictatorship started in April 1964, refused to grant him these powers, Branco seized the power and increased the size of the Supreme court, from 11 to 16, with men of his choice. Any or all elected officials can now be jailed on his whim alone.

In the United States, Thomas C. Mann, President Johnson's Latin American policy maker, supported the move. Mann takes the line that while military dictatorships and maybe even Fascism are deplorable, the military elements in many Latin American countries are the best supporters of U.S. policies (which is damn faint praise for U.S. policies).

Since Branco took power there is little evidence of Communist influence, but corruption continues as the generals use troops to smash all opposition and make fancy profits out of their business dealings. One billion U.S. dollars have been poured in to help the dictatorship—but the slums remain and the starving peasants still swarm in from the countryside in search of jobs and food.

### THE YAK FAT INCIDENT

Leroy Hilt, a Nebraska trucker, has a theory that anything the truckers want, the railroads automatically oppose and the Interstate Commerce Commission backs up the railroads. So he decided to test his theory.

Hilt submitted a "schedule of rate changes" to the I.C.C., proposing to transport yak fat at 45c per 100 pounds between Omaha and Chicago.

True to form, the railroads filed an exception with the I.C.C. charging unfair competition. Their duly documented case called the rates "unreal and unreasonable."

The I.C.C. backed up the railroads and told Hilt that his proposed rates were, "unjust and unreasonable" and order-

ed him to cease and desist in the shipping of yak fat at those rates. Republican Congressmen got into the act and ordered the I.C.C. to give them the real yak facts—and learned that yak fat is a non-existent commodity created by Hilt to prove his point.

With a red face, the I.C.C. was forced to defend itself: After all, it makes no difference whether the product exists or not; they had "cost data" compiled by the railroads and they get all kinds of requests, etc., etc., etc.

### CUBA

An agreement has been reached to permit 250,000 Cubans to leave Cuba for the U.S. by air-lift.

It is a sad commentary on life under Castro that a quarter of a million people choose the slums of Miami to life under the Castro dictatorship. It is sadder still that today they become pawns in the international power struggle.

### RUSSIA

Supporters of the Soviet Union have always claimed that unemployment would never be a problem in that country. Now, writers in Soviet journals are becoming deeply disturbed over growing unemployment due to Automation and the huge number of students who will be on the labor market in the next few years.

In 1959 the Soviet Union had 29½ million students enrolled; in 1965 they have 42 million—and all will be looking for the jobs for which they have been trained.

These students are being urged to migrate to Siberia to cut the unemployment situation in the cities. Yet, V. I. Peregventsev, in a recently published study, finds that about ¼-million fewer people now reside in Siberia than were there in 1959, despite repeated attempts to increase the population of the area.

The problems of state capitalism in the Soviet Union are running parallel to those which plague American capitalists. In the United States it is claimed that what is needed to combat unemployment is more education. In Russia the problem is what to do with them after they get the education, a problem the U. S. is also facing with growing concern.

### For Our Detroit Readers

Don't miss the next News & Letters public meeting.

### The Crisis in Rhodesia

Speaker: Peter Mallory

Date: Friday, Dec. 10.

Time: 7:30 p.m.

Place: News & Letters Office  
8751 Grand River Ave.