

NEWS & LETTERS

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Lowndes Co. Negroes Win Election

Several historic results have been achieved since the Negroes in Lowndes County, Ala., organized a movement there on March 12, 1965. Before that time not one Negro had registered to vote. One had gone to the Court House to ask for a voter's application, and his life had been threatened simply for asking. Later he had gone back and they gave him a test, but rejected him.

He was so disturbed by this that he began to talk with a few chosen friends about what he thought they could accomplish if they organized together. At that very time the historic Selma to Montgomery March took place, and it seemed to transform their lives. Watching the determination on the faces of those marchers, the sacrifices and the abuses accepted by the white marchers as well as the Negroes, produced a turning point for most of the Negroes in that county.

As the movement began to grow, the white registrars in the county wrote to the Negro leader and told him he could take the test again. He went with several other Negroes and they became the first Negroes ever registered there. By June, 17 Negroes were registered, and the movement gathered momentum.

With the help of SNCC workers in the area, they began to tackle all the problems of civil rights: school integration, Negro representation from the farming areas, better schools for Negro children. They have around 600 regular members, which is tremendous for a rural area.

COUNTY ELECTIONS—FIRST TEST

In the county elections last month 11 people were to be chosen for offices that have always been held by whites. Those elected give each farmer in the county the allotment of land that he can cultivate each year. The Federal Government allots so many acres to each state, and it is the County's job to distribute these.

In the past, white farmers were asked first how many acres they wished to cultivate, and acres were cut from Negro farmers' allotments to make up the number of acres the whites wanted. The quotas sent to the Federal Government never revealed these acres that the Negroes had been robbed of.

The same 11 white men who have been elected for many years ran for election again this November. But the Movement there ran 11 Negroes against them. And seven were elected. It was another historic first, and it was done despite the fact that the whites put 25 to 30 other Negro names on the ballot to try to divide the votes—and even gave some Negroes the wrong ballots to mark.

KLAN RETALIATES

Many are saying that there has never been so much progress made in so short a time in a KKK stronghold in the South. After the election, the retaliation by the Klan began. Many of the white landowners have told their Negro tenants and share-croppers to move because they voted. They are trying to force them out of the County, in hopes they can cut down the Negro voting strength. The Movement is doing all it can so that this will not happen.

There are similar Freedom Movements in practically all the rural counties in the Southern part of Alabama. The oppressed farmers there are in action. They are through with the days when they could be told they should write their Congressman. They have decided to do something for themselves. Many say the most effective movement of all is the one in Lowndes County, perhaps because this was where Mrs. Liuzzo was murdered shortly after it was organized. More recently Jonathan Daniels was also murdered there.

The KKK and White Citizen's Councils know what it means when the Negroes in the rural areas can vote and organize—because Negroes are in the heavy majority in almost every rural area of the deep South. One of the big landowners in Lowndes County told the Negroes, after the election, that the time had come for the Negroes and whites to try to understand each other because they have to live together there. One Negro told him that his parents, his grand-parents, and his great-grand-parents all had wanted to live in peace with the whites, but the whites would not accept the Negroes as human beings—and this is the problem today. When the white man had left, the Negro told his friends, "Now we know that the whites have finally seen the handwriting on the wall."

Many whites are coming to the support of the Negro struggle. In almost all of the mass meetings and demonstrations there, some whites are present. But the KKK will not give up easily and the race-hating whites have their methods of spreading North, too.

RACE-HATERS IN NORTH, TOO

A worker in a General Motors plant in Detroit reported that almost 50% of the white men working there are young Southerners, some of whom have already become foremen. Several weeks ago a Negro worker had a grievance, and went to the superintendent's office. At that time the workers of the GM plant in Flint

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Mass Demonstrations Oppose War In Vietnam: LBJ Plans Escalation

The Thanksgiving anti-war demonstrations, when over 35,000 marched in Washington, and close to 15,000 marched from Berkeley through Oakland—while thousands more demonstrated with them throughout England, Italy, West Germany, France and Sweden—brought to new heights the protests that have been gaining in momentum ever since the U. S. shocked the world by dropping the first bombs on North Vietnam in February of this year.



Since then the protests have been mounting almost ceaselessly. There have been three massive demonstrations in Washington alone, of which this was the largest in its history. Others have marched down Fifth Avenue, on hundreds of campuses and in countless cities throughout the country, while tens of thousands more, who have never been on a march, also oppose the senseless slaughter in Vietnam.

CONSTANT ESCALATION

The demonstrations have increased in intensity as the undeclared war in Vietnam has increased in bloodiness. The very week that the latest march took place was the week that American casualties had reached an all-time high. Vietnamese casualties—both North and South—number in the thousands each month.

Civilian casualties are not even counted, except when the Army must apologize for having bombed some "friendly" South Vietnamese village by mistake, and is forced to reveal that some "48 were killed and 55 wounded with fragmentation bombs and white-phosphorus fire bombs," as in Duc Duc last month.

Johnson's ever-increasing escalation of the still undeclared war has made it easy for Chinese propagandists to claim that the U.S. is completely destroying Vietnam, North and South. It is a war in which no Chinese or Russian soldiers have yet been committed, and which the Chinese are quite willing to have Hanoi fight "to the last Vietnamese." It is a war in which there is less and less pretense that Americans are fighting to preserve "democracy" in Vietnam, as U.S. imperialism tries to hack its way into Asia, apparently willing even to risk war with China and Russia in the attempt.

"PEACE-FEELERS" REJECTED

The Washington march followed a week of heated controversy over the revelation that the Administration had at least twice refused to consider an offer for peace talks made by Hanoi. Following the report of Eric Sevareid in Look Magazine that one meeting had been attempted by U Thant, Secretary General of the UN, for talks between a North Vietnamese emissary and a U.S. delegate in neutral Rangoon in early fall of 1964, it was subsequently reported that when the bombing of North Vietnam was suspended for a few days in the spring of 1965 another attempt at negotiations had been made through France.

All this was before President Johnson's sanctimonious statement at a press conference on July 13 that "Candor compels me to tell you that there has not been the slightest indication that the other side is interested in negotiation or in unconditional discussions, although the United States has made some dozen sep-

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Our Life and Times

Growing African Protest Deepens Rhodesian Crisis

By Peter Mallory

The weak-kneed British "Labor" government of Harold Wilson has permitted a white segregationist minority to seize power in Rhodesia without Wilson moving a muscle. Acting in the worst traditions of British imperialism, Wilson sought refuge in meaningless sanctions and moral persuasion in a situation that called for military intervention to protect human beings. The United States followed his lead in doing nothing.

The four million Africans of Rhodesia acted through sporadic strikes: 350 textile workers walked out, 2,000 African railway workers joined them and 4,000 postal workers defiantly refused to sign loyalty oaths for the new Smith regime. Demonstration have occurred all over the country with bus stoppages, milk, newspaper and telegraph deliveries halted. A call has gone out for a general strike.

Those who say that these strikes have so far failed to overthrow the white regime overlook the fact that it is remarkable that they occurred at all, since all of the important African political and trade union leaders in Rhodesia were jailed by the Smith regime

BEFORE the declaration of independence. Over 6,000 Africans lie in detention camps. At any rate, the strikes are only the start of the struggle for an independent Rhodesia. The real fight is yet to come.

Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) has made repeated appeals for military aid to Prime Minister Wilson and has received only 10 jet fighters whose orders are not to molest the White Rhodesian regime. Kaunda has further appealed for U.S. military aid and has stated that if both Britain and the U.S. refuse to help him, he will be forced to appeal to the Communist countries.

The crisis in Rhodesia has drawn the African Nations closer together. Ministers of 34 African nations meeting in Addis Ababa as ministers of the Organization of African Unity, have under consideration joint military action against Rhodesia. Ghana has mobilized its army. Defence Minister Felix Onama told reporters, "Uganda is prepared to sacrifice the Commonwealth in the interest of African dignity."

While it may be doubtful
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To all our friends and readers
Season's Greetings

WORKER'S JOURNAL**Lowndes Co. Negroes Win Election**

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were striking over unsettled grievances, and the superintendent tried to talk the Negro worker out of filing his complaint. When the Negro finally agreed, the superintendent walked him back to his operation, very pleased that he had got him to drop the filing of his grievance. Just as the Negro was getting ready to get back to work, however, he turned to the superintendent and said, "Oh yes, there's something else I wanted to file a grievance on. This young white man that works with me never says a word. If he bumps me, he never says he's sorry; if he steps on me, he never says excuse me. I don't like it."

The superintendent said he could straighten that out easily and called the white worker over. He told him the Negro's complaint and asked him to shake his hand and beg his pardon. But the white man said, "Hell, no. I never shook a Negro's hand or begged his pardon while I lived in Alabama, and I'll be damned if I'll do it now." Several days later, after the white man was transferred to another operation, he did the same thing to another Negro—but that Negro hit him on the head with a hammer. He was carried away unconscious, but the Negro was fired. "WE WILL NEVER TURN BACK"

A steward at one of the Chrysler plants said the same thing is happening there. Every Monday, after the plant has been shut down over the weekend, KKK signs are found all over the plant. Workers have begun to complain that as soon as the company has made some of the Southern whites foremen, they begin to fire Negro workers—especially those with no seniority.

One worker said the Negroes in the North will have to start a movement here just as the Negroes have done in the South to counteract the race-haters here.

The Negroes in the South are singing that they "will never turn back," and they have already proved that they are determined to keep moving forward. The Negroes in the North must join their brothers in the South, and the freedom fighters black and white everywhere, to see that when victory is won it is complete.

Racist Sheriff James Clark Routed by California Sit-in

Pasadena, Cal. — Almost 600 people came to protest and picket racist Sheriff Jim Clark of Selma, Ala., whose claim to infamy came when he ordered Alabama State Troopers to run down marchers asking for the right to vote. Clark was invited to speak here by the Citizens' Council of Greater Los Angeles, and to add insult to injury, he was to speak at Wilson Jr. High School, which was obtained through permission from the Pasadena Board of Education!

I am delighted to report that although it was raining very hard, hundreds of pickets greeted our eyes as we arrived at the school an hour early. Suddenly we all dropped our signs and entered the auditorium and took seats. All seats were occupied, and only about 75 of them by Clark's supporters.

PICKETS SING PROTEST

We began to sing and chant. The feeling was great. We were there to let him know that we had not invited him and that he had no support from us.

All civil rights organizations were represented, and many who came to protest were the Negro citizens of Pasadena.

Clark was one hour late in getting on stage, but we did not miss his presence a bit. During the wait, one Council member came over to our group from L. A. CORE, since we were singing the loudest and longest, and said: "Which one is the leader?"

"I am," said a young Negro man as he stood up.

"You are under arrest," said the white man, evidently trying to make a citizen's arrest.

"Take us all," said another Negro man and stood up.

Then we all stood up, and the racist turned tail and left.

Finally the meeting was opened. When Clark took the podium he was greeted by mass booing which completely drowned out the few cheers of those waving the Confederate flag. After the booing, we all sang "This Little Light of Mine."

SIT-IN AT THE STAGE

At last Clark could begin to speak—he thought. But though he tried, he could not be heard above the crowd.

Then a group of us joined arms and advanced toward the stage singing "We Shall Overcome" as we went. Others joined us. Soon we had a large number sitting-in in front of the stage, singing, clapping and chanting "Jim Crow must go, Jim Clark must go."

Clark gave up trying to be heard and the meeting was over!

POLITE POLICE ESCORT

When we left there was a cordon of police from the Sheriff's Department, Pasadena, and Los Angeles, all shoulder to shoulder as if expecting another Watts riot. I have never seen so many police except in Mississippi. But unlike the police in Watts, these were extremely polite, saying, "please," "thank you," "excuse me," etc. I guess they learned from Watts.

When we got out of the building we found the cordon of police extending from inside to the outside, making an aisle out of the 200 or more who waited outside all through the meeting in the pouring rain because they could not get inside.

The large majority of these were also protesters, all eager to hear what had happened inside and delighted that Clark had been so "warmly" greeted.

Message From A Movement

LOWNDES COUNTY, Ala.

—In these turbulent days of uncertainty, the evils of war and of economic and racial injustice threaten the very survival of the human race. We live in a day of grave crisis. Yet we are convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that the philosophy of non-violence will redeem the soul of America.

This is one of the chief aims of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights. . . . Another chief aim is in the area of voter registration. It must be recognized that the right and proper use of the ballot is vital in our struggle for first-class citizenship.

NEW SYSTEM BEING BORN

The past months have been most tragic and historic, and the past decade a most exciting one. In spite of the tensions and uncertainties of our times, something profoundly meaningful is taking place. Old systems of exploitation and oppression are passing away. New systems of justice and equality are being born. In a real sense this is a great time to be alive. . . .

This is our hope. This is our faith, (that) we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

WHEN FREEDOM RINGS

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! God almighty we are free at last!"

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. For information, contact Robert Pierce, 3323 S. Liddesdale, Detroit 48217.

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.

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Anti-Jewish Prejudice Rears Its Ugly Head in Many Ways

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. —

For some reason many people today seem to think that the problem of prejudice and hatred against Jews, of ignorance about them, and the problems of the Jews as a minority group, no longer exist in the United States.

That happy time has not yet arrived. I would like to recount an incident which occurred in a college classroom, because this place is often considered as a haven of enlightened liberal culture in this country.

CLASSROOM JOKES

One professor of economics was fond of telling stories and jokes to his classes. Although there were only about four or five Jewish kids out of about thirty students in a class that I was in, he liked to address "You fellows," meaning "You Jews," when he wanted to make some sort of humorous implication before the class. He might say, for instance, "I'm surprised that some of you fellows didn't get into that racket." The whole class understood he meant the Jewish boys.

One day, he told us that he had been looking through the catalog of a biological supply house in Chicago. He'd found, he told us, a special offer of skulls from Dachau. Then came the punchline. "Why don't some of you fellows send away for these skulls? Who knows, you might get your Uncle Harry or your Uncle Benny."

At this, the whole class seemed to break out in a loud, brutal laugh. All the faces around me were smiling. I was so shocked that anyone anywhere could say such a thing that I could not react. Since I was sitting in the back of the room, I couldn't tell the reactions of the other Jewish students. I think a couple of them were joining in with the gentile students in the general mirth. Such is the persuasive power of anti-Jewish thinking in this country.

Obviously, this professor and

his students got a lot of pleasure out of laughing at the misfortune of the Jews, seemingly imagining themselves immune to such problems. I do not believe that this was a rare or isolated instance of open prejudice against Jews.

IDEA OF HATE

Recently, in Philadelphia, some teen-age Jewish boys helped burn a cross on the lawn and paint swastikas on the house of a concentration camp survivor. That Jewish boys could take part in something like this indicates that what we are up against is not gentiles, but an idea, the idea of hatred and contempt for Jews and whatever is Jewish, an idea which even Jews may hold.

The story of a Ku Klux Klan leader from New York who hid his Jewish origin and then killed himself when that origin was exposed in a newspaper article, is another indication that it is an idea that must be fought. Negroes face a like problem with those Negroes who have absorbed a wrong value of the dominant American culture: that "white is right."

PAPAL HYPOCRISY

Many people on the American left today do not understand the importance of ideas. An institution which knows very well the importance and power of ideas is the Vatican, Pope Paul in particular.

His speech to the UN was an attempt to keep up with the desires and concerns of people all over the world. Yet he made a mockery of his own words on peace by having a friendly chat before the speech with one of the world's worst warmongers, President Johnson.

In a sermon the Pope gave last Easter in a church near Rome, he angrily called the Jews god-killers and traitors and so on.

At that very moment, workers were striking all over Italy.

The idea of Jewish guilt, false as it is, is a traditional idea; and traditional ideas, strongly held, are very useful in fighting against revolution.

Aaron Margulis

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Hate and Privilege Must Go

What will become of this troublesome United States that doesn't know how to speak the truth? How can they expect people to believe in their crooked laws, while the Ku Klux Klan goes on fighting and killing people in order to keep them from getting their freedom?

There are a lot of people who pretend they are for everyone being free, but you can see how much they mean it when you watch what they do and say. So many will drop a word or two, for example, to make it sound as if civil rights workers are Communists, when they know it is not true, and that it is just time for all the old hate to go.

WHO IS THE LEADER

A lot of white people think they should be honored just because they are white. And a lot of our own colored people think they should be honored just because they are teachers or professionals. Yet it is those very teachers who are the most easily misled by the white man.

All he has to tell them is that they are the real leaders and that they can lead the colored people in the right way and they believe him. He tells them that they should teach the others not to fight any longer, that they have already gained a lot in the past few years and should stop and rest a while.

Some of these colored people get angry with their own people because the others refuse to listen to them once the white man has made an Uncle Tom out of them. What the white man doesn't seem to know is that you can't make a fool out of a person without an education as easily as you can make a fool out of an educated man.

The reason is because the educated ones think they are better than the rest of their race and want to be honored just because of that—just as the whites think they are better just because they are white. But the rest of us know better. That is how the world got so messed up, with some people thinking they are better than the others.

SAME IN THE NORTH

The whites in the North are not so much different from the whites in the South. They want the poor whites and the Negroes to honor them so much that they don't even want to live in the same city with them. I suppose they are afraid that if the poor lived too near them, they would not think much of them.

It is a dog eat dog world today among people like that. But some day people will realize that all people are the same, and that nobody is any greater than anybody else.

Support Needed For Grape Strikers' Anti-Poverty Grant

(Ed. Note: The following open letter has been sent out by Cesar Chavez, leader of the California grape strikers.)

Delano, Cal. — Hundreds have rallied to the support of the striking members of the National Farm Workers Association. Your help has kept us, and the strike, alive.

Now we are calling upon you to aid us in a different arena.

GRANT APPROVED

In February of 1965, the NFWA applied for a grant under the "War on Poverty" legislation. The application received prompt attention and, after several revisions, was approved. Approval came a few days prior to the grape strike being called. Sensing that it would be impossible to administrate both the strike and the \$268,000 grant, we of the NFWA requested that the money be held up until after the strike. This met with the approval of Sargeant Shriver, head of the anti-poverty program.

Shortly after the grant was made public, the strike began. Growers from the Delano area, as a means of harassing the NFWA, pushed through the Delano City Council a resolution asking for the suspension of the grant.

The resolution read, in part: "Cesar Chavez is well known in this city, having spent various periods of his life in this community, including attendance at

Use Plane to Aid Grape Strikers

DELANO, Calif.—Two priests who pilot their own airplane upset some carefully-laid strategy by the Delano area grape growers. In their attempts to keep scabs hidden from pickets, grape growers in the strike zone have been hiding their workers inside the fields, far from the road. Only the center of the field gets picked when they do this, but growers know that scabs working by the road will listen to the strikers and many will then quit.

Growers were suddenly surprised to find that even scabs hidden in the middle of the fields were not safely imprisoned. Father Keith Kenny of Sacramento, and Father Arnold Meagher of Woodland, accompanied by FWA Director, Cesar Chavez, flew down over the fields in their own airplane and broadcast a special loudspeaker appeal to strike-breakers to support the strike and quit working. Several crews walked out of the fields after hearing the messages broadcast over the loudspeakers.

Father Kenny, a Catholic priest of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Sacramento, later said, "The strike is a movement by the poor people themselves to improve their position. Where the poor are, Christ should be, and is." Father Kenny promised to return to Delano to help the strike, and said that he has other surprises in store for the growers.

HELP GRAPE STRIKERS

Shortly after the above broadcast occurred Cesar Chavez was arrested for using a public address system from the plane. He is out on bail. Other pickets have been arrested for "following a car load of scabs." The strike has been going on since September and is now going into grape pruning system. The strikers need all the help they can get. Contributions can be sent to: Farm Workers Association, Box 894, Delano, California

public schools, and it is the opinion of this council that he does not merit the trust of the council with regard to the administration of the grant." This was smear number one.

POLITICANS SMEAR

Representative Harlan Hagen, a humble servant of Tulare and Kern County growers, took up the cause. Mr. Hagen, who had earlier endorsed wholeheartedly the NFWA application, now became the Delano City Council's and grape growers' agent. He questioned whether the Association "could objectively administer a federally-sponsored education program." Smear number two.

Now, recently, Senator Kuchel also has asked for an investigation of the grant. He, too, has questioned "the experience and competence of the sponsors." Mr. Kuchel, of all people, should comprehend the damage done by uneducated smear tactics. He has been victimized by such cruelty.

The fact is, Senator Kuchel never talked to the sponsor regarding the program. The fact is, Mr. Kuchel, who prides himself on careful fact gathering, and who abhors smear tactics, has smeared the National Farm Workers Association without making the least effort to learn first hand about the grant.

FIGHT IS NOW NEEDED

The powerful growers of Kern and Tulare Counties, with their political allies, have thrown up tremendous barriers to halt the strike. They have forced the Sheriff's office to arrest us for talking out loud. So, the issue is this: this grant was the first made in California to a grassroots, poverty level, organization. Economic Opportunity legislation guarantees maximum involvement of the poor. The story from Washington today is that our grant may soon be cancelled . . . and it will be unless we fight for our rights, now.

Therefore we are asking two things of you:

- 1) Acquaint yourself with the facts regarding the nature of our project.
- 2) Write letters of protest over any tampering with this project.

Letters should be mailed to Mr. Sargeant Shriver, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., and Senator Thomas Kuchel, Senate Building, Washington, D.C.

Pass the word to your friends. Ask organizations to take a stand on this matter, and write letters. Send telegrams, use the phone . . . help us.

Remember, if the power groups of this state, such as the growers, can stop one organization of poor persons from participating in the war on poverty, it will hold others back too.

Bomb Negro's Home; He's Arrested

FERRIDAY, La. — A Negro's home was bombed on the night of Nov. 21 and the police arrested the victim when he later appeared in his yard with a shotgun, a civil rights worker reported.

The bombing of Negro property was the fifth reported here in six months. A Negro was burned to death less than a year ago.

David Whatley, a field worker for the Congress of Racial Equality, said that what appeared to be a gasoline bomb exploded at the home of Robert Lewis Jr., president of the Ferriday Freedom Movement, about 9:30 p.m. He said, Lewis, his wife and their

Reject Grievance; Steel Co. Attacks

Pittsburgh, Pa.—The company is trying to set a new precedent in our shop, and all over the U.S. Steel Homestead plant. They are trying to put ability over seniority. We have about 80 apprentices in our shop and the company wants to lay off helpers or send them to the labor pool, and keep the apprentices to do our work.

There was a grievance filed on this before. The International said that the grievance didn't merit the money it would take to fight it, so it was dropped in the fourth step of arbitration. Now they see that if they let the company go through with it, everybody's job is in jeopardy and everything will be at the company's discretion. The company will be the sole judge of everything. This will include everybody in the entire mill.

At the present time, the company is waiting to see what the union and the men are going to do. Many of the apprentices have less than a year's service. The helpers have 12 to 25 years—some more. If this goes through, the apprentices will have preference over the operators throughout the shop.

There should be a ruling on it in two or three months.

California Comp Law Hits Workers

Los Angeles, Calif.—What the new California Unemployment Insurance law is going to do to workers will make your hair stand on end. We have become so "affluent" that they are now going to "give" \$65 a week instead of only \$55, but the figure is misleading, because you can only get the \$65 week on the basis of earning upwards of \$135 per week. Not many workers make that.

It is opposite to what it should be. The man on bottom who needs it most, who only gets \$1.25 an hour, should be paid more. But he gets no increase, and the man on the top does.

Now they say that you will get 50 per cent of the paycheck you used to get. But the company can start moving workers around now when they want to make a lay off, and force those still working to take lower wages. This would mean that when you are laid off at the lowest rate you will get half of \$80 a week, or \$40 a week. It used to be that you would get one half your highest earning of a quarter.

The worst clause of all is the one in which they are really trying to tie a man to his job. Before, if a man quit or was fired he could collect unemployment insurance after five weeks, but now if he quits or gets fired he cannot collect at all.

The union wants to circulate petitions. But I think that we should picket every plant in the city.

On the Line

Union and Company Lay Safety to Rest in the Plant

By JOHN ALLISON

There has been a rash of accidents to jitney drivers in recent weeks at the Chrysler Highland Park plant. At this moment a jitney driver of some 20 years lies paralyzed from the waist down because safety at the plant is dead. The company and the union have laid safety to rest.

Space is hard to find to stock material in the plant. When the company eliminated plant 3, they jammed everything from plant 3 into remaining plants 4, 5 and 6. Now the thing about the whole situation at Highland Park is that the company kept all of the high production operations—and high production operations mean that you have to have plenty of space to stock production line supplies because they go through it so fast. To keep these lines operating means speed, speed, pile up, pile up.

LIKE SKYSCRAPERS

Those supplies are piled up like skyscrapers, reaching up all the way to the ceiling. If something happened where one of those piles fell over, there's no telling how many of the workers would be killed or injured. The buildings just weren't made to take care of what the company is doing to make sure that they get out the production from the workers.

A question always asked by jitney drivers is: where can I put it? And the answer always is: pile it up; get it in somehow; we've got to keep production going.

OVERTIME TAKES TOLL

And it isn't only the lack of space. The work week—nine or ten hours a day for six or seven days—is more than any man can

Out from War Fire — Into Plant Fire

DETROIT, Mich.—One kid in our shop has just returned from under fire in Vietnam. He's under company fire now. They want to fire him because he doesn't seem to care about the company rules. He's reckless.

This kid's brother was in Korea. I talked to him one day. He said, "You guys are worried that Chrysler may move this plant to Ohio, but the whole world may blow up any minute." That's a fateful way of looking at things, and I don't agree with him that the guys aren't absolutely right in being worried about moving to Ohio—but I had to defend him, nevertheless.

When I got back from the Army myself, years ago, I remember that the foreman we had reminded me of Hitler. He was a dictator, and I really wanted to kill him. A lot of other people told me I was getting too excited, I was being "irrational." But an older worker who had sons of his own in the Army seemed to understand how I was feeling, and he was the one who defended me.

INDUSTRY MADNESS

Meanwhile, the company is also refusing to hire a lot of kids because they're afraid they'll be drafted. Instead, they're hiring women. But at the same time that they are hiring new women in one department, they are laying off women in another department.

One of the women about to be laid-off was practically pleading for her job. It was pitiful. She has five young children, and she is their only support. She is a good worker, too. But the company just had a bunch of numbers in front of them—hire these; lay-off those. Industry has no compassion, no feeling, no sense. It is just "industry." This is the true madness of our age.

take. The speed is too much, and workers become fatigued. They can't help but get tired at the pace they're going, and this has got to take its toll in accidents. And it is taking its toll. Ambulances average one trip a day coming to the plant to take out injured workers.

Then there is the strange way the union and company treat accident cases in the shop. It seems to this writer that no one really cares for a worker once he or she is hurt.

While there may be a very serious safety violation on the part of the company that is responsible for a worker being hurt, nothing is ever done about it by the union if a worker is going to get compensation for his injury. Not one safety grievance has been filed for years by the union against the company for unsafe conditions if the injured worker sustains a compensable injury. The fact that a worker gets some compensation doesn't give him back his finger, or hand or arm or back that is lost or can't be used and makes a cripple of him for the rest of his life.

Like the worker who is paralyzed, that I first referred to. He was under pressure to hurry up—you've just got to rush to keep the supplies moving. Instead of loading one or two racks of supplies on his jitney, he loaded three of them. He could carry this much and have a few inches clearance to get out the door. But an overhead crane had been left just at the doorway entrance, and he couldn't see it because of his load. When he went through the door, the crane caught his hop rack, toppling the load on top of him.

SAFETY SHORT-CUT

Now jitneys ought to have canopies covering drivers, but only a few of the newer ones have canopies. When the worker got hurt, enough hell was raised, and the company agreed to put canopies on all jitneys. But they decided to make their own canopies, welding them onto the jitneys.

This short-cut to safety on the part of the company didn't produce safety at all. One of the metal canopies fell off, hitting a jitney driver in the head. It could have killed him. Luckily, he was just knocked unconscious and recovered without serious injury.

The pattern is monotonous. There is no campaign on pressure on the part of the union in behalf of the workers where safety is concerned. It's always Production, Speed, Hurry, Work Fast, Get Hurt, Go to the Hospital, Get Well and Return to Work Under The Same Conditions.

COMPENSATION SCAPE-GOAT

I am dismayed at the way the company and union use Workman's Compensation as a scape-goat to justify dangerous working conditions. Remember that factory workers are without fingers or one or both hands. Few workers retire without taking some deformity with them to remind them of some unsafe condition in the shop.

Everything, it seems, has to make money for the company at all costs. There can be no space unused. The machine means more than the person. The jitney means more than the man who drives it. The broom means more than the sweeper. You have a right to ask why. The answer is PRODUCTION.

EDITORIALS

Administration Flops in Washington

The failure of an all-white southern jury in Selma, Ala., to convict the murderers of white civil rights worker Rev. James Reeb shows clearly that the efforts of the civil rights movement must be increased to achieve justice in the courts of the benighted South.

Nevertheless, the pressures of the movement have produced historic results recently: the conviction by an all-white Anniston, Ala., jury of the first white man ever found guilty for murdering a Negro in the South; the conviction of three Ku Klux Klansmen by another all-white jury in Montgomery, Ala., for conspiring to violate the civil rights of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo; the agreement by the white city government of Nachez, Miss., to end discriminatory policies after demonstrations and a 40% effective boycott of business places that lasted three months; and the court injunction brought against the Ku Klux Klan in Bogalusa, La., to restrain their terrorism.

These are but the latest in a series of victories made possible by the unending force exerted by the Negro Revolution and the demands of Negroes everywhere for freedom now. The momentum of the movement and the aspirations of the Negroes collided head-on with the Johnson Administration's do-nothing civil rights policies at the recent White House Civil Rights Conference—and doomed it to the failure it was.

Johnson's speech and the conference was inspired by a study prepared by former Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Moynihan, dealing with the disorganization of Negro ghetto family life in the North. By concentrating on this sociological theme, the administration hoped to shift the emphasis of racial problems from the South to the North—as if it is anything but a national problem—and to apply brakes to the growing civil rights activity by substituting endless discussion in the place of mass actions.

But to this sociological study of disorganization, history had shown instead the actual organized actions of the Negro masses in Watts in Los Angeles; in Chester and Philadelphia, Buffalo, Harlem, Cleveland and Chicago—to say nothing of the ceaseless protests and demonstrations by Negroes and white civil rights workers in the South.

The experts had hoped to engage in sterile discussions of how the Northern urban Negro can regain the "manhood" he is supposed to have lost from the practices of segregation and discrimination. Instead, the Negro panelists launched a scathing attack against the administration's failure to use the power it now has to enforce present laws supposedly guaranteeing Negro equality. They demanded greater protection for civil rights workers in the South; more federal registrars to enroll Southern Negro voters; the withholding of federal funds from government contractors practicing racial job discrimination and from states practicing school segregation; and more forceful measures to speed up social and economic integration throughout the nation.

The most correct analysis presented there, however, pointed out that racial discrimination is a product of the capitalist system, and that the system itself has to be changed before the problem can be truly eliminated. This, of course, could hardly be accepted by a conference designed to produce gradual adjustment proposals that would not disrupt existing social and economic relations, or by an administration that is dedicated to the preservation and extension of the capitalist system.

The truth is clear. It is the federal government that has lost its manhood. It is not administration conferences or the administration that will assure Negro equality. Only the continuous demonstrations and protests of the mass civil rights movement, combined with its growing number of white allies, can achieve freedom and equality, not only for the Negroes, but for all.

... and in Rio de Janiero

At the recent Organization of American States conference held in Rio de Janiero, the U.S. tried to obtain agreement for an inter-American "peace" force that it could use to intervene in the Latin American countries in exchange for continuing economic aid. The Latin American countries accepted the U.S. offer to extend Alliance for Progress aid beyond the original 1971 original cut-off date, but flatly rejected the "peace" force proposal.

For a century the Latin American countries have fought to overcome the imperialist intervention by the U.S. in their affairs, and finally succeeded in obtaining a treaty provision at the original OAS Bogata conference held in 1951 to outlaw the intervention of any one country, including the U.S., in the internal affairs of any other country.

Since that time, the U.S. has openly violated this treaty twice: first in Cuba, and more recently in the Dominican Republic. While the Cuban intervention during the missile crisis may have been rationalized away as a special situation, the Dominican intervention was open imperialism. The entire intervention was completely engineered by the U.S. in order to get a right-wing government into power.

Indeed, it was this U.S. intervention that forced postponement of the OAS Rio de Janiero conference, originally scheduled for February, to the November date because of overwhelming public sentiment in Latin America against the U.S. but Dominica also dominated the November conference.

Rusk had been quietly working behind the scenes for months, trying to obtain agreement on the "peace" force proposal. What this proposal amounted to was that the U.S. would control this force, and could openly intervene in the affairs of any hemispheric country that it considered to be disturbing "peace." If any Latin American government opposed U.S. policies, it would be brought in line with the "peace" force.

And Latin American countries have known U.S. policy only too well. Not only have they seen it at work in Dominica, they have also seen it in the support and aid given by the U.S. to Latin American dictators.

Against this background of U.S. actions, the conference speech of Rusk urging the countries to initiate and carry out progressive economic and social reforms could have been considered as nothing more than sheer hypocrisy by the Latin Americans. The Latin American people do need progressive economic and social reforms. They will never achieve them under the military dictators supported and kept in power by the U.S. government.

Readers'

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

It was a magnificent experience to be part of the thousands demonstrating in Washington to end the Vietnam bloodbath. I only hope it gave the Administration something to think about.

What gave marchers something to think about, on the other hand, was the almost complete absence of Negroes in the March. Of course there were some—but in that mass of almost 40,000 you could hardly spot one. It felt strange to be in such a lily-white sea. Many marchers seemed to feel the same.

Yet virtually every Negro I know is deeply convinced that the war in Vietnam is totally wrong. We must come to grips with a statement I saw in your paper last issue from a CORE worker in California, that "Vietnam is in Mississippi, and that is what we must be concerned about."

**Student
Detroit**

* * *

The Negro workers in our shop do not talk much about Vietnam. They talk about Alabama and Mississippi. They figure that if we are supposed to be fighting for freedom, that's where the fight should be.

I don't know a single one that thinks we are in Vietnam to help the Vietnamese people. The only reason most of them think we are there is because China has an A-bomb, and the U.S. wants to knock China out of the running before they get a chance at us.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

* * *

The line-up of those who were heckling the anti-war demonstrators — Birchites; KKKers; Rockwell's Nazis — speaks volumes.

**Marcher
New York**

* * *

It is Thanksgiving Day as I write this and I wonder: Thanksgiving for what? We totter on the edge of oblivion. I can give thanks for the emerging nations, and for the Negro movement in this country — but the immense power and reactionary nature of the ruling minority in this country casts a pall over the world scene.

**Activist
Berkeley**

* * *

I am against the war in Vietnam and I'm against the draft but I am sick of the guys at Columbia University that formed the "Preserve the 2F status" movement. It is strictly an elitist movement.

If it was something that included the vast section of the population—the working class kids, the poor kids — I'd be

proud to be a member of it. But these guys don't seem to care about the kids that have no way out.

Some of these students think they are better than others because they are going to college and are "too important" to go to war and die. I, too, don't want to go to war to kill or be killed but I don't think the next guy should have to go either.

**Columbia Student
New York**

* * *

Most of the fellows I know well in our shop are World War II vets. They don't have to be told much about what war is about — most of them feel the only ones that benefit from any war are the capitalists. And just being workers, they know that what's good for the capitalists is bad for them.

When they came back from World War II they found the shops worse than when they had left. That's what they know about—their own grievances.

Nobody in his right mind wants to see our youth killed off—or anybody else's youth, either. I don't blame the kids for doing anything they can to keep from getting drafted. I can't believe that anybody would be in favor of war except those who have had no experience in it themselves, and who have no children who might have to go now.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

* * *

The daily press is really hilarious. Except it doesn't leave you laughing. During the Assembly of the Unrepresented in August in Washington they ripped the demonstrators apart because they were "young" and "bearded" and "passionate." During the recent SANE sponsored march, on the other hand, they tried to laugh at the fact that the crowd was "middle-aged" and "well-dressed." We can't win.

**Marcher
Chicago**

* * *

I think the reason the demonstrations are important to kids like me is because this is the only way we can vote. They don't give us a ballot until we're 21, and this is the only way we can let people know how we feel. That is what I mean by saying this is our means of voting.

**Youth
Detroit**

* * *

RACISM

I've noticed lately quite a few stories about vandalism in synagogues, here in Philadelphia, in Holyoke, Mass., and especially around London, England. It seems to me that there is a crazy upsurge of neo-Nazism and racism espe-

cially in Britain at this time. It is hard to believe considering what the British people went through during the war.

The new immigration law passed a few years ago shows that the ruling class goes along with the racism. And the Labor Party seems to go along with it almost as much as the Tories. Wilson is full of hot air on the race question, as well as on many others.

The immigration bill also shows the hollowness of the "Commonwealth" since racism prevailed over the Commonwealth concept when they excluded West Indians and Indians and yet continued to allow the whites from non-Commonwealth Ireland to immigrate into Britain.

I wonder if the hypocritical racism of the British politicians had any connection with their ever-more-apparent pusillanimity over Rhodesia?

**Concerned Student
Philadelphia**

* * *

RHODESIA

When I read that the Africans in Rhodesia were fighting Ian Smith's riot-tanks with sticks and stones I could not help but remember the pictures of the Hungarian Revolution, when the students and workers had to use the very same kind of "weapons" against the Russian tanks.

Another tragic analogy is also obvious. The Hungarian people cried out in vain for help from the "democracy-loving" West. So did the Africans. No help came and the Hungarians were crushed. Need anyone say more?

**Technician
Philadelphia**

* * *

The white Rhodesians seem to have crushed the general strike of the black African workers—for the time being. But when I read that police reserves are remaining in all the black townships, and that helicopters continue to fly overhead on constant alert for any new strike threats, I knew that the whites have certainly seen a little of the hand-writing on the wall, anyhow.

The African economy rests on cheap black labor, and a successful general strike could very well bring down Ian Smith — something the white over-lords there must know very well.

**Observer
Pittsburgh**

* * *

It was not only the black Africans, who constitute 94% of the population, who opposed Smith's reactionary regime in Rhodesia. Before UDI was declared a number of liberal whites had also expressed their opposition to apartheid. (One white lawyer, Leo Baron, who had defended Africans in court for many years was arrested eight minutes after UDI was declared, and thrown into solitary confinement.) Yet after UDI was declared, and Britain did not move to stop Smith, most of these whites remained silent.

The whole affair reminds me of the relationship between our own South and the U.S. Federal Government. There are whites in the South who would "stand up and be counted," if only the Government could be counted on to protect them. But time after time the failure of the Federal Government to show that it was willing to enforce law and order, left the field to the white racists. It

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Views

has only been after the resultant bloody violence against Negroes and civil rights workers produced mass demonstrations of protest that troops have ever been sent.

**CORE Activist
Detroit**

In your note to Mr. McShane's editorial on Rhodesia last issue you suggested as one alternative that our country should intervene with force in Rhodesia . . . Would not the use of force and violence in Rhodesia be just as wrong as it is in Vietnam? Can we justify the forcing of our will on a foreign nation because those there whom we are opposed to are also doing it, whether they be the Vietcong or the Rhodesian racists?

Your statement seems to be a gross contradiction. It is impossible for you to say at this time that the economic sanctions are not sufficient. If Britain or the UN cannot stop them by a peaceful settlement, then let the Rhodesians make a go of it. It will not be long before the Negroes organize a Freedom Movement and bring about change through crisis with a minimum loss of life.

**Student
Wisconsin**

Editor's Note: "Force" and "violence" are not synonymous. The plea of the African nations that Britain, the U.S. and the UN use force to put down Smith's seizure of Rhodesia was made in order to stop the violence that the white racists have carried on there for all too long, and to prevent the bloodshed that is bound to increase now that UDI has been declared. The demand was for Britain to fulfill her commitments to the Africans (whose plight is directly her making), just as was the demand of the civil rights movement in this country for the Federal Gov't to send troops to protect Negroes in the South from the white racist violence there. (See *Our Life and Times*, page 1, for more on this question.)

The U.S. has made some pious statements against Rhodesia, and stopped some almost non-existent trade with Rhodesia — but it continues to trade heavily with South Africa, the real apartheid "giant" in Africa. In fact, I believe that without the backing of South Africa, white Rhodesia would fall very quickly. Auto workers might be interested to know that every automotive firm in America — GM, Ford, Chrysler, Firestone and Goodyear — have heavy investments in "apartheid."

**Disgusted
Boston**

All the guys in our shop were of the same opinion—if the blacks in Africa had done what Smith did, there would have been no question at all whether "force" should have been used. The white workers felt the same way as the Negro workers. But nobody was surprised at what had happened. The whites have gotten away with it in South Africa all these years, so there was little doubt they could get away with it in Rhodesia, too.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

INDONESIA

I find the events in Indonesia which *News and Letters* has analyzed most disturbing, because all sides, the Army, the Indonesian Communist Party and Sukarno, seem to have one thing in common — contempt for the masses.

Sukarno has not taken the masses in to build his country. He does not appear to have any confidence in their judgment. Instead he relies on slogans and anti-imperialist statements to substitute for the creative building of a country by the masses themselves.

The Indonesian Communist party displays this same lack of confidence in the masses. They had one of the largest Communist Parties in the world and yet with literally millions on whom to base a real transformation of society, the party chose instead to support, if not outright plan, a coup d'etat that would exchange one set of leaders for another, and nothing more.

The Army, in the wake of the abortive coup, is now slashing out at all opposition — communist and non-communist, all who oppose their rule.

Meanwhile the conditions of life for the population as a whole changes little and will not be transformed until they take matters into their own hands.

**Student
Los Angeles**

NEGRO REVOLT

I never thought I'd ever agree with a racist, but when the KKK lawyer whose clients were finally found guilty in Alabama said that the only reason they were convicted was because of Martin Luther King, he was 100% correct, so far as I'm concerned. He said the white people down there knew the colored people would never quit their marching until some whites were finally found guilty. Amen.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

Voting is a big item now. When the pressure of the Negro movement forced the government to act on voting procedures, it promised to change the whole political structure. And it isn't just that the vote will enable the Negro to benefit from it, but that many whites will benefit from it too.

The Negro Revolution is not a question of freeing a minority. The way this society is constructed, we need to take the yoke off a whole lot of things, and the Negro Revolution is going to make life better for everyone. A lot of whites will benefit from what is in the hopper now. It is just a matter of getting things into full bloom where everybody will be able to see that.

**Auto Worker
Ohio**

The aim of the Negro is to get in the mainstream—to get into a power structure, or a movement, or a government where he can help to fashion laws that will be for the betterment of his community. There is a great injustice being done to people throughout the world, with which he sympathizes, but firstly, he wants to resolve his problems at home.

**Civil Rights Activist
Detroit**

If more changes do not come soon in the jury-trials in the South there will most certainly be mass marches shaking this lan' again.

Most of the people I know seem to believe that the capitalist system would just fall apart if our judiciary system failed. They feel that it is just about the only sane thing left in our world. But when they saw how it works in the South, they began to doubt just how good it was, after all.

Personally, I don't think it is the "jury system" we can have confidence in — it is the mass pressure from the people. That seems to be the only thing that has brought about what little "justice" this world has ever seen.

**Auto Worker
Detroit**

STUDENT & WORKER

Some of my student friends find N&L a bewildering thing. They want to talk to me about the workers' articles. One economics student told me that he had read many labor statistics but never knew or could understand the reason for wildcat strikes and lost man-hours—but that he finally understood it after he read one of the issues of N&L.

What worries me is that the student revolt might become a movement in a vacuum. It will be a castrated movement if the students are divided from the workers. I think that is the reason that some students go to the Progressive Labor Party, because there is such a division between them and the workers.

I remember talking with some Puerto Ricans who had attended an Epton rally during the election campaigns. They told me they stood around and watched and listened but all Epton talked about was Vietnam, and then some Spanish guy got up and spoke about the Dominican Republic. But, they said, no one talked about the neighborhood. If they were running there, they didn't understand why they didn't talk about what had to be done right at home.

**Student
New York**

When my co-organizer in our tenant council came up to visit, the first thing he saw was the Spanish word for "strike" in the October issue of N&L I had, and he was very interested. He also read the articles on the California grape strike in the November issue and was even more interested for he is Puerto Rican and did not realize that there are so many Mexican people living in California. He said "I see Spanish-speaking people have a tough time throughout this country."

**Student
New York**

SAFETY?

United States Steel's Homestead Works won the 1965 Safety Award. They won it because they have a plant guard to take care of all the so-called minor accidents. He shuttles the men back and forth between home and work to eliminate lost-time accidents.

In less than 45 days after we won the award they had three lost-time accidents that they couldn't do anything about.

**Steelworker
Pittsburgh**

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Why Philosophy? Why Now?

Twenty years after the end of World War II—a full generation has grown up!—and yet look at our "new," nonfascist world: 20 years after the British Empire began its dissolution with India winning its independence; 16 years after Tito broke from Stalin, and Mao won power in China; over a decade since the end of the Korean War and true deStalinization was begun by the East German workers, who first put an end to the myth of invincibility of Russian totalitarianism—a new stage of freedom which was climaxed in that orbit by the 1956 Hungarian Revolution; some 8 years since a whole new world was opened by the African Revolutions that so enveloped whole continents that even in the mightiest imperialist empire—the United States—Cuba tore away free, not to mention the Negro Revolutions right within this country; all these world-shaking events, and yet, and yet, capitalism is still so firmly in the saddle that it can exude a new form of reaction.

In Europe there is DeGaulism; in the United States, Birchism; the Sino-Soviet conflict signifies, not a break FROM state-capitalism but WITHIN it, for the domination over the new third world of newly independent countries aspiring to establish themselves on new foundations. During the same period, the Cuban Revolution was so diverted from its humanist channels that Cuba is now hardly more than a satellite of Russia.

Must we then in the United States nevertheless fall victim to the gravitational pull of pseudo-revolutionism—Maoism, Trotskyism, Fidelismo, "pure" CPism? This, indeed, is the only alternative WHEN one looks for escape, instead of true liberation, which can only be achieved where there is a unity of the movement of liberation and the philosophy of liberation.

PHILOSOPHY BECOMES THE IMPERATIVE

Just as it was no accident that in liberated France after World War II Hegelian dialectics and Marx's humanism became the urgent questions of the day, so in our day the answer to: What Now? rests in the rediscovery of Marxist-Humanism. It is not necessary, in order to expose the void, to return to the death of Lenin and the disarray in the Marxist movement. The need for a philosophy is felt by others than Marxists. While it is true that the question was one of life and death for the Hungarian Freedom Fighters who spoke in Marxist terms, it was raised as poignantly by the African revolutionaries who spoke, instead, of "Negritude," independent African socialism. Humanism has now become the imperative for the Negro Revolution, for the young intellectual, white and Negro, who sees that "the power structure" will not let it be, and yet considers it sufficient to meet each situation as it arises without having any "preconceived notions."

In order to grasp the need for an underlying Marxist-Humanist philosophy, however, what is necessary is to see philosophy not only "in general," but most concretely and profoundly as the link in the forward movement of humanity. Even for seeing the fork in the road ahead, it is necessary, first of all, to clear away the intellectual debris, the "undogmatic," no less than the "dogmatic."

A piecemeal policy is incapable of disclosing the historic link, the continuity in the struggle for freedom, much less anticipate the future course of revolution as it overcomes the counter-revolution that has always appeared at critical moments just when victory seemed in sight. Lessons of history cannot be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders while one continues to live only for the moment. Unfinished revolutions have ever been the source for the new breath the old class society draws to keep on existing.

Sometimes it even appears as "new"—as the democratic Weimar Republic did when compared to the Kaiser regime that preceded it. Yet July (Kornilov's attempted counter-revolution) was not just a date on the calendar, nor only a Russian phenomenon that intervened between February (overthrow of Tsar) and October (workers' state). February would never have "gone on" to October without the Bolsheviks. As in Germany in 1919, the Russian Revolution would have been beheaded by the counter-revolution just beneath the surface that rose to the surface on all sides to challenge the workers' power that had been achieved.

History is full of examples of "dead" societies that live on, only to exude a new reaction. Between the defeated 1923 German Revolution and triumphant Nazism a whole decade passed, but the seeds of counter-revolution were present in the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and in the first Nazi beer-hall putsch, which failed in the early 1920's but was also not transformed into any new October. Theory is needed not only to discern the counter-revolution, but to overcome it. History may repeat itself, but a missed revolutionary moment perishes into the old decadent society.

MARXISM AND OUR OWN PERIOD

When Hegel complained that philosophy had not responded to the challenge of the French Revolution, he didn't mean that it would have done so if thought "corresponded" to reality. He meant thought too would have to transform reality. It is this, just this, principle of dialectic which Marx drove beyond the limits of philosophy when he wrote: "Philosophers have interpreted the world. The point is to change it." Far from this meaning only material change, it meant change also in consciousness, in thought, in the minds of the "educators" as well as those "to be educated." From the moment when Marx first stated that in 1845, to the last breath of life he drew in 1883, it would be hard to find a division between his theory and his practice, a let up in either the development of theory or in participation of revolutionary class struggles, national and international. His theory lives after him because it not only reflected the period in which he lived, but our own period.

By introducing the wage laborer into economics, Marx transformed it from a science of things dealing with profits and wages,

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

Strike Brings Movement, Student, Worker, Together

By EUGENE WALKER

Under the impact of the Civil Rights movement, new relationships are being drawn between student youth and workers. In the grape strike in California, involving Mexican-American, Filipino and Negro workers, dozens of university students have actively participated.

In the strike area they are aiding the workers by manning picket lines, distributing leaflets and trying to convince strike breakers to leave the fields. On the university campuses they are setting up tables to collect food and money for the strikers who have no union strike fund.

Students who have been to the strike area speak to meetings on the campus about the condition of the farm laborer's existence and his strike. The students often bring striking workers to the campus to speak about the strike.

ALSO IN SOUTH

In Mississippi students and workers are again joining to aid in the formation of the Mississippi Freedom Union. (See News and Letters Oct. 1965 issue.)

Sharecroppers in Mississippi have begun to organize a union. The students see the formation of this union as part of the Civil Rights revolution.

In both the grape strike and the Mississippi Freedom Union, the involvement of student youth can be viewed as an extension of the relation between youth and the Civil Rights movement to a relationship of students and the labor movement. That is, they are joining with minority groups in seeking recognition of a union in both actions.

The focal point is the unrepresented, the unorganized. The students view this is a part of the civil rights movement—the right for a voice in society. I think that the labor movement is, or at

Long Shoremen and Students Aid Strike

Los Angeles, Cal.—There was a rally at L. A. State College where Delores Huerto, Vice President of the National Farm Workers Association, Delano, Calif., spoke on the grape pickers strike. (See p. 3 for other strike news.)

She said that besides the workers picketing in the fields, which has drawn an estimated 5,000 from the fields, they have begun picketing ships on which grapes were being sent out of the San Francisco harbor. The longshoremen have recognized the strike and refused to handle grapes from the strike area.

PICKETS SPREAD TO OTHER AREAS

Now the growers are using the Los Angeles harbor for shipping grapes. The workers from Delano have come here to picket at the docks in San Pedro and Long Beach. They will also be picketing the markets in Los Angeles which handle the grapes from the strike area.

Miss Huerta said that while only the strikers may picket the docks, any one may picket the markets, where they will hand out leaflets telling people why there is a strike.

She appealed for the students to aid in picketing the markets. Many students have aided in the strike by going to the fields where the strike is occurring and helping picket. And if markets are picketed many students will join in there, too.

—Student, Los Angeles State College

Classroom Experiment In Freedom Brings Rewards

Detroit, Mich. — Freedom and realism are the two things I believe should be key words in any classroom. Formality, impersonality, and Puritanical snobbery will get a teacher nowhere in a school in a lower-socio-economic area. They are unnecessary.

A month after school started, an 11th grader who was not one of my own students, but whom I had befriended, gave me a neatly bundled group of papers. Within, I found some of the most sensitive poetry and short-story writing that I ever seen from a student. The grammar was bad, and at first he was ashamed to hand them to me; but I finally convinced him that it was not the grammar that was important, it was his ideas.

POEMS OF LIFE

In the month previous to this incident we had had many long conversations about his feelings, his ideas, and his thoughts about the slums and his family and the school and the world in which he lived. Now he responded with short stories about poor little children dressed in rags whose mother walked around in a leather coat; he gave me poems about pimps and prostitutes which utilized rhythm and metaphors and imagery which no English teacher had taught him (he was often flunked by those teachers); he gave me humorous sketches about drag racing and TCB (takin' care of biz), etc.

I decided to try an experiment. I had the young student read his work before my 12A class and told the students that I would

take as long as they wanted to discuss his work, on the condition that they would react with some sort of creative work of their own. The reaction was tremendous. Not only did the students at first respond with disbelief, saying, "You mean we can say anything we want?" but after I assured them that it was all right, the creative flow from them was and still is forthcoming.

LEARNING A JOY

There is absolutely no reason why a friendly and warm atmosphere cannot be created; why the teacher must be aloof; why there shouldn't be a comradely feeling of people working together having fun at it. Why shouldn't learning be a joy?

Challenging one's mind and sensing one's own growth is beautiful and thrilling. The students should feel this. But they can only feel it as long as the teacher feels challenged and as long as she feels the students are helping her grow in understanding and sensitivity. When she loses this feeling, she should quit, for she will destroy much more than she will create.

White Students Picket Bigots

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — The Board of Education has been busing Negro children from Germantown over to the Burney School in Logan. There was supposedly some trouble between the two groups of kids recently.

Shortly afterwards, the Neighborhood School Association (N.S.A.—patterned on the order of P.A.T. in New York) picketed outside the Burney School against the busing. Most of the pickets didn't even live in that neighborhood. The N.S.A. is notorious for smelling out trouble and running after it in any section of the city it can find it.

The surprise was that a group of young people, most of them in their late teens and early 20's, who were from the neighborhood and had gone to Burney School themselves, came out and picketed against the N.S.A. One sign said "Let's Have Equality."

Some of these kids were interviewed on TV. One girl said, "I think people aren't being fair to the Negroes." Maybe it doesn't seem like much to get excited about, but I was so amazed and happy to hear this reaction I just had to write to you about it.

Student Philadelphia

March Combines Features of Bunk and Seriousness

By MIKE WALTERS

The events in Washington, D.C. over the Thanksgiving weekend were a mixture of bunk and seriousness.

The bunk was the hysterical kook-baiting by SANE officials. This dangerous style of attempting to display respectability is worse than red-baiting. It is an attack not only on those that possess what others might consider radical ideas, but goes beyond the political realm and extends into all levels of the personal.

To agree to a definition of respectability that derives from one's dress, language, work, and even age, is to submit one's self-activity to the values of the power-elite.

The right of be "kooky" is precisely what the student movement in the U.S. is all about. An entire generation grew up with the realization that it was the respectable, clean-cut, coat-and-tie clique that constructed the corporate state attitude which led to Eichmann's "banality of evil."

THE SERIOUSNESS

However, a sense of seriousness pervaded the March. It seems that the general frustration of not really being taken seriously by the Establishment adds to one's mood of seriousness. When a supposed liberal such as Hubert Humphrey can remark over and over that the right to dissent doesn't mean the right to be taken seriously, then one realizes the actual bankruptcy of this nation, both intellectually and morally.

CARNIVAL AND REVOLUTION

The atmosphere in Washington was also that of both a carnival

and a revolution. This is primarily a description of the End of the War Convention. It was mostly a gathering of the student movement.

The convention could be depicted as an anti-convention. Here was a classical example of the old absorbing the new. The "Old Left" forces dominated the procedure levels of the convention and allowed the New Left to fight themselves weary by the dissention.

After the ultra-left, participatory-democracy forces and the religious radicals withdrew out of sheer exhaustion, the Old Left operated the machinery of the convention as they desired. It was the Progressive Party all over again.

THE NEW LEFT

The New Left, being self-activists instead of organization-men, dissolved in an incompetent Coney Island of the Left. But there is still hope if they will analyze properly the necessity of having an ideology, even if it is only what Raya Dunayevskaya has called the "self-activity of thinking," in which thought must be related to activity and its significance.

This was a new kind of carnival. It was a side-show that had revolutionary sentiments in the anger and bluntness with which the major attitudes in America were confronted. There was a demand for real alternatives, not only political but personal as well.

The New Left is always on the verge of a break-through, but it always gets suspended by its own momentum. One goes away with the feeling: Well, maybe next time . . .

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Washington and Berkeley Demonstration Reports

From Washington

Washington, D. C.—A convention that had been planned last August, when the Assembly of Unrepresented People met in Washington, took place here during Thanksgiving week. The idea behind it was to discuss how well the National Coordinating Committee, set up in August by the 2,000 people who had met in the workshops, had worked out.

... I arrived on Nov. 25, just in time to attend a meeting at the Lincoln Temple.

The only word to describe that meeting is chaos. At one point there were three people on the floor at the same time. One had captured the microphone, and the other two were simply screaming as loud as they could.

Friday morning, when the workshop resumed (four from the night before, and eight new ones), the tone seemed slightly changed. This may have been because of some constructive pressure by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which had sent about 150 people to the Convention. The Negro representatives had sat in amazement while the factions fought their furious battles. From a workshop on the "Freedom Movement and the Peace Movement" came a plan for a Southern peace convention among the civil rights groups.

Most people went to the Saturday march from the Convention feeling that very little had been accomplished, but Saturday night saw a real change in the people, and on Sunday morning at the final session we saw the real fruits of the conference. A motion on structure had finally been passed, and it seemed acceptable to almost all. In short, it said that the name should be "The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam"; that it was to be a federation of groups opposed to the Vietnam War; that local groups shall maintain autonomy for local action; that there shall be a Standing Committee made up of one delegate from each of the participating groups; and that there is one vote for every 50 members of a participating independent or local chapter of a national group, and one vote for every national organization.

From New York

New York, N. Y. — The March on Washington of Nov. 27 was one of the largest antiwar demonstrations ever held in this country. About 35,000 people came from all over the United States, and there was even a group from French Canada. But I saw very few Negroes and almost no Puerto Ricans from New York. The March seemed to be composed mostly of students or middle-class or intellectual people.

The counter-demonstration on the other side of the street never numbered more than 100 persons, and was of an extremely Fascistic nature.

The rally behind the Washington Monument was held at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until about five. Most of the speeches were very lackluster. Carl Oglesby's speech, however, was directed at the state of the movement, in which he sharply criticized the movement's increasing isolation and called for its involvement in domestic as well as international struggles.

This issue, to me, was the biggest issue in the March. It became an issue because rank-and-file bus drivers in N.Y. City,

working for Greyhound and Trailways, opposed both the management and the union leadership and refused to drive the peace marchers to Washington. (According to another version, Mike Quill, the union leader, may have been responsible for this.)

COMMUNICATION PROBLEM

It never would have been possible for bus drivers to refuse to drive the marchers to Washington for the Civil Rights March. In fact the working class has always been cooperative, except in rare cases, during the Freedom movement. But the Vietnam movement is a place where we can get easily isolated. That was the view of a minority of the people.

Such organizations as May 2nd issued statements saying that the bus drivers showed they were controlled by a "capitalist master." This was obviously not true because the bus companies merely wanted to make money and urged the drivers to drive.

NEED WORKER CONTACT

I feel that the only way that this situation can be remedied is by actively involving ourselves in the struggles of the rank-and-file movements in unions in America today, in the organization of unorganized workers, and in the fight for freedom now by American Negroes and Puerto Ricans. I think that this is the only way we can end the estrangement and this isolation, which is so disastrous as can be seen by what happened with the bus drivers in the March on Washington.

Marcher, N.Y.

From Oakland

Oakland, Cal.—When we finally made it into Oakland, it felt as though we were entering Mississippi or some other foreign country.

The Berkeley police, one felt, were really there to clear our way and prevent violent heckling. There was none.

But the Oakland police had the stance and anger on their faces of police in Los Angeles and of the South when greeting civil rights demonstrators.

In Oakland, and at the park where the rally was held, the counter demonstrators felt freer to crawl out. Many had swastikas.

One sign for the war in Vietnam was particularly repulsive. It was done in red, white and blue stars — but the blue stars were in the shape of a swastika, the red and white stripes were vertical, and the slogan read "continue the war." I saw about six of these along the route in Oakland.

Though the counter demonstrators claimed to have had 1,000 or more at the park, I counted no more than about 50.

The march somehow did not have the life and spirit of a civil rights march. This being the first time I have been in a peace march of any size, the comparison was very evident to me.

Perhaps the difference between the civil rights movement and the peace movement is that when one marches for civil rights, one is very conscious that the Negro masses, whether they are marching that day or not, will overcome someday; that there is a mass base to the movement which will not for long be diverted nor will it stop until it wins.

But in the peace movement, there seems to be no such assurance.

OPPOSITION IS SAME

However the opposition to both movements is the same. The people who wear swastikas show up against both the civil rights movement and against the peace movement. And in both cases they "get equal time" on TV, radio and newspapers—no matter how small they are in numbers compared to the larger numbers they oppose. It always looks on TV as though they have "equal" strength as well as "equal" time. One has to be a participant to know differently.

—Freedom Rider

From Berkeley

Berkeley, Cal.—Thousands demonstrated against the war in Vietnam on Nov. 20, when, after an extended hassle with the Oakland authorities, the Vietnam Day Committee obtained a ruling from a Federal Court in San Francisco, allowing the march to proceed, but with several restrictions.

The march had to arrive in Oakland by 11 a.m. which meant it had to leave the Berkeley campus by 10 a.m. It could not go to the army terminal because to do so it would have to go through an underpass which would mean that "traffic would be disrupted to an unreasonable degree." Thus the march could go to a park in the Negro section of Oakland, but it had to disperse by 5 p.m., i.e. before dark. The marchers had to be grouped in sections of 1,000, with a minimum gap of 60 feet between sections.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

Once the ruling came through, only two days before the march was to take place, Oakland declared itself in a state of emergency and claimed to have asked the state for National Guardsmen as its own police force was inadequate to handle the situation. Gov. Brown denied that such a request had been made. There were no Guardsmen at the march.

It was interesting that the California Highway Patrol rode with the march while it was in Berkeley, but did not accompany the marchers into Oakland. This reinforces my opinion that Oakland would have welcomed some violence in connection with the march.

THOUSANDS MARCH

On Saturday, the march took off as scheduled, got into Oakland on time, and got to the park without incident. There were

eight and a half sections, and though the police underestimated the throng at only 8,000, the marchers estimated it at closer to 15,000. That is closer to the truth; it was certainly a healthy number.

A majority of the marchers were people out of the community—that is, non-students. We didn't pick up too many people on the course of march, though there were many who cheered us or otherwise showed their agreement. What with the resistance from Oakland and the incidents with the Hell's Angels during the Oct. 16 march, I believe many people marched just to spite Oakland. At the park, there were several teams of 10 cops walking around in formation throughout the rally. It is easy to hate them.

The speeches at the rally concentrated on the situation as it exists now and the illegitimate role being played by this country, and demanded the withdrawal of our troops. At previous marches and teach-ins there has been

some good historical analysis of the Vietnam situation, but throughout the VDC activity I have felt the lack of a broad analysis of the foreign policy of this country.

SEARCHING ANALYSIS NEEDED

Seldom is the Dominican situation related to the Vietnam situation. Yet a thorough analysis would, I think, have to conclude that the present foreign policy of this country almost assures the sending of troops to South America, Asia, and probably Africa within the next decade, if it is allowed to continue. A searching analysis of why we played the role we did in Korea, the Congo, Dominica, and Vietnam is needed.

Otherwise the only political position put forward is that of being against the present policy. Not only is there no positive position put forth, there is no broad analysis which would make it obvious that the U.S. should get out.

TWO WORLDS

Why Philosophy? Why Now?

(Continued from Page 5)

to one of production relations, concerned with laborers and capitalists at the point of production. By introducing Man into Hegelian dialectics, which had concerned itself with development of consciousness and self-consciousness, Marx put an end to the dehumanization of philosophy. By making the masses the subject of history, he did away with the utopianism of socialism, the bringing in of an "ism" by utopian planners from the outside, instead of seeing the masses themselves reshaping history from the material foundations to its ideas. Only the whole is the truth.

For the Humanism of Marxism, man as creativity became the point of departure and the point of return, the transformed reality and the insight into the future. As Marx reshaped Capital under the impact of the American Civil War and the struggle for the shortening of the working day, theory itself was transformed from an intellectual debate to a reflection not only of the class struggles, but of the pull of the future.

RELATIONSHIP OF THOUGHT AND FREEDOM

The relationship of thought to freedom hit Lenin with such extraordinary force when the Second International proved impotent in the face of the challenge of World War I that this greatest of all realists wrote excitedly, idealistically, approvingly, this paraphrase of the mystic Hegel: "Cognition not only reflects the world, but creates it." And indeed this became not just an ideal, but the actual preparation for the Russian Revolution. Without such an underlying philosophy, Lenin could not have written "State and Revolution" and made this both the preparation for revolution and the foundation for what happens afterwards to assure the needed breakdown of the division between mental and manual labor, if ever a truly new society was to be created.

The historic continuity was lost with Trotskyism. Having failed to become a polarizing force for any new Marxist regroupment, however, there was no necessity in the 1950's to destroy all its pretensions to historic continuity. With the Sino-Soviet conflict out in the open in the 1960's, however, Maoism is exercising a gravitational pull on the left, and Trotskyism, which is tailending it, is just the non-Stalinist whitewash needed to make Mao's "uninterrupted revolution" and Trotsky's "permanent revolution" the way to "revolutionary seizure of power" as if our whole state capitalist age wasn't proof that willingness to take power and class collaborationism are no longer opposites.

Moreover, for the purposes of the civil rights movement in the U.S., the revolutionary sound is heard above the underlying class collaborationism and therefore can act as a polarizing force for the intellectual left which thinks it can live very well without a total philosophy. The theoretic destruction of Trotskyism has become a necessity because in our life and times there is a danger that the whole forward movement of humanity will once again be stopped in midpoint.

The further digging into philosophic roots, the reformulation of this philosophy of freedom for our epoch in ever new forms must be done by us. Neither Marx nor Lenin could have, in the concrete, seen the problems of our age. This is our task. Therein lies the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanism. Just as it is no accident that six weeks before the East German workers tore down the myth of Communist totalitarian invincibility, we concretized "the Absolute Idea" for our age by showing that the movement is not only from theory to practice, but from practice to theory, and this decided the structure of Marxism and Freedom, so the concretization of "the second negativity," that is to say, not only the overthrow of the old but the creation and continuity of the new, will determine the structure of a new book.

No one else has even posed the working out of a new relationship of theory to practice demanded by our age. The reestablishment of the Humanist and Abolitionist roots of Marxism, which were the goals of Marxism and Freedom—and which were concretized on the American scene by American Civilization on Trial, and on the world scene by the chapter on Mao in the new edition of Marxism and Freedom—must be extended so that both organizationally and philosophically the spontaneous movements on a world scale can rediscover the missing link, the historic continuity with the freedom struggles and once and for all have freedom be, individually, socially, totally.

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Demonstrations Oppose War As LBJ Plans New Escalation

(Continued from Page 1)
erate attempts to bring that about."

When confronted with the startling revelations of the "peace feelers" they had clearly rejected, the State Department was reduced to stating that they had been dismissed as lacking serious intent. But it was clear that they had been dismissed because the "unconditional discussions" to end the conflict that the Administration has claimed it will accept are not unconditional at all.

In contrast to the "controlled information" policy of the Administration which attempts to feed to the American public only as much information as it deems to be in the "national interest," the anti-war movement has forced the debate on Administration foreign policies to a point that has never before been seen in this country. It was the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley one year ago that ended the sterility that McCarthyism had imposed on the intellectual world for over a decade, and transformed the colleges throughout the country into campuses seething with life and debate. It was the FSM that spawned the teachers born at the University of Michigan the next Spring—just as it was the Civil Rights Movement that had spawned the FMS.

Moreover, the debate is now not being confined to a challenge of Johnson's dirty war in Vietnam, but is beginning to examine the anti-war movement itself, and question its direction. Thus, several marchers, from both Berkeley and Washington, came back from the Thanksgiving demonstrations with many questions. (See reports by the marchers, Page 7.)

MOVEMENT EXAMINES ITSELF

Some had become aware of the absence of the Negro movement in their ranks to any meaningful degree; others were questioning an apparently similar isolation from the workers. Some scored the battle between the "Old Left" and the "New Left," and most important of all, some raised the question of whether it is sufficient to be only against, without knowing what it is you are for.

It is American imperialism that has dictated the policies in Vietnam as well as in Dominica. And it is American imperialism that the American anti-war movement is rightly most concerned with. But being for the self-determination of the Vietnamese people does not mean being for Hanoi, much less being for Mao Tse-tung, who certainly has his own designs on the whole Asian world.

VIETNAMESE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The history of Vietnam will show that the entire Vietnamese people have been fighting a continuous battle for freedom—first from their French oppressors, then from their own oppressors. After they defeated the French, the Geneva Agreement of 1954 split their country in two but provided for elections and the reunification of the country in 1956. It was South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem, backed by the United States, who refused to allow the elections. That hated tyrant was finally toppled two years ago, only to be followed by a succession of other military dictators, all propped up by the U.S. against the wishes of the Vietnamese.

As for North Vietnam, the people knew the nature of their Communist rulers there long before the American "advisers" even knew where Vietnam was on the map. Thus, when Ho Chi-minh was carrying on his "Hundred Flowers Campaign" in 1956, the students in North Vietnam had

their own oppositional publication, *Dat Moi* (New Land), and the central oppositional paper was called *Nhan Van* (The Humanist). There was at that time both a peasant uprising and workers' unrest, as well as the intellectual revolt, against the Communist rulers in North Vietnam.

OPPOSITION STIFLED

Just as Mao Tse-tung concluded his experiment with the "Hundred Flowers Campaign" (encouraging free expression) a short six weeks after it began, when the outpouring of grievances by the Chinese workers and intellectuals was ended with a gigantic rectification campaign—and a few executions; so Ho Chi-minh also knew how to suppress his opposition. Stifling opposition is common to all rulers.

In our country, the first signs that the anti-war movement was gaining momentum nearly produced a revival of McCarthyism, as draft-card burning was made a federal offense with stiff penalties, and student demonstrators at the University of Michigan were transferred to IA status and threatened with immediate induction into the army.

The old familiar "Communist smear campaign," was launched against all dissenters, regardless of how broad the opposition to the war has by now become. Letters sent to the White House, opposing the war—and even letters that merely appeal to the President to encourage debate (such as one recently signed by 12 professors at NYU)—have been referred for investigation to the internal security division, that department that deals with "subversive activities."

MORE ESCALATION TO COME

The day after the demonstration, Secretary of War McNamara had already informed the world that the troop commitment to Vietnam would be increased from the current 160,000 to 200,000 and perhaps 300,000 in the near future. That is precisely the number employed in the Korean War.

The Administration has come a long way since the election campaign of one short year ago, when Johnson declared that he would not commit American troops to Vietnam. It was during that very election campaign that the "peace feelers" from Hanoi had come, but were not considered expedient to reveal.

The unprecedented vote by which the American people defeated Goldwater was a clear sign of the deep anti-war feelings of the American people. But they have found Johnson now carrying out the very Goldwater policies they so decisively rejected only last November.

It is becoming clear that the only fundamental struggle against was is actually the struggle for a new society, opposed to capitalism—of both the private variety as in the U.S., and the state variety as in Russia and China—which creates war.

At the Washington demonstration the greatest response was that given to SDS President, Carl Oglesby who said, "There is something wrong with a government which can send 100,000 troops to Vietnam, but won't send 100 voting registrars into Mississippi."

In the examination of its own direction, the anti-war movement must find that its goal is intimately joined with the Negro struggles and the working-class struggles in this country. It is with these masses that the anti-war demonstrations must find their link, if the U.S. is to be prevented from escalating the war in Vietnam into a new world war from which there will be no return.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

African Opposition Deepens Rhodesian Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

that the united nations of Africa could muster enough military equipment without the help of the industrial powers of either the Western or the Eastern blocs, it is a situation that draws them into a unity closer than they have been on any issue.

White Rhodesia can draw upon its own military force, one of the strongest in Africa, plus the military and industrial help of segregationist South Africa and Portugal. They represent a combined force of 375,000 troops that the free black African nations would be hard pressed to match. Yet the determination of 250 million Africans will not be stopped.

Those who argue against the use of force by Wilson seem to forget that force has already been used by the Smith regime. White troops are used to fire upon African demonstrators, white troops were used in pre-dawn raids to head the struggle for African freedom, white troops have for years been used to enforce segregationist laws against the African majority. Saboteurs from Smith's camp have blown up the main power line from Rhodesia to the copper mines of Zambia. The proper use of force by Britain now can prevent greater bloodshed at a later date.

The American public is under the impression that its government has gone "all out" on this question of sanctions. Nothing could be further from the truth. True, they recalled

their Consul General, ended their sugar quota of one ship load, suspended credits and loans and discouraged tourism. THAT'S ALL!

Meanwhile, \$11 million in purchases of asbestos and chrome ore and \$24 million in imports of agricultural machinery and road building equipment are unaffected by the farce. After all, American profits cannot be affected by vague political principles, can they?

Both imports and exports to Rhodesia could be handled under existing law, the "Export Control Act" and the "Trading with the Enemy Act." These acts are yet to be enforced, as are similar restrictions against South Africa and Portugal.

The use of "sanctions" by England and the United States against Rhodesia alone becomes quite meaningless so long as these countries still do business as usual with South Africa, who in turn will give Rhodesia everything it needs.

Capitalism, being what it is, dog eat dog, looks with favor on those enterprising enough to supply the needs of Rhodesia. While one capitalist country boycotts, the rest increase and triple their trade with the enemy.

Russia and China likewise are all for sanctions, but since they traded little with Rhodesia, Smith could not care less. So far, their sympathy for the Africans of that country has also remained just that, sympathy with no aid. The days ahead may force Africans to

make a choice based on the behavior of both East and West toward the African majority in Rhodesia. In that sense it may be the key to the future of Africa.

It has brought a new stage of unity among the African nations, nine of which threaten to quit the British Commonwealth unless their demands are met. This new unity could become the basis of a more permanent federation of nations against the counter-revolution in the south.

Up to now, the new nations of Africa have thought primarily of obtaining their independence and then starting the task of building their new nations. They have accepted material aid from both sides in the cold war. There have been grave differences between themselves over the extent and source of this aid and differences over the future of Africa.

The brazen act of the White Rhodesians has brought to all the realization that a counter-revolutionary force exists within Africa: the bloc of Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, which stand like a stone wall preventing the flow of African Freedom to the south.

The longer it stands, the more difficult it will be to dislodge. Yet, the mass of 250 million Africans will not be stopped by a small white wall. They will, with sticks and stones if necessary, overcome the counter-revolution and with it, the last vestiges of imperialism on the African continent.

DE GAULLE

Charles De Gaulle suffered a humiliating defeat in the Dec. 5 French Elections by polling only 43% of the popular vote. The candidate of the Socialists and Communists, Francois Mitterrand, polled 33% and came in second. They will face each other in a run off election in two weeks.

The egotistical De Gaulle, at age 75, ignored all opposition and demanded that the French people give him a better than 50% majority for another 7 years term in office. While he will probably win the run-off, his image of invincibility has been crushed and, we hope, so has he.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights has formally requested that Federal law enforcement officers be stationed at trouble spots throughout the South and be authorized to make on-the-spot arrests for violations of federal law.

J. Edgar Hoover has always resisted attempts to use the F.B.I. to enforce the law in the south. Civil rights workers have long complained of agents of the F.B.I. who stand by watching and taking notes while demonstrators are being beaten up. You recall that one of his agents rode in the car

with the murderer of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo.

If Hoover would assign a force of active agents to enforce law in the South at least equal in number to the agents he has watching the Communist Party, it might be safe to walk the streets of the South.

WEST GERMANY

The Bonn government has a Federal Office for the Defense of the Constitution, an institution similar to the F.B.I. here. Recently one Werner Paetsch revealed that it was full of old Gestapo and S.S. men. For this report, he was put on trial for violating official secrets regulations, found guilty and given a suspended sentence of four months.

The investigation revealed that his charges were true and two former Gestapo men, Heniz Felfe and Hans Clement, both chiefs of key counter-espionage branches of the F.I.A., were at the same time spying for Russia. They received 10 to 15 years at hard labor. Another dozen Gestapo men were quietly transferred out of the F.I.A.

HUNGARY

It is nine years since the workers and students of Hungary faced Soviet tanks and machine guns on the streets of Budapest. Thousands died and more thousands fled from

their homeland as the revolution was crushed. Yet, they did achieve many of the reforms they sought and it is now possible to talk with some of those who supported the revolt.

Men like George Lukacs, Peter Veres and Tibor Dery are free and willing to talk. Lukacs, a Marxist philosopher, is now 80 years old and says that in his opinion it will take Marxism 20 years to recover from the distortions of Stalinism.

Tibor Dery, one of the leaders of the Petoeffi Club which attacked the Stalinist terror, is now 71 and spent three years in prison. He states, "It was a revolution, not a counter-revolution as they like to say these days. It is also true that much of what we were fighting for then has been more or less achieved by now."

RED CHINA

For the 15th time Red China has been denied a seat in the U.N. The vote this year, 47 to 47 with 20 abstentions, makes it increasingly clear that the farce of having the government of Formosa recognized while the mainland regime representing 25% of the population of the world is unrecognized, is nearing an end.

The only way that U.S. policy won this year was by obtaining 20 abstentions which next year may turn the tide.

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