

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Early Retirees: Fact and Fiction

We were reading an article in The Detroit News, in which UAW President, Walter Reuther, was boasting that some 10,000 UAW members had retired in the past several months because of the early retirement plan that he had forced the auto companies to give the workers during the last contract negotiations. Because of this, he said, younger workers were getting jobs to replace the retirees.

What he failed to say was that workers are not rushing for early retirement because they really want to retire. They are doing it because Reuther gave the company the green light over production standards during those same contract negotiations. What little power union locals and workers' representatives had in the shop has also been given away. Before they can attempt to force the company to settle any grievances, the union first must get the OK from Walter Reuther's office.

WORKERS CAN'T KEEP PACE

As a result, the company has the production standards so high that it is all any worker can do to keep up the pace for a day. Older workers know that it is impossible for them to keep up the pace until they reach full retirement. They also know that if they cannot keep the pace they are subject to being fired, with no chance for them to get any other employment. Rather than be put out of a job with nothing coming in to support the family, the workers are asking for early retirement.

As for the younger workers who are coming to the shops to fill vacant jobs, many are leaving as fast as they come in. They find the production standards impossible for them to keep up with, either.

One young worker who is on a production line was complaining that he cannot leave to go to the toilet unless the foreman gets someone to replace him, and that he had recently been forced to stay on his job the entire shift without the foreman ever getting a replacement. He said he was sick when the whistle blew for quitting time. Asked why he didn't just leave the line, he said that a worker had been fired the week before for leaving it before he was replaced.

Many times the foreman will say he doesn't have any extra help. You can either leave the line and get fired, or stay and hope you can last until quitting time. Other workers have been fired for missing one small thing they were supposed to do as the line speeded by.

A few of the older workers have gotten off production, and every one of them says he thinks he will now be able to stay on the job until he is eligible for his full retirement.

MAN-KILLING PRODUCTION JOBS

I attended a funeral of a Ford worker the last day of 1965. I drove his sister-in-law home from the funeral and she said, "Do you know why he is dead? That job at Ford killed him. For nearly a year he has been complaining that his job was murdering him. He was so tired all the time he couldn't even visit his relatives or friends. He was going to put in for early retirement next week. Several weeks ago he had a heart attack and was off from work. The company sent him to Ford Hospital. They released him and told him to come back for a check-up before he returned to work. When he went back, the doctors told him he was in perfect condition, and the next day he was to return to work. He went home and two hours later had another attack and died an hour after they got him to the hospital."

She wiped away some tears and then went on, "There is a worker living with us who works for GM. He has a job at the Chevy plant and his job is killing him, too. He is so tired he spends most of his time in bed. We can hardly wake him up to get ready to go to work."

She wanted to know what had happened to the union, and whether the union thought that getting workers a few pennies more at the cost of their lives meant more to a family than the life of the head of that family.

LIVING IN PARADISE

How does the union think it will be possible for the young workers to live long enough to get a pension if the company can destroy them in their youth? These are the facts that Reuther and his staff never write about. All they keep saying is that the American production workers are very happy because of all the benefits the union has won for them. He tells workers all over the world that the production workers in the UAW are living in paradise under his leadership.

But here is what some of those production workers say: "Sure, all the benefits we get are OK, and our wages are OK, too. But we are human beings, not meant to be geared to and timed to the precision of a production line or a machine." "No human being wants to sell his life for money or some so-called benefits. Like the Bible says, what good is it if a man gains the world and loses his soul?" "It's like a record I heard—I got some of the things I need, but I lost everything I had before."

That last remark reminded me of what my friend said about her brother-in-law who had died. He had just bought a new car, had driven it a total of six times. His wife cannot even drive. He had been so happy because it was the first time in his life he had been able to afford a brand new car. But what good is it to him now?

ON THE INSIDE

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THE STATE OF THE WAR IS THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

By Peter Mallory

The President's State of the Union message this year is permeated, through and through, with the same hypocrisy as last year's message which had promised an increase in the "unconditional war on poverty" only to be followed instead, within a month, by the unconditional war on the people of Vietnam. In the year that has elapsed between the two messages the escalation of the war has been so unremitting that there is not a soul who does not know that this year's loud boast — "this nation is flourishing" — is ingrafted with the militarization of the economy; and that unemployment is so permanent a feature of automated industry that not even the war footing of the economy has fundamentally changed this Achilles heel of capitalism.



MOTHER AND CHILD — 1966

Thus, despite the fact that industrial production was up 250% over 1950, and the gross national product was up to \$715 billion compared with less than \$300 billion for 1950; and despite the fact that profits of the giant corporations had soared this year even above their previous all-time peak in 1964, while the rate of unemployment is supposed to be the "lowest since 1957," a depression year—it turns out this "lowest" figure comprises fully 4.2% of the labor force, which is slightly above the 4% that was considered so critical in 1946 that Congress rushed through a "Full Employment Act." Ever since then all the Administration has done is escalate what is supposed to be the danger point from 2% of the labor force to nearly 5% of the labor force.

By now, the figures on unemployment in the United States read like the highly criticized Soviet statistics. They don't tell you a thing. We are, for example, supposed to be down to 4.2% of "all those willing and able to work."

That figure does not reveal, however, that the unemployment rate for Negroes continues to be double that for whites. And if you take individual cities—like Rochester, N. Y., or Chicago—you find that unemployment went as high as 17% for Negroes this year. As for Negro youth, one teenager in every three was out of school and out of work this past year.

More important, the fact that overall unemployment has "dropped" to 4.2% is not only because of the increase in war production goods, but also because of the increase in the troop commitment in Vietnam. An unemployed youth drafted into the army is no longer considered "unemployed."

The Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Arthur Ross, recently reported that the total labor force is expected to grow by about 350,000 during 1966—but that at least 300,000 of that would be absorbed by increased manpower for the Vietnam War. He admitted that the war was "a significant factor" in the present unemployment situation.

THE MILITARIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

The truth is that the militarization of the economy has become a permanent feature of modern capitalism. There has been no period of peace since World War II, as perennial wars have continually broken out on one front or another.

The Defense Budget in this country has been devouring more and more of the National Budget every year. In 1965 military expenditures consumed no less than 59.9%—and that did not include related fields such as space exploration and the like. By con-

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Special Notice to Our Detroit Friends
Just Returned from an Extensive
Tour of Japan

Raya Dunayevskaya

internationally-known lecturer and
writer will give an analysis of

**The New Left
In Japan...**
and its relation to the
American Negro Revolution

Place: Downtown YMCA,
2020 Witherell

Date: Friday, February 11, 1966

Time: 8:00 p.m.

Donation: 50¢

Mrs. Rosa Parks Recalls Bus Boycott

'I Didn't Plan to Be Arrested that Day in Dec.'

Editor's Note — The historic Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted for 381 days. During that time the 17,000 Negroes who normally rode the buses twice daily not only began working and organizing their own transportation, but ushered in a new stage in the struggle for freedom—the Negro Revolution that began in the Deep South.

Following are excerpts from a talk by Mrs. Parks given to the Detroit Chapter of the Lowndes County Movement celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Boycott.

The bus boycott was touched off when I was arrested on Dec. 1, 1955, for refusing to move from my seat to allow a white man to sit down. A great deal has happened in the ten years since then. And considerable work had been done before then, too, but the protest movement had not been a popular cause.

VOTER REGISTRATION

As early as 1943 work had been started by the Montgomery, Alabama Voters League to get people registered. It was hard to get people to put in applications. Even if we succeeded in getting applications filled out, the registrars would take them and tell us we would hear from them by mail if we passed. Very few ever

heard, of course. Whites got their certificates right away.

If ever you did get registered, you had to pay the poll tax. At that time this was a fee of \$1.50, accumulative for every year since you were 21 until the age you finally got registered. My own tax came to \$18 when I finally got registered.

Most Negroes in Alabama earned very little, and would have been hard pressed to pay the poll tax, if even they had passed their applications. But hardship or not, almost every Negro who finally passed found some way to get the money and get his name on the books.

Every day we were surrounded by the fact that we were second-class citizens. But anyone who spoke out against it was considered out of his mind, or accused of acting against the best interest of the "community." Whites would accuse you of causing trouble when all you were doing was acting like a normal human being, instead of cringing.

You didn't have to wait for a lynching. You died a little bit each time you found yourself face to face with this kind of discrimination.

NOT A LITTLE THING

The question of where we had to sit on the bus wasn't a little thing. It was painful to get on a bus and have to pass by all those empty seats up front in order to go and stand in the rear. The most painful thing of all was to see little children get on the bus.

To them a seat was a seat, and when they saw an empty one they sat down. Their mothers would have to snatch them up and hurry them to the rear before there was trouble. It was painful to think of how they would be taught they had to stand in the back just because of their color.

In 1955 I was working as branch secretary of the NAACP and as a youth adviser. Working with young people, it became more evident than ever that it was these younger ones who were determined not to take it any longer. They refused to submit to the ways of life that were taken for granted by many of the older ones.

In March of 1955 a young girl of 15 was arrested for refusing to stand up when ordered by the bus driver. There was a lot of tension in the community.

NO SUDDEN THING

I certainly didn't plan to be arrested that day in December, but what happened was not a sudden thing. It was the result of the whole way of life down there. I had grown up in a community through which the KKK would ride, periodically. My grandfather kept his shotgun handy at all times to protect our home and our lives. I believe the chronic insomnia I developed later was because as a child whenever the KKK was riding, I could not sleep.

When I got on that bus in December of 1955 I had just left my job. I got the last vacant seat in the colored section—and it was the aisle seat of the first row directly behind the white section. When the white section became filled, the Negroes were supposed to move back so the white section could be extended. It wasn't long that day before the white section was full. That was when the bus driver told us to get up to let a white man who was left standing have our seats.

TOLD HIM NO

It meant that four Negroes would have to stand (two from each of the first row of Negro seats), because segregation on the buses was by rows. The other two women and the man stood up, but I just decided to stay seated. When the driver asked me if I

was going to stand, I told him no. When he said he would call the police, I said, go ahead.

When they had arrested the young girl in March, they had avoided a segregation case by charging her with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and assault and battery. (This small 15 year old girl was accused of assaulting three big policemen.) But my charge was violating the segregation law and I went with the police as soon as they came.

In the city jail the worst discomfort — outside of their usual procedure of pulling your fingernails when they took your fingerprints—was that they wouldn't give me a drink of water. They let me call my husband after the fingerprinting and photographing, but before I even called him, somebody had already told Mr. E. D. Nixon about it, and he got me out of jail in a short while. My trial was set for Dec. 5.

BOYCOTT A SURPRISE

On the Monday morning of the trial nobody was more surprised than I was to find not a single Negro on any of the busses. In fact, that very Saturday I had arranged for a guest speaker from Birmingham to speak to my NAACP youth council. I had worked hard to have a good meeting for her, but on that Saturday morning at the workshop, only a few of my young people showed up. It wasn't until later that I found out they had been out passing out leaflets about the boycott instead of coming to my meeting.

That's why I love young people so. There is a time for meetings and a time for speeches — a very important time. But there is also a time for action. And those young people knew that this was the time for the action, and not the speeches.

It is to the youth that all of us must look. There is still a great deal for all of us to do. And those who will not dare themselves should certainly support the young people who will.

Harold Wilson: LBJ's Shadow

By HARRY McSHANE

Glasgow, Scotland — One wonders whether we in Britain have lost our sense of humour. Issues in front of us are serious, but the way in which Harold Wilson is rushing about to have a finger in every pie is something really amusing. The leader of the oldest and most experienced Labour movement in the world makes an endeavour to be in the picture behind President Johnson at every juncture. He switches from the support of war in Vietnam to peace in Vietnam, and vice versa, according to the position taken up by the President.

Last year he called for a Commonwealth effort to secure peace in Vietnam but it fell through. Then two of the Commonwealth countries, Pakistan and India, went to war with weapons supplied by Britain and America. Wilson was helpless in this situation. Then Russia — of all countries — managed to bring the leaders of the two Commonwealth countries together to talk peace. All Wilson can do is send a message to Kossygin. He has been able, however, to offend India by a statement on television.

BLEAK RECORD

If Wilson is able to bring Smith of Rhodesia to his knees, it will be his only achievement in the field of foreign policy since the return of the Labour Government last year.

This unifying spectacle is the result of a process that started

Scottish Shipyard Workers Face Sell-Out By Leaders

Glasgow, Scotland — You should have been there. What a spectacle! I am referring to a meeting of shipyard workers held in the Lyceum picture house, Govan, to discuss proposals submitted to the leaders by Mr. Iain M. Stewart, chairman of Hall-Thermotank Ltd., and close friend of Mr. George Brown, Minister of Economic Affairs. He claimed that he had been approached by the Government to become chairman of a new company to run the shipyard.

The new company would be run on a 50-50 basis by the Government and private enterprise. This proposal was contingent on the ending of "restrictive" practices by the workers. The leaders had to do their stuff and that was the reason for the meeting. **SAME LANGUAGE**

The platform was made up of shop stewards and trade union officials. There never was such unanimity. Labour Party and Communist Party members spoke the same language. In fact, they used the same words and phrases. They called for "flexibility" and "interchangeability." They called on the workers to accept the proposals "in principle". The phrase on which they put the greatest stress was, "They've got us over a barrel."

They were all captivated by this monster barrel. We were all leaning over a barrel — with our trousers down to our ankles. Near the end, believe or not, Mr. John Chalmers, the boiler-makers' secretary, told us that the Tories had the Labour Government over a barrel. It is hard to imagine men like Harold Wilson and George Brown in such an undignified position, but John Chalmers said it, and we are not in the position to contradict him. Marxist-Humanists are among

the last people in the world who would seek to perpetuate the present divisions among the workers on the basis of craft. These divisions should be ended in the interests of the workers themselves. One wonders whether the trade union leaders who were so glib at the recent meeting about interchangeability will make an effort to liquidate the craft unions in favour of one union for the whole industry. They have vested interests in keeping things as they are.

MENTAL AND MANUAL DIVISION

"Interchangeability" is the call sent out by Mr. Stewart, but he did not indicate how this would affect the board members of the new company. Will they try their hands at working in the double-bottoms of the new ships? There is no likelihood of that happening. The division between those who give the orders and those who carry them out is an indispensable feature of capitalist society. Mr. Stewart stands for this.

WHO IS IAIN STEWART?

He is a man after George Brown's own heart. In addition to being chairman of Hall-Thermotank Ltd., he is also on the board of the Bank of Scotland and a number of other companies, including the Thomson Organization and Scottish Television. He is the author of a pamphlet on redundancy. Claiming to be concerned about the interests of society as a whole, he has much to say about the hardships of the workers who become redundant.

His remedy consists of training and moving the workers about in order to meet the needs of production. That is the only thing that matters. He wants the unions and the shop steward committees to fit in. He would utilise the press, study groups, Rotary Clubs luncheons, dinners, and heaven knows what else to achieve his purpose.

WHOSE VICTORY?

Thirteen days elapsed following the Lyceum meeting before George Brown persuaded private enterprise to join the venture. Lord Thomson and Sir Isaac Woolfson, two millionaires, are now in the deal. Several trade unions are investing funds without consulting the members. Mr. Stewart has made it clear that everything is conditional on the acceptance of his plan. Fairfield is to be made the model for the whole industry.

The plan does not cover the engine shop which employs 1,500 men. It is possible that the engine shop will close. There is much cheering about what has happened. No thought is given to the fact that George Brown has won his first victory for the policy of class collaboration.

We are more concerned about how this arrangement affects the workers as a class, and the subservience shown by the leaders, some of whom were carried away by the publicity they received. Our stand may not be popular, but it is much better than that of the "Daily Worker" which gave full reports without saying where it stood. There will be repercussions. May they come soon.

HELP GRAPE STRIKERS

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

Farm Workers Association
Box 894
Delano, California

Contributions of food, clothing and money may be sent to Lillian S. McGill, Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, Box No. 25, Whitehall, Alabama. In Detroit, information may be obtained from the Detroit Chapter of the LCCM by contacting Robert Pierce, 3323 S. Liddesdale, Detroit 48217.

The Detroit Friends of SNCC is also collecting food and clothes to take by truck to "tent city" during the weekend of Feb. 4. All those interested in contributing to the drive should contact the SNCC office at 1118 Webb St., Detroit, 883-7282.

Rank-and-File Transit Workers Force Strike

New York, N.Y. — At 5 a.m., Jan. 1, 1966, 36,000 N.Y. transit workers began one of the most important strikes in East Coast labor history in recent years. The strike was not wanted by the leadership of the Transport Workers' Union (TWU) or by its president, Mike Quill. The strike was forced on the leadership by the rank-and-file, which has conducted three wild-cat walkouts in the last ten years, in-

cluding a ten-day strike by about half the motormen in the system in 1958.

FOUR-DAY WEEK

These workers were demanding a four-day week. This is the first time that any major industrial union has demanded the four-day week and gone out on strike in support of it. Not only were they demanding a four-day week, but they were demanding that their salaries be made equal to those of all other city employees doing the same comparable jobs.

For example, a motorman who runs a N.Y. city subway train makes \$1.10 an hour less than a man who drives a N.Y. city Sanitation truck. This is because the Teamsters' locals that control the Sanitation workers were politically more "in" with Mayor Wagner's old administration than the TWU.

'STRIKE NOW!'—RANK-AND-FILE

Before the strike began, more than 8,000 members of the TWU met at a strike meeting at Manhattan Center. There, at least half the workers on the floor at the meeting demanded that Mike Quill call an immediate strike for the next day, Monday, instead of waiting for Jan. 1. This was because they were sure that if they waited, there would be another "sell-out" just as there had been for the last years.

There are many long-time grievances among the transport workers and bad conditions which had not been cleared up. Disputes which are supposed to be sent to arbitration are often never ruled on, and the Transit Authority (TA) continues its system of "Beakies," who are men who go around and spy on the workers and report them for future firing.

At that meeting Quill introduced a resolution calling for a strike at 5 a.m. on Jan. 1. Thousands of transport workers yelled: "Strike Now, Now!" and "No Sellout!" "No Sellout!" The chant was so loud that Quill could not be heard. He repeatedly called for order but was unsuccessful.

Finally, a leader of the rank-and-file group grabbed the floor microphone and demanded the right to speak. Quill shouted him down; there was pandemonium. Then Quill got the power shut off on the floor microphone so that the rank-and-file leader could not speak. Men from the dissident group ran toward the stage, trying to grab the microphone on the stage where Quill was stand-

ing. N.Y. City Policemen beat them back and several were arrested.

'I WAS ON THE PICKET LINE'

At 5 a.m. on New Year's morning, after the Transit Authority had refused to make a decent offer, the TA workers walked off the job. I was on the picket line at 5 a.m. when the strike began. The picket line discipline and militancy were something really great to behold. It's been a long time in New York since a major union has demonstrated such militancy in the face of such intransigent opposition. Too long have N.Y. city unions given in to weak-kneed compromises with the bosses, both private and governmental.

The men on the line were saying things like: "I've been waiting 36 years for this d—n strike, and this time we're going to win it!" "No more sellout contracts!" "No more big talking and nothing doing!" "This time we're going to get a decent wage and we're going to get the four-day week so that all working men can have it!"

There was a real sense of history in this strike. Men I talked to understood that if they were to get the four-day week, a lot of other people would be able to get it. They also talked about the moonlighting they had to do to earn a decent living for their families. Most of the guys picketing took home around \$90-\$110 a week, and it's pretty rough if you have a family of four or five as most of the ones I talked to did.

One older worker, who had been in the union since it began and had taken part in the Irish Revolution as a youth, recalled how the transport workers had been in the forefront of that revolution.

TRUTH AND SLANDER

The N.Y. newspapers have been having a field-day since the strike began, slandering Mike Quill and blaming him for tying up the whole of N.Y. City. Until Quill became suddenly ill, the newspapers treated him as if he were the devil himself.

No one seemed to remember that the City could end the strike at any minute by giving the workers a decent wage. More than that, they made it look like it was Quill, not the workers, who were on strike even though this strike was forced on the leadership by a disgusted rank-and-file who were ready to revolt if there was another sellout.

On the Line

A Greeting, an Appeal and Some Unhappy Shop Changes

By John Allison

I wish all of our friends in labor here and abroad a safe and peaceful new year. We of News & Letters are among the most important friends that the working class has left, and there is a great need to keep this important work going.

Your gift, in any amount, will help this workers' paper carry labor's message to a waiting world. This still remains the only paper I have ever known that will tell the story of rank-and-file workers anywhere in the world, any time they feel they need a place to give their own views about their lives. Our pages are always open. If you haven't sent in your contribution, won't you please do so today? For those who have supported us, I give my thanks.

N.Y. Pickets Help Grape Strikers

NEW YORK, N.Y.—More than 100 union members, civil rights workers and sympathetic students picketed the main office of Schenley Products in Manhattan just before Christmas to protest Schenley's refusal to negotiate with striking grape workers in Delano, California.

The line was sponsored by the East Coast Grape Strike Coordinating Committee. Members of Local No. 1199 (Drug and Hospital Workers), local CORE chapters, Friends of SNCC, News and Letters N.Y. local, and District No. 65 (Retail, Department Store Union) picketed in the bitter cold chanting: "\$1.00 an hour must go!", "Don't buy lousy scab wine!", "1-3-7-9-Don't Buy Roma Wine!", and "Negotiate!"

LIQUOR STORES COOPERATE

Two days earlier, representatives of the Coordinating Committee had met with Schenley's vice-president and had asked Schenley to agree to negotiate with the union. Schenley said: "Give us two weeks and we'll let you know." We said: "We'll give you 48 hours, and that's much too much."

After the picket-line, Schenley still refused to give us a clear answer, so the next evening Brooklyn CORE began a campaign to get liquor store owners in Bedford-Stuyvesant to refuse to buy Schenley products. More than fifty liquor stores in N.Y. City have so far complied. One liquor store which refused to comply was picketed two evenings and finally gave in.

GROCERY STORES PICKETED

As part of the East Coast campaign to help the grape strike, grocery stores of the Gristede Bros. chain in N.Y., which sell scab grapes from Delano, have been picketed by Columbia University CORE and by the N.Y. Local of News and Letters. More than six stores have been picketed so far, and several negotiations with Gristedes have been held.

At the last negotiation, the produce manager, who is in charge of buying all fruits and vegetables, told Coordinating Committee representatives that he could not make a decision on what brand of grapes to buy. Not only that, he said: "I don't even know who might be able to make that decision. Give me two weeks, and I'll let you know."

Coordinating Committee representatives are busy working out plans to 1) stop shipment of all scab grapes into the city of N.Y., 2) Raise money to help the strikers, and 3) further force Schenley toward a position of negotiation.

A HUMAN CUSTOM

It has been custom and practice for as many years as I have been in the auto shop to shake hands before Christmas and New Years. During good and bad years, we always seemed human for a short time.

But this year it was different. Production was Santa Claus and overtime was New Year. The foreman watched the workers like a hen watches her chicks. There was no time for hand-shaking.

Absent also was the Christmas that the local union used to make for the children of workers. It never amounted to much so far as money was concerned, but it meant plenty to both the kids and the workers in the good feeling that all got out of it. It all showed a feeling of human good will, and this feeling spread out to cover the workers and the children with a warm glow.

THE INHUMAN LINE

Somehow I can't help feeling that the daily pressures of the production line, the steady drumming into the heads of workers that they have to be like the machines they work on, is showing up in the actions of the workers themselves. The line just has no room for human considerations, and sometimes it gets to the workers themselves.

The local union officers also are affected. They no longer think of good will between themselves and the rank-and-file members. These officers now have private parties for themselves.

In a way, I guess this is understandable, since there is very little in common anymore between local union officers and the workers. Maybe the officers have been around company bosses so long that they just don't feel comfortable being around the workers.

It hasn't been so long that the opposite was true: that local union officers felt right at home with the workers and couldn't stand the bosses. This, of course, was when the local union officers were the strongest fighters for the rights of the rank-and-file.

CONTRACT TIES HANDS

But you can't fault the local union officers altogether. After all, their hands have been tied for the most part by the contracts that Walter Reuther has negotiated, when he gave away the little control workers had over their working conditions for nickel and dime raises.

So you find all kinds of pressures in the shop. You can understand and explain them, but the result is still the same: the production line worker is at the bottom of the heap, and the full weight of both the company and union bureaucracy lands squarely on his back.

Just like now, the signs are up early in the week reporting on the overtime week-end work schedule. Some workers feel that if they knock themselves out to get production during the week, that they will be asked by the boss to work overtime.

WORK IS EVERYTHING

Then you have the other workers who have worked so much overtime that they just can't stand it any longer. But the company keeps on using every threat they can to intimidate the workers to keep on producing whenever they schedule work.

Transit Worker Tells Grievances

Philadelphia, Penna. — Many things connected with the New York transit strike are not what they seem. The strike is not the solitary concoction of Michael Quill, as the newspapers and TV would have us believe. It is the mass of rank and file workers who wanted this strike, who have waited for it for years.

One worker said, "I'm glad they called it. We're underpaid." The transit workers have lower pay and poorer fringe benefits than other New York municipal employes, especially the policemen, firemen, and sanitation workers.

NO STRIKE IN 30 YEARS

For all of Mike Quill's militant rhetoric, the union has not called a strike in 30 years (there have been wildcats). This worker said, "The management has no fear of the union. They can do whatever they want. They can change work schedules. They hand out unjustified penalties for infractions. They don't show any compassion for the men. Even for men who've been there 20 or 30 years."

He commented, "The organizers are errand boys for the supervision — a hundred-and-fifty-dollar-a-week errand boys." Of the supervision he said, "They treat grown men like babies."

He was dissatisfied with the union, because he doesn't think the union gives any representation to the men on grievances. He said, "Quill doesn't give anything in return for the \$4.50 a month. No benefits. No welfare fund, strike fund. Where's the money go? He just buys TV time." He said the strike was called because of "a lot of dissension in the ranks." If the strike hadn't been called, "Quill would've been out."

DON'T WANT SPYING

Besides bringing their wages and fringe benefits up to the level of other city employees, the transit workers want to abolish the Special Inspection Department of the Transit Authority, which is set up to spy on the men. Infractions are reported to a kangaroo court. A man caught smoking under the intense pressure of the transit system, will lose a day's pay.

Many health hazards, in violation of city health statutes, exist in the subways. Neither the Transit Authority nor the Health Department does anything about them. Men out sick are harassed by inspectors. They must bring in doctor's notes to get sick pay. The transit workers get no uniform allowance and no night differential.

The transit worker told this writer, "We all wanted it (the strike) to happen." Although dissatisfied with Quill in the past, he added, "We think he's doing pretty good now and will hold out in the negotiations."

Grape Strikers Plead

Don't Buy These Brands!

Thousands of farm workers in Delano, Calif., have been on strike since Sept. 8, 1965. They are seeking union recognition collective bargaining—and a wage of \$1.40 an hour. Now that the harvest season is over, the strikers are asking for a nation-wide consumer boycott against Delano fresh grapes and all Schenley products. The huge Schenley corporation farms approximately 4,500 acres of land around Delano and is the largest producer of wine and other alcoholic products under strike.

We reproduce below the list of products you are asked to boycott:

- SCHENLEY PRODUCTS**
DON'T BUY: Any SCHENLEY Label, plus these brands:
 Bourbon: I. W. Harper, Ancient Age, J. W. Dant, Old Charter.
 Blends and Scotch: Dewar's White Label, O.F.C., Melrose Diamond 12, MacNaughton, Order of Merit, Long John.
 Other hard liquor: Carioca

Rum, Coronet VSQ Brandy, Cherry Heering, Seagers Gin, Coates Plymouth Gin, Samovar.
 Wines: Roma, Cresta Blanca, Dubonnet.

DELANO GRAPES
 A & A, All-American, Alila, Antone's Quality, Better Test, Blue Flag, Blue River, Bonophil, Bouquet, Camelot, Caric, Cashmere, Columbine, Delano Gold, Delano King, Del-Vin, Diamonds, Early Mart, Elmco, El-toro, Flamingo.

Green Jay, Highland, Honey Bee, Hi-Style, Jindy, Jovista, Kenney Jr. L Bar L, Louis IV, Maruska, MZ, Marlin, MC, Mother, Moses, Mary-Jo, Mid-State, Mr. KK, New Yorker, PBI, Prosperity, Radovitch, Rennie Boy, Rodes, Roxie, Royal K, Royal Delano, Sall-n-Ann, Silver King, Silver Knight, Sierra Moon, Souvenir, Scotsman, Springtime, Steady, Sunview, Supersweet, Suntest, Steele, Table Queen, Three Brothers, Tri-Valley, Treasure, Trocha, Tudor, Tuxedo Park, VBZ, Vines Best, Verko, Vinland, Zora.

EDITORIALS

Negro Activity Has Made All Gains

The true state of civil rights in the nation came not from the lips of President Johnson as he recited his message which proposed legislation to end the all-white jury system in the South; to make murders and attacks on civil rights workers a federal crime punishable by the federal government; and to prohibit discrimination in housing. It was seen much more clearly in the streets of Bessemer and Birmingham, Ala., where white police viciously clubbed Negro demonstrators who were seeking enforcement of the Voting Rights Law passed last year—and in the murders of two more civil rights workers before the new year was 10 days old: the shooting of Tuskegee Institute student Samuel Younge, Jr. and the night burning of Vernon Dahmer as he slept with his family in his home.

These events not only reveal the complete hypocrisy of Johnson's words, they also reveal the urgency for the Negro Revolution to increase its activity.

How much is yet to be enforced in one area alone can be seen in the fact that 12 years after the Supreme Court ruling outlawing school segregation, in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, less than one percent of the Negro children go to white schools, and for the South as a whole, only six percent are integrated.

No administration, either Democratic or Republican, has enforced civil rights laws already on the books. Negro activity, and Negro activity alone, has made whatever gains there are both in laws and enforcement. This fact is truer today than it was ten years ago, when a Negro woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, refused to get up from her seat in a bus and give it to a white man. It was in Montgomery, Ala. What happened afterwards is recorded in history as the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The action caught fire in the minds of Negroes throughout the length and breadth of this country—and the blaze is still fuming and burning today.

SELF-ACTIVITY IS METHOD

What happened in Montgomery that day was more than a desegregation law or even a Supreme Court ruling. This self-activity on the part of the Negroes shattered once and for all the myth of radical and labor leaders who had always been preaching that the only way a Negro Movement could make any gains in this country would be under their leadership.

This self-activity of the Montgomery Bus Boycott became the method of the Negro Revolution, carrying through to the three Greensboro, N.C., Negro students who sat in at a white restaurant and demanded to be served in 1960, and all that followed from the Freedom Rides to the March on Washington; from the Birmingham demonstrations and the Selma March to the Watts Revolt and the present day-in, day-out activity that continues to shake society both North and South to its very foundations.

But these were not just a series of events. Every action moved the struggle to a higher plane, strengthening the movement and expanding its vision. The movement contains a double rhythm. At the same time the Negroes are fighting against oppression, they are gaining an increased knowledge of what they are for. And what they are for is a completely new society that does not permit oppression of man by any man.

REVOLUTION REACHES OUT

This new knowledge compels the Negro Revolution to reach out to embrace the whole of society, both black and white, and especially to link up with labor. These efforts have already resulted in the beginnings of joint actions. This can be seen in the big grape strike in California, in the work that is going on to organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Unions and the Tennessee Freedom Democratic Unions, in the organizing of low-paid Negro workers in the North, and in the efforts of unionized Negroes to convince their fellow white workers that they must fight together to gain a life for all that is free from exploitation.

In the face of what Negroes are trying to do, there is the sorry role that the labor leadership is playing. The labor leadership knows that it was the self-activity of the workers that created the labor movement in this country. But what the labor leaders also know is that they can't control self-activity of the workers any more than the so-called Negro leaders can control the self-activity of the Negro masses. They actually fear the joining of the Negro Revolution with labor, because they could never drive the combined power of these two forces acting together into the Democratic Party, to which they have tried to tie labor in the past.

DEMONSTRATIONS WILL END WITH FREEDOM

The Negro Revolution, filled with death and suffering, will never allow itself to be side-tracked from its goal of freedom. Its gains have taken a great toll in lives and persecution. For every Medgar Evers and Viola Liuzzo, there are hundreds of murders never heard about; the bombings and burnings continue; sharecroppers are thrown off their land for trying to register to vote; and police brutality continues as does Ku Klux Klan terrorism. Negroes in the South face this direct and organized terrorism, while those in the cities face conditions that exploded in the Watts Revolt.

This is the reality. Yet from the "radicals" like Saul Alinsky to the conservatives in the Urban League comes the word that Negro demonstrations are a thing of the past, that the Negro Revolution is now too sophisticated to concern itself with demonstrations. What they have not yet learned is that there will be no more demonstrations only when there will no longer be any need for demonstrations because Negroes have gained freedom and equality.

Readers'

CHEERS FOR TWU

Hurrah for the transit workers! Not only have they won their battle, they have made President Johnson livid with rage about taking matters into their own hands, dismissing entirely his fake "guide posts" about inflation. It was good to see that old smoothly exposing both his class nature and his impotence in face of united action by workers.

Friend of Labor
New York

Most of the guys in the shop were impressed with what Quill has had to say. It has been a long time since any of our labor leaders have dared to talk militantly like that, let alone do anything militant.

Auto Worker,
Detroit

I never thought of Mike Quill as a particularly militant labor leader, and it certainly did sound good to hear his defiance of the mayor and the courts in defense of the workers in his union. What made me so happy was that I figured this guy must have really been pushed hard by his men, for them to have finally made a man of him.

Reader,
Ohio

Do newspaper editors and TV newscasters really believe they can get everybody to accept their own prejudices against workers? They just seem to take it for granted that of course the problems of the New York commuters are the fault of the strikers, and that Mike Quill is the evil dictator who has caused all the trouble.

I got news for them. The guys in my shop say "hooray" for Quill and the TWU. We figure the bureaucrats of the Transit Authority are the ones who should be prosecuted if anybody should. All they have to do is give those guys a decent wage and better their conditions and the troubles are over.

Commuter
New York

SEARCH AND SEIZURE

Before the November elections, the Mayor of Detroit denied that crime was an important issue in this city. The issues of the election he insisted, were equal rights, equal opportunity, and equal housing. But the election was no sooner over than those issues were put in their usual place, way back, and he issued a declaration that crime must be stopped in the city—even if it meant giving police the right to stop and search on the streets any citizen whom the police had "reason" to believe might be guilty of something or other.

This "search and seizure" law would give the police department more power than ever to practice brutality. No citizen could walk the streets without fear of search at any moment. But it is the Negro citizen who would feel the full brunt of it. The Negro has always been subject to being stopped and frisked, law or no law. With a law permitting police to do it, nobody would be safe.

The protest was so immediate and so widespread, that further consideration of it by the City Council was post-

poned until it could be studied for its constitutionality. But it seems obvious that its unconstitutionality is unquestionable.

Detroit Negroes do not want a search and seizure law. They do want better police protection—protection, that is, not only by the police, but in some cases from the police. They want a better-trained department that will protect the rights of all citizens.

Negro Mother,
Detroit

WAR MADNESS

The President's State of the Union address had one sentence of truth: "Therefore, to know war is to know there is still madness in the world." Too bad President Johnson doesn't recognize that he is the world's most famous exponent of that madness!

White Collar Worker
Baltimore, Md.

It is one thing to oppose the war in Vietnam, especially U.S. imperialism's role in it. It is another thing to let that reactionary Communist, Aptheker, who did more to slander the Hungarian Revolution than any counter-revolutionary anywhere at any time, get a total whitewash by the anti-Vietnam war committees.

To me, Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden, Aptheker's companions, not only do harm to the anti-war cause, but perpetuate the myth of an elite needed to lead "the backward masses", namely an elite that would achieve "peace", something than only a mass movement can possible accomplish.

Old Politico
New York

I feel that the current Johnson "peace offensive" which has sent his couriers flying off to all sections of the world in a circus-like performance, but has had no effect to date, was at least partly the result of the increasing anti-war demonstrations in this country. Johnson seems to feel he cannot begin his planned all out war without first trying to quiet the mounting opposition at home.

Engineer
Detroit

The Columbia University Student Council is the first student government in the country, I believe, to take a stand on ending the war in Vietnam. They have just passed a resolution, passed by over a two-thirds majority, calling for an immediate ceasefire, an end to sending more troops, and negotiations.

One student asked for an expression of sympathy with young men whose fathers can't afford to send them to college and who don't have a 2S deferment, but that resolution, unfortunately, did not get a majority.

The Council also voted support for the striking college teachers at Catholic St. John's University and urged Columbia students to join their picket line.

Committee Member
New York

The "white man's burden" hogwash was bad enough to bear when it was supposed to mean imperialism's "duty" to feed the so-called backward and starving colonial

natives. But the new version in Vietnam—where we are systematically destroying the rice crops in South Vietnam, supposedly to hurt the Vietcong—is really intolerable!

Moreover, this systematic crop-destruction by spraying the fields with chemical plant-killers is supplemented by destruction of already harvested rice. Even the officials have conceded that the rice destroyed is not "always" that of the VC, and that the starving peasants seem somehow to become "resentful when attempts are made later to gain their political loyalty." (New York Times, Dec. 21.)

Not that this has given anybody cause to call a halt. On the contrary. The Times reports that crop-destruction efforts are expected to grow next year.

Disgusted
Detroit

THE NEGRO REVOLUTION

The reactionary Georgia State Legislature has done it again—barraged an elected Negro from taking his seat there. This time the racist's excuse was the Negro legislator's opposition to the war in Vietnam. Thereby the counter-revolution has laid the basis for something the revolutionaries have thus far been unable to achieve—the unity between the anti-war fighters and the civil rights workers.

Intellectual
Illinois

How dare the Government place charges of "depositing trash on public property" against the SNCC workers who carried the casket bearing the picture of slain civil rights worker, Samuel Younge Jr., in front of the White House! The only trash I saw there is the "first family" that occupies those premises!

Student of American History
Washington, D.C.

SNCC should be given the main prize for display of creative imagination for holding a memorial service for Samuel Younge Jr., slain by an Alabama racist, and placing the casket before the White House on the day the President was to deliver his so-called State of the Union message about fighting for "freedom"—in Vietnam!

Dramatist
New York

What will happen to the Negro people in 1966? Will it be a good year or a bad one for them in their struggle to make any gains toward freedom?

Negroes in the South have had a hard job getting where they are today. So many Negroes, and even several whites, have given their lives so that other people might live to see a little of the Free World we hear so much about.

On Oct. 3, 1965, when President Johnson signed into law a new United States Immigration bill, he said that the new law, "repairs a deep and painful flaw in the fabric of American justice." It was supposed to help people over the world who want to come to the United States.

But what good did it—or any other laws—do in the South to help the American Negroes and civil rights work-

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Views

ers? The night riders don't care about the law. Once they realize that they may have to obey some of the new laws, they go running to some other night rider for help. Then they look up some old law that was made up just to save necks like theirs. That is why the white KKK cries out to let the State keep handling things.

But many whites have begun to realize that nothing will stop the people from trying to make this country a free one for all. No more promises mean anything. Nothing means anything but for us to keep on fighting for what we want.

Ethel Dunbar
Detroit

THE "FREE" PRESS

I was interested to learn that the Associated Press survey on news censorship around the world concluded that the free press had lost a lot more than it had gained during 1965. Both Communist and non-Communist areas were included in the long list of states with open censorship and both North and South Vietnam had prominent spots on the list. There was, of course, no mention of our "free" United States press.

Maybe TV news coverage isn't considered part of the "press"?

The Administration certainly must consider it an important news media if the recent pressure they have been putting on CBS for its reporting of the Vietnam War is any criteria.

The current pressure apparently stemmed from the CBS televised report of the burning of a Vietnamese village last August in which U.S. marines were shown setting fire to the huts, although the Administration had at first attempted to deny this had happened. The network has also been criticised for including critics of Vietnam policy in some of its special discussion programs, and even for a report on the death of a 17 year old marine in Vietnam, because "he was only two months away from his 18th birthday."

I wonder what censorship stories the "free" press could tell, if ever it really chose to tell the truth?

Reader
New York

ADMINISTRATIVE MENTALITIES

I have found out that several of my colleagues, including the liberals, have a contempt for the "masses" and have no faith in any sort of democracy. They probably see themselves as wise and omniscient administrators in a rational, bureaucratic order that they would like to create or think is being created.

I have also noticed lately the desire for a monolithic political system, a system that will contain and submerge or suppress all potential conflict. I see it on the part of frustrated and bothered middle-class intellectuals. They feel that progress and "movement," as one of them put it (or "industrialization" as an African student put it), or other social goals can be only achieved by unity,

harmony, lack of contradiction, etc. And when real unity does not exist, it must be enforced (a la one-party-state), or artificially created. That is, they believe that no contradiction can be any good, and that contradictions can be eliminated artificially. In other words, not by revolution, but by state power. It is dangerous thinking.

Student,
Pennsylvania

* * *

Your publications are works that need greater circulation . . . Bourgeois intellectuals continue to miss the point, consequently such publications that attend to substantive issues are always a welcome relief. Continue the good work.

New Reader
Buffalo

OUR FLOURISHING NATION

I have one of the lowest-paying jobs in this city. And any sales girl in the city makes more than the women at our place who work on what is called precision assembly. On the wages I make as a wireman I can't even take care of my wife and child. I needed \$200 a few months ago, but where could I get \$200?

What worries me is what I would do if we needed to go to the hospital. Our hospital insurance is terrible. We have to pay the whole bill to the hospital, and then the insurance company pays us back. Where could we get enough money for that?

Puerto Rican Worker
New York

* * *

Recently I met some guys who are organized by the Machinist and Space Workers Union and they were telling me that it isn't much of a union. I thought they must be nuts when I compared their starting wage of \$2.45 an hour to mine of \$1.65.

Then I realized that the plant where they work hires mostly men (I guess this is too high a wage to pay women in N.Y.) to do electrical assembly work, and that some guys have been there for 15 years and make only \$2.75 an hour. That isn't much to support a family on.

In case that sounds high to workers in other parts of the country just double the cost of living in your town — the rent, the food, the up-keep of your car — and you got New York. We have a State Tax already and now they are talking of a City Tax because the city is broke. As one of the women at work said, "Soon all we'll have to do on Friday is turn our pay checks over to the government."

I must say that I do think the Machinist and Space Workers Union has a lot of guts, even if nothing else, because they have been calling strikes at a time when they could be called all kinds of names — and probably are.

Woman Worker
New York

FRENCH-CANADIANS OFFENDED?

The item on the Canadian elections in "Our Life and Times" (November N&L) offended me, and I wonder how

your Canadian readers will feel about it.

It stated that the relations between French and English speaking Canadians . . . has been under study. The only one I know "studying" it is the Canadian government, which obviously favors the English-speaking Canadians.

Then I don't know what "in this day of the consolidation of similarly-minded people" means. As far as Canada is concerned, most of the French Canadians are as poor as the people who live in Appalachia, and compared to them most of the English Canadians live as the people in the New York suburbs do. They are not "similarly-minded," and it is not just an economic question. They have a completely different culture.

I was under the impression that the French Canadians do not want to be part of Canada. It may not be your solution, but it is theirs, and should be so stated.

Student,
New York

FROM ABROAD

The situation in Italy is one where there is always more unemployment, more strikes, and more U.S. capital.

Politically, in the last few months there have been quite a few meetings of various small groups outside of the official Party. There was an attempt for these groups to unite and find a minimum of points in common in order to work together. It failed.

However, it seemed clear that the number of people dissatisfied with the present political parties here is growing, especially among the youth. At the same time the pro-Chinese did such an unconvincing job, especially at the time of the India-Pakistan war, that many of their sympathizers have at least become much less sympathetic.

Correspondent
Italy

* * *

The real point of Wilson's wishy-washy actions over Rhodesia is obviously that his prime aim is to split the Tories, and in this he has succeeded. However, the African States have probably faced the Labour Left with a position in which they cannot continue to prop Wilson up to the same extent they have done in the past, since if Britain under a Labour Government becomes treated like a pariah by all the "progressive" Afro-Asian bloc, obviously the Labour Leftist who is essentially a "progressive" in his thinking, will be forced to condemn Wilson, since they will not dare defend him.

There's to be a by-election in Hull in the near future in a seat where the Labour majority is small and where a socialist, if he stood, would split the vote and let the Tory in — thus wiping out the remains of the Labour majority. I am furiously trying to persuade those socialists who do believe in fighting elections that that is the one to fight. It would be interesting to see the reaction of the fake revolutionaries — the Trotskyists and Stalinists.

L. O.,
England

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

The Humanism of Marx Is the Basic Foundation for Anti-Stalinism Today

(As a contribution to the developing discussion on anti-Stalinism, the following article was submitted to Tokyo's Waseda University student newspaper by the author during her recent lecture tour of Japan.)

* * *

The death of Stalin, in March, 1953, marked the end of an era. DeStalinization began almost at once, not by Khrushchev from above, but by the East Berlin workers from below, who, on June 17, rose in spontaneous revolt for "Bread and Freedom" and against raising "work norms" (speed-ups). Within weeks the East German revolt was followed by one in the forced labor camps in Vorkuta inside Russia itself. (1) When the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, in February, 1956, finally embarked on de-Stalinization, it brought to the surface the seething undercurrents of revolt throughout Eastern Europe, and, by October, 1956, Russian Communism was faced with a proletarian revolution in Hungary that demanded freedom from its overlordship. By the time the Sino-Soviet conflict reached the point of no return, in 1963, Mao Tse-tung was boasting of the fact that it was he who initiated the Russian armed intervention.

Thus did the Russian-Chinese counter-revolution begin and, hand in hand with it, came the campaign of slander against the Hungarian revolutionaries as "revisionists." However, because the revolutionary, creative restatement of Marxism for our age came from an elemental surge forward, and because the Humanist banner was soon seen also in Latin America, in Africa, in the whole new third world fighting for freedom from Western imperialism as well, it was impossible any longer to consign the Humanist Essays of Marx to unreachable library shelves.

Philistines there are, in 1965, who declare that we should never have awakened the ECONOMIC-PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS, 1844 from their century-old slumber. Serious thinkers, on the other hand, know that no other writing anywhere, at any time, has made history as have Marx's now-famous essays on "Private Property and Communism," "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," and "Alienated Labor." To look, even just cursorily, at the 121-year history of these essays is to embark on a journey of adventure which reveals the grandeur, the tragedy, and the challenge of our times.

It is true that when the young Marx left his manuscripts "to the stinging criticism of the mice," it forbade no tragedy because the living Marx kept concretizing and developing his concept of alienation as it developed into the proletariat's "quest for universality." (2) This vision of "all-round" man was an integral part of the very organism of Marx, both as theoretician — be the theory that of revolution, the Paris Commune, or that of "the economic laws" of Capital — and as activist, as General Secretary of the first International Workingmen's Association.

LENIN'S INDEPENDENT PHILOSOPHIC BREAKTHROUGH

Altogether different was the fate of those Humanist essays when the official heirs of Marx and Engels — the German Social Democrats — kept them sealed in vaults and thus deprived themselves of the concept of a new human dimension. With the outbreak of the first World War and the collapse of the German Social Democracy, Lenin had to recapture the unity of the ideal and the material through a painstaking return to the philosophic origins of Marx in Hegel, and only then moving it forward to the new historic plane, 1917, when the population "to a man" (3) would not only abolish private capitalism, but would run production and the state, and thus initiate the break-down of the division between mental and manual labor that characterizes all class societies.

It took a Russian Revolution PLUS the tireless efforts of the great Marxist scholar, Ryazanov, PLUS money to pry the 1844 manuscripts out of the vaults of the Second International. But, once again, reaction intervened to rob the proletariat of its philosophic heritage. In Russia, the triumph of Stalin meant the beginning of the end of "the realization of philosophy", the Marxian concept of theory and of freedom. In Germany, the victory of Hitler marked the height of capitalist barbarism, the holocaust of World War II, the bankruptcy of bourgeois thought. Thrown into the savage inhumanity of a Buchenwald, who could think of philosophy?

And yet, World War II had no sooner drawn to a gory end with American imperialism's atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, than, throughout Western Europe, every one, from the Catholic theologians to the atheistic Existentialists, re-discovered those precious Humanist Essays. But the Communists were powerful enough to keep the debate confined in academic channels. The reality is this: yet another generation was born to face the challenge. No matter how young and new the present generation of anti-Stalinist revolutionary Marxists are, they must come face to face with these two overpowering facts: (1) World War II had come and gone without resulting in any successful proletarian revolution, and without starting a new stage in thought comparable to the one begun by Lenin at the time of World War I and his return to the Marxian origins in Hegel; and (2) nothing but a stillbirth had resulted from Leon Trotsky's gigantic labors to build an anti-Stalinist Marxist International. This, despite the fact that only Lenin had stood higher than Leon Trotsky in the leadership of the Russian October; despite the fact that Trotsky had tried to keep the Marxist banner unsullied by Stalin's betrayals and perversions of Marxism; despite the fact that he spent all the remainder of his life trying to build a revolutionary "vanguard party"; and despite, finally, the fact that he had succeeded in getting a few other outstanding revolutionary internationalists, such as the Dutch Marxist, Hendrik Sneevliet, to sign the Manifesto of the Fourth International.

TROTSKY'S PHILOSOPHIC FAILURE

To this writer it has become all too obvious that Leon Trotsky

(Continued on Page 7)

(1) See Vorkuta by Dr. Joseph Scholmer
(2) Karl Marx, Poverty of Philosophy

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

Negro Youth in Watts Hold Key to Future Directions

The element which came forth the most forcefully in the Watts Revolt was the youth. In both their actions and thought, the greatest challenge to the status quo was issued by them. They met in the streets, were their own leaders, decided what they wanted and what actions to take to get it.

In response to precisely this type of activity and thought, which had also occurred the year previously in Harlem, the Federal Government has sought to take the youth off the streets. In Los Angeles this has taken the form of Teen Posts, which began the summer before the Revolt, and has continued this year.

POTENTIAL FREEDOM SCHOOLS

The Federal Government may view the program as keeping youth off the streets. However, the conversion of these Teen Posts into Freedom Schools, similar to those that SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) has been operating in the South, is a possibility. The potential is there in the youth.

I was recently at a Teen Post while Negro youth were discussing growing up in South Los Angeles. The indignities suffered made one feel they were discussing Mississippi.

The greatness of the Negro Revolution in the South has always seemed to me to be measured by the amount of direct participation by the Negro masses. In the North, the Civil Rights Movement has isolated itself from the mass. The Watts Revolt showed how everyone was isolated from the Negro masses. In the Revolt only they seemed to know where they were going; everyone else ran or was concerned with how to stop them.

CHALLENGE TO STATUS QUO

The Teen Posts could be one way for the Civil Rights movement to involve the people. The Posts are now primarily oriented

FSM Activists Face Job Loss

BERKELEY, Cal.—Activists in the Free Speech Movement of 1964-65 are being subjected to possible job dismissal here because of their FSM activities.

Two participants who were arrested in the University of California Sit-Ins in 1964 have been teaching, one in a grammar school and the other in a high school, since last September. The credentials committee, headed by right-wing state superintendent of public instruction, Max Rafferty, has ordered the two to appear at a hearing on their application for teaching credentials, which they must obtain to keep teaching.

Four other participants in the sit-in have already appeared, and two did not receive their credentials.

Berkeley public school officials are condemning the action and have written letters supporting the applicants. The California Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO is providing a lawyer for them at the hearing.

Rafferty indicated where he stands by stating, "We have to look into each one and see why the person was involved, whether he walked in with his eyes open and if there is evidence of rehabilitation." One of the teachers stated that participants in the sit-in were defending a constitutional right to have freedom of expression on campus.

in a cultural direction. Putting on plays and going to see different events throughout the city seem to be the main activities. But in trying to keep the youth off the street the government has also laid the basis for something which it most likely did not intend — the bringing together of these youths into one room where they can discuss and act on ideas which challenge the status quo rather than seek to adapt to it.

This possibility can become a reality only if the youth are allowed to speak and act — and encouraged to do so by the people who are seeking to aid in this radicalization of our world. That will happen only if they have the confidence that the people as a whole are able to think their own thoughts and act out their own ideas.

Is Christmas A Subversive Conspiracy?

It celebrates the birthday of a man who:

Was a beatnik — wore a beard and sandals; had no visible means of support.

Advocated treason—"love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you . . ." Math, 6:44.

Preached pacifism—"I say unto you. That ye shall resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite you on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Math., 6:39.

Practiced communism—He divided the bread and fish among the masses—John, 6:1-13.

Led a protest march — into Jerusalem. Luke, 19.

Practiced anti-capitalism — threw the money changers out of the church.

Was an outside agitator.

Committed civil disobedience.

Was working for an outside power against the established government. * * *

Our present Christmas has developed as its symbol a bearded beatnik who only works one day a year, gives things away, and wears a RED suit, and comes from an area close to the north pole.

With these facts in mind I urge that the government have the Un-American Committee or any similar group investigate with the intention of banning this subversive celebration.

This committee should also investigate other like holidays such as:

Easter—for similar reasons as above.

Fourth of July—it glorifies a revolution.

Labor Day—must be communist.

Washington's Birthday—was a leader in a revolution.

The one holiday which should be considered beyond question is Halloween. This holiday is when people walk around in white sheets and hoods and hide their faces: an old and accepted tradition. This holiday also favors witches and witch hunts.

Wayne Mercer

Organized N.Y. Slum Tenants Force Repairs by the Landlords

New York, N.Y. — It was a pretty exciting first meeting. The nine tenants of a certain building, eight of them Negroes and one Puerto Rican, were railing against the despicable conditions under which they were forced to live ("rats running all around . . . if you tell the super, who doesn't live in the building, that we haven't got any heat, all he does is say, 'How am I supposed to know?'"), when a knock at the door interrupted the proceedings.

The landlord of the building entered the apartment, and the occupant jumped up and yelled at him, "You see where your ways have brought you! Now we're going to fix things up ourselves. So please leave." The landlord left, and the tenants went on to form a Tenants Council.

COUNCILS IN 24 BUILDINGS
This Tenants Council is part of the West Side Block Association. The Association has been in existence only since October, 1965, and is now in 24 buildings, in an area bounded by 108th Street on the north, 105th on the south, Central Park West on the east, and Broadway on the west.

The organizers, members of Columbia CORE, first go to buildings and personally talk to each tenant, suggesting to them that a group of tenants can succeed where they singly have failed. However, the organizers are there only to give the tenants information and advice, and not to tell them what to do.

It is through this philosophy

that we hope to overcome the problem that many past tenants' organizations have had, of having the organization collapse after the organizers have left. The stress is on creating tenant leaders.

COMPLICATED LAWS

New York City laws and procedures for remedying substandard conditions such as rats, roaches, lack of heat and hot water, cracked walls and crumbling plaster are unnecessarily complicated, and are more likely to stifle action by tenants than to help them fix up their buildings. This accounts for the main problem encountered in such work — the lack of interest on the part of many people who have continually complained to city agencies and got no response.

Thus far we have had success in getting some rents reduced, and are now in court under the new rent strike law, 7A, in two buildings. Unlike the old law, in which the landlord would attempt to dispossess a tenant who refused to pay rent, the new one specifies that more than 1/3 of the tenants of a building can petition the court to take over their building, and use the rent to repair it.

The Tenant Councils now functioning will soon be forming a Block Association in which the tenants themselves will hold leadership positions. The Block Association should be politically more effective in pressing its demands, and ultimately should be able to determine the kind of urban renewal that its members want, instead of being forced to bow to city urban renewal plans.

Fighter for Peace Defies Jail Threat

Below are excerpts from an open-letter received from Tom Rodd, the young pacifist who led a demonstration and was arrested at the Vertol Helicopter plant outside of Philadelphia a few days after Christmas.

My name is Tom Rodd. I am 19 years old and was raised in Pittsburgh, Penna . . . Shortly before my 18th birthday I began a peace action project based on my conscientious refusal to register for the draft. I was arrested and tried for that act, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Released on probation after four months' imprisonment, I was required to work for a court-approved service agency and prohibited from participating in any public witness demonstrations.

I went to Philadelphia to work for the American Friends Service Committee in their Material Aids Warehouse. I ran a large baling machine affectionately known as Elmer; and processed thousands of pounds of clothing for refugees overseas. It was good, hard work but dull. After one year in the warehouse I was offered a job as a weekend work-camp leader.

BECOMES ACTIVE AGAIN

For me it was a selfish change. The pay is subsistence. I live in an urban ghetto which despite its many problems is more of a community than most of the affluent suburban areas I have encountered.

I spent evening after evening at meetings of peace organizations . . . I planned demonstrations, leaflets, seminars. I wrote letters, telegrams, spoke to youth groups — everything except physically participate in demonstrations.

Some day this year soon after Christmas I intend to violate the terms of my probation and attempt to enter the property of a local plant that manufactures

helicopters for the war in Vietnam.

Why now? What brought this all on was the self-immolation in Washington of Norman Morrison . . . For I am a pacifist. I do not support military power in any situation for any cause. I abhor the violence of the United States. I abhor the violence of the Viet Cong. I believe that war is useless and immoral.

Five years is not the greatest sacrifice; in fact, it is a small one. I risked it on the draft question, and I risk it again. But I am afraid. I do not like prison. I would like to chuck up peace action. I would like to fall in love and marry. I would like to travel the world. I would like to play banjo and guitar, read, talk, learn, roam freely, live richly, grow old. I would like to know the joy of my own children.

But in this world, how can a man do these things? When Americans burn and kill in Asia, when men are shot in the back in Mississippi, how can we sit back, how can we not suffer?

This letter goes to many people . . . I hope that you each will look and see whether you have done enough to oppose this war. None of us has, I fear. You are all welcome to come and join me at this helicopter plant . . . Peace.

Avant-Garde

By Mike Walters

Norman Morrison, the Baltimore Quaker who killed himself in front of the Pentagon in protest of the Vietnam War, has been neglected by the American press, including the Left. Yet he was one of those rare transcendental figures of human history that defy labeling due to their universality. I'm not talking about his "act" but the "motivation" behind it. He would have done it for the Jews of Germany as well.

What an irony that during the decline of the American civilization (if you want to describe sweat-shops, genocide, slavery, racism, militarism, etc., civilization), this culture produced some "heroic" individuals like Bill Moore, Richard La Porte, and Norman Morrison.

I was privileged to lead the memorial service for the latter at the Pentagon shortly after his death. Here is the eulogy that I delivered.

Some day the Star Spangled city of Baltimore will be better known as the city of the two martyrs — William Moore and Norman Morrison. They both were products of the segment of American culture that is predominant over the rest — the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Yet they sought and achieved a universality.

They had a personalized mystical religion, whose roots were in the soil of social justice. The intensity of their religious experience was linked to constructing a kingdom of god on earth. Their concerns were panoramic in nature. Peace and racial equality were not viewed as different goals, but a result of the similar inhumanity of their fellow man. Civil liberties was not a political issue, but a matter of assertion of individual conscience. The plight of the poor was not so much an economic situation as it was a product of insensitive social structures that promote selfishness.

They were ridiculous men in the viewpoint of their peers, actually kooks, to be exact. No two men possessed as much naivete as they did. Their final acts were interpreted as suicidal tendencies. Irrationality was imbued to a belief that it was still possible to stir the conscience of their society. Their deaths were editorialized as wasteful and needless.

They died alone and silently. People stood vigils for them. Some cried and eulogized. Most laughed in the mockery that conceals itself in fear.

These two men were adventurous. They sought to explore the spiritual periphery of man's experience. They have kept alive the image of man as an animal with an imagination. They dared to live and perish for the future. This is the real avant-garde.

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Book Review

Two Views of Sam Cornish

PEOPLE BENEATH THE WINDOW, by Sam Cornish, Sacco Publishers, 408 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

This is Sam's Spade book. The uniqueness of any perceptive poet is that he expresses his time and place with agonizing accuracy. To certain segments of white America the Negro must either be primitive or middle class. They refuse to comprehend what the Negro reality means. It is the mask, putting the man on, the funny sadness, the angry obscenity. Perhaps the most striking element of the American Negro and this work of Sam's is its subtle ironies. One can never be certain of what Sam is talking about. His anger is disguised in erotic images.

He seeks the freedom to use his cultural background as a means to transcend just as the other ethnic groups in America do. Sam has discovered that before he can become a free and universal individual he must find, accept and explain what it means to be a Negro. Sam's lesson to me was to be honest.

Now we can both be free and start to respect each other and together like brothers who have stumbled upon the reality of America go forward to achieve our common universality.

—Mike Walters

American Negro poetry has tended to divide itself recently into two major categories. The first is the poetry of protest by such writers as Claude McKay. ("If We Must Die"), Charles Anderson, Oliver Pitcher, and Margaret Walker. The second type explodes with the self-recrimination, bitterness, and frustration which are inevitable in a society which tries to systemat-

ically deprive Negroes of dignity and self-respect. **People Beneath the Window**, by Sam Cornish is of the latter type.

The most tormenting thread which runs through his poems is the theme of aloneness, his inability to communicate, or reach out: "i am tired feet my body waiting/dying folded into/the entrance in front/of me . . . your own dark/hand blind dark hand/fills the day/with its own/misery." In one poem, even after he makes love, he feels only the ultimate sterility of all relationships. There is no feeling of release of fulfillment, only the intense anguish of emptiness, and again, the knowledge of his inability to reach out and touch another human being: "after love; we are not; the same; our bodies/ready for the sleep/we cannot take/the children/we cannot have/the sharing . . ."

His poetry shows little anger against society except in subtle passages: "toward those cities/those grey cities where/men forget themselves," and one passage which might be aimed at whites. "i know of no other/death than the death/of so many hands/unaware of what we are/to them."

In an age of soundless automatic elevators and incredibly swift supersonic jets and fabulous minks and kidney-shaped swimming pools, the great poverty and suffering of Negroes are an agonizing absurdity.

"People Beneath a Window," is an expression of the feelings of a victim: disgust, despair, and hopelessness. Every Negro (or any intellectually honest person, for that matter) cannot help but feel anger towards this country's silence and its failure to resist our tremendous social injustices.

The spirit of submission and the acceptance of his condition as inevitable has for too long dominated Negro culture. To overcome injustice, one must be ready to fight and rise above its tragic effects.

—Lara Turner

Claims Old Union Fire Is Now Gone

Detroit, Mich.—I started out by working in the shops, and then later I went to college and became a professional and got my hands dirty another way.

Workers are the damndest people in the world. They scream all over about injustice, whether it comes from plant management or the union bureaucrat. And there doesn't seem to be any basic difference, since the essential points of view of both are management's. No matter what the structure is, an administrator is one who is hired to carry out orders from above, and anybody who happens to be under his authority is bound to have feelings in direct conflict with his. So workers scream bloody murder because they're being put down all the time.

WHO DID IT?

What grinds me is that they never look at themselves and say, "I did it. I went fishing instead of going to the meeting." They suddenly find a bunch ramrodded some slate through at an election and they weren't there. They may scream like hell, but they have no comeback, really.

In many ways, I think we are our own worst enemies. We've allowed ourselves to be lulled time and time again by two-bit pay raises. We (teachers) were offered a \$200 pay raise this year. You would have thought Santa Claus was coming around. This \$200 comes out to \$20 a month, \$5 pay check, or barely a case of beer a week.

But when they got this big raise there was great joy over the tremendous victory they had won.

Meanwhile, we have a contract that is the poorest excuse for a contract that has even been put together. The grievance procedure is a farce.

REFORMING IS TOUGH

I think it is far easier to organize to begin with, than to reform after you've got something. I often feel I'm losing faith in the potentialities of the union organization to continually revitalize itself.

Young people come in who have never been on a picket line, or found themselves with a dirty job because they opened their mouths at the wrong time. How do you convince them of the idea of unionism rather than some gimmick to get you shorter hours and better pay?

The statement around town is common that nobody wins from a strike. That's not true — YOU won't make your money up, but somebody along the line a few years further will make it up.

People don't join a union now in the belief of unity of workers. If you ask somebody to join the union, the first thing they say is, "Fine, what are you going to do for me?" You never hear the idea of "we" anymore. And you have to say, well if you join you'll get better insurance etc., etc.

Yet, bad as the union is, what the hell are you going to do without it?

TWO WORLDS

The Humanism of Marx Is the Basic Foundation for Anti-Stalinism Today

(Continued from Page 5)

failed because he had not been the theoretician that Lenin had been, had not prepared himself either for 1917, or for 1939, in the manner Lenin had or would have; that is to say, Trotsky had not met the twin political-philosophic challenges that each generation of Marxists must answer for itself: (1) what new stage of production, and with it, relations in production, had we reached? And (2) what new stage of workers' revolt and new, related underlying philosophy will now emerge? But, whether or not you, the readers, single out the Humanism of Marx as the theory of liberation for our state-capitalist age, you must find the link of historic continuity. If history has rejected Trotskyism—and the fact that the Fourth International has proved to be a still-birth seems to bear this out—then the new anti-Stalinist revolutionary forces must find the "why" of the failure of the first appearance of anti-Stalinist Marxism.

Not only is it impossible "to skip" historic stages, but one must face reality and note that, where the movement from theory to revolution proved a still-birth, the movement from practice did not. Quite the contrary. Whether you begin with the Hungarian Revolution openly unfolding the banner of Marx's Humanism (3) as a movement of freedom from Communism, or with Fidel Castro in Cuba, who, in fighting against American imperialism and its puppet Batista, claimed his revolution was both against capitalist exploitation and "communist political tyranny", was "humanist" (4); whether, instead, you begin with the year, 1960, "Africa's Year" when no less than 19 nations gained their independence from Western imperialism, again under the banner of Humanism (5), or use that year as the new point of departure because of the mass demonstrations in Japan against the American Security Pact—and, indeed, those marvelous "snake dancers" the TV screens brought us, the second America, the America of the proletariat, the youth, the Negro Revolution, the anti-Vietnam war fighters, promptly built an international bridge of solidarity between you and us—one truth stands out: everywhere the masses were in motion, and, from below, there was a dynamism of ideas unmatched in grandeur by the movement from theory that is bound to an elitist "vanguard" party.

THEORETIC VOID DENIES HISTORIC ACTION

No sadder commentary can be made about the 40 year theoretic void left by the death of Lenin than by quoting Chou Yang and realizing that his downgrading of the Humanism of Marxism reflects the views of some who call themselves anti-Stalinists: "The modern revisionists and some bourgeois scholars try to describe Marxism as humanism and call Marx a humanist . . . This, of course, is futile . . ." (6)

If a serious discussion on an international scale is to be started among anti-Stalinist Marxists, then we must begin here, just here. Chou Yang notwithstanding, it is not some "bourgeois scholars" who brought Marx's Humanism onto the historic stage, but masses in motion—masses in motion against established Communism, masses in motion against American imperialism, masses in motion against British, French, Belgian imperialism, masses in motion against all existing societies. The Marx of 1844 who could write of the Silesian weavers: "The Silesian uprisings began where the French and English uprisings ended, with the consciousness of the proletariat as a class", needs no lessons in class struggle from a representative of state power in China. Stalinism, be it in Russian or Chinese garb, should not be allowed to sully Marx's concept of revolution and vision of the "all-round" man.

It is the concept of individual as well as social freedom, the conditions of class society that had to be undermined, abolished, transcended. It is this we must now recapture, unfold, develop on the new historic plane of the 1960's.

BASIS FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONAL

There must be no more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. And something a great deal less honorary than "a degenerated workers' state" should be reserved for retrogressionists, for any who expound the barbarous view that a "new civilization" can first be built on the ruins of what would be left of the world after a thermonuclear war. (7) In a nuclear age where the only war that can be won is the battle for the minds of men, it is high time for Marxists and other freedom fighters to clear their heads, and, in opposing both Western imperialism and private capital as well as state-capitalism that calls itself Communism, East and West, unfurl a banner of a classless society and begin laying the foundation for a new revolutionary Marxist International.

Tokyo, Dec. 28, 1965

Raya Dunayevskaya

- (3) See especially Imre Nagy on Communism and Tibor Dery's writings as well as Po Prostu for the whole year, 1956.
- (4) Fidel Castro, *History Will Absolve Me*
- (5) See both Leopold Sedar Senghor, *African Socialism*, and Sekou Toure, *Africa's Path in History*
- (6) Chou Yang, *The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences*, Peking, 1963.
- (7) For a more detailed analysis of Mao's position on thermonuclear war, see the chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*

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CITY STATE

The State of the War Is The State of the Economy

(Continued from Page 1)

trast the "war on poverty" was allocated a mere 1.2%.

Yet it is from the already pitiful amount allotted to domestic needs that even more drastic cuts are bound to be made in order to find the funds for the ever-increasing costs of the Vietnam war, which is already consuming \$16 million a day. No less than \$60 billion will be asked this year for defense alone.

THE ADMINISTRATORS GORGE THEMSELVES ON THE POOR

As for the war on poverty program, its greatest success last year seems to have been in finding jobs for thousands of administrators and public relations men. Very little of the meager funds ever trickled down to the poor themselves. While scandals were the rule in the North, where the various administrators have been fighting for the funds, in the South white officials refused to take them, for fear it would require them to integrate the antipoverty facilities, or accept Negroes in policy-making positions.

Alabama, which ranks 11th in the number of its poor, is one of the worst examples. As a result, in at least eight Alabama counties, Negroes, under the leadership of the SCLC, have attempted to file applications on their own, but have reported no evidence of interest on the part of the Federal antipoverty agency in their region.

California, on the other hand, which ranks third in the number of poor, topped all the states in the amount of funds it received (some \$87 million)—but nonetheless not a dent was made in the problems of the Negroes in Watts, either before or after the revolt there had focused attention on the fact that fully 45% of the Negroes in that ghetto were officially considered "a b j e c t i l y poor."

In that same state, the grape-strikers of Delano also added to the true picture of our Great Society by focusing attention on the fact that though they were officially considered "employed," they were not being paid even the minimum wage urged by Labor Secretary Wirtz, of \$1.40 an hour. Instead they were trying to support their families on \$1.25 an hour—a wage that would net them \$2600 if they were employed steadily throughout the entire year. So much for how "this nation is flourishing."

"FREE CAPITALISM" IS A FARCE

Even outside the exploitative relationship of capital and labor, "free capitalism" is a farce. There is scarcely any sector of the American economy which can exist in its present condition without state intervention—Federal

Government controls as well as aid, and not only in the militarization of the economy but its industrial research. Without, for example, financial governmental support, American agricultural income would be cut by 25%, the auto industry by 20%, shipping by 50%, airlines by 30%, industrial research and development by 75%.

It is, in fact, only by its deficit financing and various other forms of manipulation of the economy; its constant advancing of what is considered the "danger" level of unemployment; and its increasing withdrawing of the youth into the army, that the government has been able to avoid the cataclysmic type of Depression we had in the '30s.

Above all, the State Plan for avoiding depressions rests on the transformation of the so-called labor leadership into the handmaiden of both capital and the state. The latest example of this occurred the very moment that President Johnson completed his State of the Union message. Almost before the last word had been uttered, and despite the fact that just about the only things LBJ had not been able to get from Congress last year were the two things he had promised labor—repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Law and an increase in the minimum wage—Reuther rushed to commend President Johnson's message as "inspiring."

LBJ REVEALS MUCH

On the other hand, exactly what the American workers think of their Great Society is revealed in the fact that more workers were involved in strikes this past year than at any time since 1959—no less than twice as many as in 1963. They act as they do because they know that the world economy, much less world politics, is no more "stabilized" now during the swollen war prosperity than it was during the lean Depression. War has become the very way of life of automated capitalism.

The age of state capitalism is as ingrained in the American economy as it is in that of Russia. In the latter, the state "owns" the economy; in the former, the economy "owns" the state. But in both the "executive committee" of the ruling class has one and only one job: to intensify the exploitation, degradation and misery of the workers.

World capitalism has reached so high a stage of statification that it has permeated private capitalism as fully as it permeates the state-capitalism that calls itself "communist."

It is this fact of life which President Johnson unwittingly laid bare for all to see.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Editorial Article

French Elections Intensify NATO Disarray

The American bourgeois press was all too eager to gloat over the recent near-defeat of De Gaulle. By the time the popular opposition to De Gaulle made it clear that the General would have to undergo a run-off election, a reader of the daily press might have been led to believe that Frenchmen repudiated De Gaulle's "foreign policy, especially his opposition to NATO." The truth was that what the French proletariat was rejecting was, not De Gaulle's anti-Americanism, but his internal policy of keeping wages down, as well as agricultural policies which have led to recession in the country. As his announced trip to Russia shows the General will continue with his attacks on NATO.

Following what has now become his annual custom, De Gaulle has once again derisively challenged U.S. nuclear diplomacy in his pursuit of French grandeur, or Europe on the Gaullist plan.

By threatening to kick over the NATO house of cards he has once again forced the State Department and the White House to back down on declared opposition to De Gaulle's "force de frappe" (nuclear striking force) and actually help him develop it.

By threatening to pull out of the Common Market, he has once again forced W. Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to bow down to his encroaching demands for economic and political supremacy over them.

His only opposition so far has been the resistance of the French working class. His main target remains to divert, immobilize and suppress this massive deterrent to his totalitarian ambitions. What is especially terrifying is that De Gaulle finds his allies among the strangest bed-fellows. These include the traditionally fascist officers' corps of the French army, on whom he bases himself. But they also include Communists of both the Moscow and Peking persuasion, old Social-Democrats and new "Great Society" democrats.

● In January 1963 — two years after his first atomic

tests in the Sahara, De Gaulle wrecked Kennedy's "Grand Design" for NATO by excluding Britain from the Common Market and rejecting a U.S. offer of Polaris missiles.

Nine days later, he and Adenauer signed a Franco-German treaty whereby West German industrial might was harnessed to De Gaulle's ambition. The shades of the 1940 Berlin-Vichy axis reappeared in the new Paris-Bonn axis. Gen. De Gaulle stepped into Hitler's shoes, and Adenauer into Marshall Pétain's.

That was the very month when De Gaulle also reached a security agreement with Franco-Spain for the reciprocal suppression of political opponents. As a result of this bit of grandeur, two Spanish anarchists living in French exile were betrayed to Spain's military police, convicted in secret trial, and executed in the medieval torture of garroting—that is, strangled in an iron collar bolted to a post by the slow turn of a screw.

It also resulted in the arrest by French police, at the behest of Spanish authorities, of more than 50 alleged anti-Franco exiles in a half dozen French cities.

Only the French workers that year knew how to take De Gaulle's measure. In a March-long strike, 200,000 miners shut down the nationalized coal pits. They ignored his threats of dire reprisal and defied his angry order to go back to work. They were joined in sympathetic strikes and demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of iron, steel, electrical, railroad and clerical workers in the nationalized — that is, the openly state-capitalist — sector of the French economy.

By month's end, with the support of virtually the entire mass population of France, two million workers were on the verge of a general strike. If he has never forgiven, they have never forgotten.

● In January 1964 — De Gaulle recognized Mao's China to whom he sold 1.4 billion dollars worth of surplus French wheat which his Common Market partners were forced to pay a \$40 million subsidy.

Having shown what he

could do within the NATO Alliance, he cast his visionary eye upon the Alliance for Progress with an autumn tour of Latin America. It was anything but a triumph. Being a man of all seasons, however, he followed up with this new year's announcement that in 1967 he will move his nuclear test site from the Algerian Sahara to French Guiana on the northern coast of South America. Some 2,500 miles southeast of Florida, Cape de Gaulle will be about 2,000 miles closer to Cape Kennedy than to Paris.

Though Washington strategists may sneer at De Gaulle's "force de farce" for having only a 3-megaton capacity compared with the multi-thousand megatons the U.S. has deployed in W. Germany alone, those three megatons were powerful enough to scuttle the multi-nuclear force in NATO and win major concessions from the White House at the very time that he is flirting for a reproachment with the Kremlin.

So great are the NATO rifts, that three years before its official termination in 1969, it is, if not in tatters, certainly tottering.

It was flawed from the start. Created in 1949 under the impact of Stalin's seizure of Czechoslovakia, it planned the state-capitalist reconstruction of national economies based upon America's awesome nuclear monopoly—which ended only a month later when Stalin exploded his first A-bomb.

Far from reviving old fashioned nationalism De Gaulle has successfully revived old fashioned imperialist plunder with the ominously new feature of authoritarian state planning supported by nuclear power. His Four Year Plans since coming to power in 1958 clearly show this.

It is this which the French masses are rejecting.

This renewal of working class strength is the real "third force" for a new unified Europe. It is the only truly democratic creative force not only for human survival but for humanist revival and the lasting reconstruction of a free world forever free from tension, torment and tyranny.

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