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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Sterling Strike Bares Grievances

In their recent strike, the workers at the new Chrysler Sterling Plant have laid open to the public the bare truth about how the union leaders have sold the workers out to the company. They have also exposed the unbelievable method by which the union bureaucrats operate, and at the same time the inhuman way in which the company treats its employees, especially the production workers. Many workers at other Chrysler plants believe that this is the beginning of something new. The company and the union bosses had thought the workers had been beaten to the point where this sort of action by rank and file workers was impossible. Only the union bosses, they thought, could ever attack the company — and these attacks were really a sort of game, because the union could always tell the company afterwards that they had to do and say such things in order to appease the workers.

NO UNION AT FIRST

This new Sterling Plant began operating in 1965, after the 1964 union contract was signed by the company. Many young workers were hired. There were very few older workers. When the workers there decided they wanted their own local, several of the bureaucrats who had lost elections in Local 212 and could not bear the thought of going back to the production line, made a deal with Local 212 officers to transfer them to this Sterling Plant and help them get elected as top officers in the new local.

There were to be three top offices: president, financial secretary and treasurer. The Local 212 officers thought this was a good deal because it would satisfy these bureaucrats and they would not be haunting them in the next election. But when the elections for the new local were held, the bureaucrat who was sent to be president lost to some unknown worker, and the financial secretary won by a very narrow margin in a run-off. The big bureaucrats from the International arbitrarily created a fourth position in the union and appointed the man they had been grooming to be president as recording secretary.

Workers soon began complaining about inhuman speedups, but the company would answer that they had no contract in that plant covering working standards. The same answer held for complaints about safety. One worker said that every week or so the company changed their foremen, and if 200 pieces an hour was what the former foreman had said production was, the new foreman would say it was 300 pieces. When the workers complained to the union officers, they would simply repeat that there was no contract covering this in that plant.

TRICKS IN SPEED-UP

Another worker from the press room said the company had timed their job while they used their hands to put stock into the presses. After they were timed at break-neck speed, the workers were told to use metal tongs to place the stock in the press, which took longer. But they were expected to keep the same pace.

One other worker told us they were forbidden by the company from entering the plant with a newspaper. Their lunches were taken away and locked up until the whistle blew. He said that before he was transferred to this new plant he thought a worker could exist in a shop today without a union, because conditions were so bad in the union shops they couldn't be much worse. But it took only a few days in the new plant to convince him how mistaken he was. He said he knew finally how great is the need for workers to be organized together under some kind of banner, although the union leaders today think and act just like the company when it comes to production workers.

WORKERS ANSWER ABUSE WITH STRIKE

When four workers were fired for not keeping pace with those machines, and the union officers said once more there was nothing they could do, the workers said, "To hell with you. We'll walk out and shut the place down until we get our grievances settled — all of them."

When other Chrysler plants began to cut production for want of parts, because of the strike, the union officers made an agreement with the company to settle the strike. They called a membership meeting at Local 212 hall to tell the workers what they had

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For Our New York Friends and Readers
Just returned from an extensive lecture tour
in Japan

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

author of *Marxism and Freedom* and editorial
board chairman of *News & Letters*, will speak
on

The New Left In Japan

PLACE: Workmen's Circle Center, Room 4,
132 Fourth Ave.

DATE: Tuesday, March 8—Time: 8:00 p.m.

AUSPICES: New York News & Letters
Committee

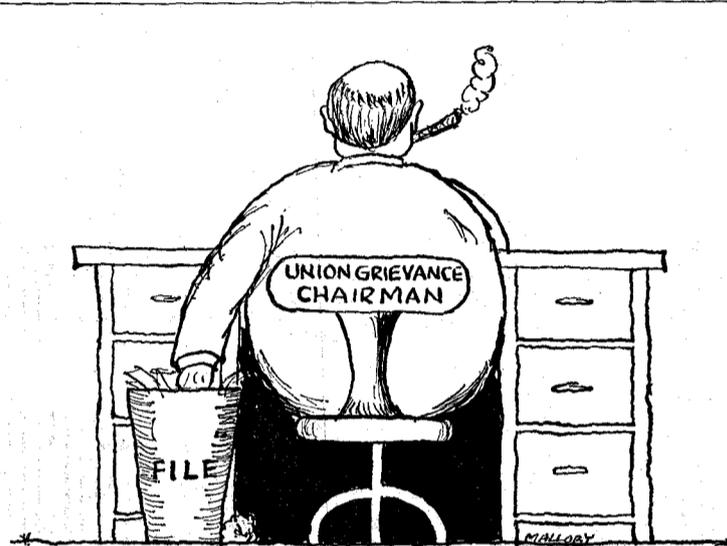
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THE NEW LEFT IN JAPAN: ACHIEVEMENTS AND GOALS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, Chairman, National Editorial Board

(The following report on Japan was originally written for *THE ACTIVIST*, see ad, p. 6)

A lecture tour through Japan is an exhilarating experience for one coming from the United States where Marxism is not exactly the most popular doctrine. In contrast to the political atmosphere in the States, where even the youth with a cause feels it necessary to vie with non-committed groups in denying an "ideological" foundation for his struggle for freedom, the New Left in Japan is all proudly Marxist, "anti-Stalinist and anti-imperialist, East and West." These sharp outer differences notwithstanding there is a deep affinity of purpose between the new Left in Japan and in the United States. Both the date of birth—1960—and the parallelism of actions—great mass demonstrations in Japan against the American-Japanese Security Pact and, in the U.S., the sit-downs signalling the start of the Negro Revolution—symbolize the beginnings of a whole new epoch of development in both countries.



The way most grievances are processed.

At Chrysler Highland Park

Workers Prevent Officers' Sell-Out on Representation

Detroit, Mich.—An overflow crowd of rank-and-file workers from Chrysler Highland Park plant jammed their local union hall at a meeting held Sunday, Feb. 13, and defeated an attempt by their officers to cut down on their union representation. The angry workers, determined to keep their representation, also refused to give the floor to a UAW International representative who was there to try to convince them to accept the officer's sell-out.

The meeting, described by workers as the largest since World War II days, was marked by stormy debate, with workers charging that officers tried to negotiate secret agreements with the company without the approval of the union membership, and with failure to effectively represent them in the handling of their grievances.

Setting the stage for this meeting was an earlier meeting held Jan. 30, a special meeting the rank-and-file forced the officers to call to consider the question of representation.

It all started when the officers and some committeemen decided to make a secret agreement with the company to eliminate two chief stewards from the day shift.

The excuse of the officers was that there were too many production workers hired on the midnight shift to be represented by the one steward on the shift. They hoped to trade two stewards from the day shift for one more on the midnight shift.

RANK-AND-FILE ACT

But as soon as the rank-and-file heard about the plans of officers to reduce their representation, they moved into action. They mimeographed a leaflet exposing the plans of the officers and distributed it throughout the plant. In the leaflet the workers called on the rank-and-file members to sign a petition calling for a special meeting to be

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The 700 that came out, Dec. 4, to hear my first talk at the Telephone and Telegraph Workers' Union hall in Tokyo were representative of the whole spectrum of the New Left. This was seen both from the introductory speeches which showed that, although the meeting was under the auspices of Zenshin (1), independent Marxists were also there, and it was made clear from the questions and discussion which followed the talk on "The Negro Revolution, the New Left, and Marxism in America." Furthermore, the questions disclosed an intense desire to develop relations with the second America — the America of the Negro Revolution, of the Free Speech Movement, of rank and file labor struggles, of the anti-Vietnam War teach-ins as well as the analyses of these developments by Marxist groups. And the preponderant presence of youth was made manifest by what I would call the sheer adventure of philosophic explorations, ranging from the historic gulf that separates the "Oriental concept of Void and Nothingness" from the "European (Hegelian) concept of negativity", through Sartre's Existentialism (2), to concrete urgency with which the the Hungarian Revolution invested the Humanism of Marxism.

The focal point of the discussion, however, remained the need for revolutionary regroupment, the need for solidarity between freedom fighters the world over—between workers and students and those who were fighting for and had won national independence from western imperialism that would not fall prey to Stalinism of either the Russian or Chinese variety.

EAGER FOR NEW RELATIONS

I do not mean to give the impression that the whole of the New Left is anti-Stalinist. The oppressive air of Maoism which dominates the Communist Party of Japan (JCP) hangs heavily also over a good part of the intellectual left. As was evident from another meeting, this time at the Waseda University, which was attended by nearly 1,000 students on Dec. 19, more than a little residue of Stalinism is imbedded also in some anti-Stalinist groupings.

The unruly group within the mass audience showed reverent silence only when I quoted Chou Yang:

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(1) Zenshin (Forward) is the organ of the NC-JRCL. To avoid confusion which would arise from the fact the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League contains the Trotskyist grouping as well as those like Zenshin and Liberation who have split not only from the Communist Party but from Trotskyism, we will refer to each group by the name of its organ.
(2) I should add that I began to see why my work, *Marxism and Freedom*, when translated into Japanese, became *Attention and Revolution*.

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WORKER'S JOURNAL**Sterling Strike Bares Grievances**

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won and to ratify the agreement. The workers said the agreement was rotten and yelled and booed the officers from the rostrum. They threatened the two bureaucrats and the financial secretary. And they flatly rejected the agreement.

The union officers ran to the press, pretended that it had been rejected by only 12 votes, and said they were calling for a second ratification meeting where all the members could vote because they were sure that way it would be ratified. At the second meeting, which was much larger, the workers dared the financial secretary to come into the hall, and the agreement was defeated again, this time by an overwhelming majority.

The union leaders then yelled that they had reached an agreement with the company and would hold a night meeting to explain it to the workers. A night meeting is something entirely new in the UAW, and many workers felt the bureaucrats thought they wouldn't attend a meeting at night. But the real trick was the statement to the press that the vote on the agreement would not take place until the following day, in the company parking lot. One worker said he thought the reason for that was that if the workers decided to beat the hell out of the officers, the officers wanted to be in a position where they could run, instead of in a hall where they would have to find an exit first.

OFFICERS AVOID STRIKE ISSUES

Another worker said, "We're tired of hearing those bureaucrats get up and tell us how the union was built, how militant the old workers were, and how they had unity in the ranks in the good old days. They never talk about what the union is today. They can't even talk about what it was ten years ago. If they did, it would show that they are the ones who are trying to destroy the unity among workers. They never raised the question of the four workers who were fired. It was the rank and file workers who said we won't return to work until those four workers are rehired. Now they say the company has agreed to rehire them on May 29, and this means they will lose their vacation pay. We want them back now."

Workers in many of the other Chrysler plants have been saying that we need to do the same thing in our shops. This company is insane over production, and every worker is in full support of the Sterling strikers. Many were looking forward to getting laid off so they could join them on the picket line. They also support the Sterling workers who have demanded a recall of the two bureaucrats that were sent to them from Local 212. Many of the older workers have been saying they hope this is the beginning of an overall change in the UAW, for the place to start is on the local level.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Negro History Is for Everyday

Justice for all the people in the world is a hard job. It is a hard thing for the white man to give up all the honor the darker races of people have given him for so long. They have obeyed his crooked laws for so long that some thought nobody except the whites could ever be free men. But by today the Negroes have showed the world how much the true history of the Negroes means to them.

NEGROES GAVE DEMOCRACY

They have seen in their history Negroes who were real leaders for their people. Yet somehow the white slave-owners who lost the Civil War, managed to keep the Negroes from gaining their true freedom anyhow.

The Negroes during the Reconstruction after the war gave the South the only democracy they ever knew. They were the ones who passed the laws giving the South free public education. Yet we are still fighting today for the Negroes to attend those very schools their great-grandfathers made possible.

We were never able to finish reconstructing the South because the rich Northern white man took his army out of the South, and used it to try to keep the poor whites in the North from getting their unions there. After that, the Negroes never got the freedom they had won, because the rich slaveowners in the South made sure that the Negroes never got the 40 acres and a mule they were promised. We kept right on working for the rich white man, only as sharecroppers instead of as slaves.

Once these crooked white men got back into power they were able to do away with all the fighting Negroes, and put some Uncle Toms in their place. That is what has fooled the white man into thinking he was so much greater than the black man.

Some whites still think that Negroes should be treated lower than their dogs. But they no longer think we are not human beings. They know we not only are human beings, but that we are fighting every day to get out from under them. That is why they are fighting so hard to keep us there. They cannot see that when everybody is free it will be a better place for everyone to live.

THE WHITE NORTH

Yet just when the white South seems to be changing its way of thinking, the white North seems to be taking up the very habits the white South is being forced to leave behind. For years Northern governments have been saying that there would be no more discrimination against the Negroes. They had even stopped having police cars manned by all white policemen. They said a Negro could live wherever he was able to buy a home. There were Negro leaders in some of the unions.

But things are now right back where they were before. All-white police are riding together again. The unions have almost all white leaders again. And the poor Negroes better not try to live in a white neighborhood.

Yet, even though they are not counted as full American citizens at home, look at how many Negroes are being sent overseas to fight this government's wars. The government must think that a black man should never think of these things. But black men do.

And when the government says all men should be treated equal, the Negro people mean to make it so. The southern Negroes have shown they will never give up again until they are free. The northern Negroes will have to join the struggle soon to the same extent — because there is no place else they can go.

At Chrysler Highland Park**Workers Stop Sell-Out in Representation**

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held to discuss the matter of their representation.

The response of the rank-and-file was overwhelming. Within a matter of a few hours, more than double the number of signatures of workers required to call a special meeting were obtained.

While the local union president, whom the workers sarcastically call King George, blustered and vowed he would not be intimidated, he knew as well as the rest of the workers that he didn't have any choice in the matter. The rank-and-file had made clear that this issue of their representation was not to be tampered with by the officers.

SELL OUT BY OFFICERS

One of the things that angered the workers the most is that the company had not raised the issue at all—that the officers were volunteering to cut down on the workers' representation. And the workers knew that what they needed was more, not less, representation.

The contract is very clear on this point. It states that when there are more than 225 workers for one steward, that another steward is to be elected. And there are well over 300 production workers on the midnight shift being represented by only one steward. If the officers were doing their job right, all they had to do was demand that another steward be elected for production workers on the midnight shift.

This, of course, would not have enabled them to try to maneuver and get rid of the two stewards on day shift. Another important

point the rank-and-file raised was that ever since the union was organized some 30 years ago, there had always been a steward for each of the three districts the officers wanted to combine into one. To the men working in these districts, this is vital, because each district has its own problems, problems the stewards knew. But if they were combined, one steward would not know all of the problems in the three districts, and their representation would suffer.

WORKERS DEMAND RIGHTS

When the president set Sunday, Jan. 30, as the meeting date, the workers ran off another leaflet urging the rank-and-file to attend and speak for themselves. And when the meeting convened at 2 p.m. that Sunday, the president and his clique faced a crowd of angry workers. They described grievance case after grievance case that had been lost because they were not effectively represented, and demanded that nothing be done by the officers until they met with the stewards and committeemen and reported back to the membership at a business meeting to be held on Sunday, Feb. 13.

The president tried to use parliamentary tricks to prevent any motion from coming onto the floor. When the motion to delay action until the Feb. 13 meeting was raised on the floor, the president refused to recognize it. But a rank-and-file worker contested the president's decision, which had to be put to a vote. The president was voted down; the motion was overwhelmingly approved—and the workers imme-

diately adjourned the meeting. They had won this battle.

Following this defeat, the president and his clique decided they had better change their plans, and gave up the idea of combining the three districts. But instead of doing what they should have done in the first place—demand a new steward for the midnight shift production workers—they proposed to get rid of another steward on day shift for a new steward on midnight shift.

ACT AGAIN

When the rank-and-file heard about this, they again went into action. This time they went to the contract and not only established their right to a new steward on the midnight shift, but also discovered that they had suffered a previous cut in representation that they could have kept if the officers had fought for their rights.

Another leaflet detailing this information was run off by the workers before the business meeting and passed out in the plant, and again the rank-and-file was urged to attend to defend its rights. Again the rank-and-file did turn out.

Not only did the workers stop the officers from going through with their plans, they also demonstrated that they were capable of handling their own affairs without the interference from the International union. Among their other achievements, they gained more representation for midnight shift workers by approving a motion to have a steward representing some 35 skilled workers on the midnight shift to also represent production workers.

Labor Party Plans Retain Exploitation

GLASGOW, Scotland — The leaders of the Communist Party who have always made the greatest noise about the need for a plan have been out-planned by the leaders of the Labour Party. A plan for Scotland—made to fit in with the plan for Britain as a whole—has just been issued.

It will win support with many in the Labour movement because it touches on serious problems of a social character which everyone would like to see put right. The fundamental defects of the plan will not be obvious to the majority of Labour supporters in Scotland. To them, the plan is a vote-winner.

The plan is tied up with an increase in production of 25 per cent by 1970. That target must go hand in hand with increased exports. This entails the granting of Government subsidies towards capital expansion, and the making of all the educational establishments subordinate to the needs of capitalist industry. It necessitates a clamping down on

wage increases, and the suppression of the right to strike. No government in the history of Britain has done so much to perpetuate and strengthen capitalism. **EYE ELECTION**

It is almost certain that there will be a general election this year. In that event, this plan will take the form of an attractive programme. That will be fine for those who, for one reason or another, confine their political activity to the winning of elections. The replacing of capitalism by the new society will be of no concern to them.

The plan does not have the aim of freeing the worker from the domination of capital. It is a plan drawn up by those on top to be carried out by those below. Every rotten and enslaving feature of capitalism will remain unchanged.

We must not accept the dictum that our future welfare depends on our ability to capture markets from the foreigner. If we do, our future will always be precarious. We will be helping to sow the seeds of strife between nations. That is implicit in production plans from above.

Scottish Shipyard Union Seeks International Solidarity With Japan

(Ed. Note: The following letter from Scottish shipyard workers was sent to Japanese shipyard workers in Nagasaki.)

From the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers of Glasgow, Scotland (No. 11 Branch) to the Japanese Shipyard Workers.

Jan. 6, 1966

Dear Brothers:

We are very anxious to establish close contacts with our brothers in the shipbuilding industry in Japan. We are writing as a branch representing one of the biggest trade unions in the industry on the river Clyde, and we would like to explain to you the hours, wages and conditions under which we work.

We work a 40 hour week, and our wages are approximately 10/—(\$1.40) per hour. There are no fringe benefits paid by the employers here. Compensation, sick benefit, and unemployment benefit are all paid by the state, which we understand is different from your country.

In the industry there are approximately 30 unions operating. Each of the unions has

strict sovereignty over their members in the shipbuilding and ship-repairing industry, and this to some extent has been responsible for a considerable amount of friction between the different sections of the workers here on the Clyde.

Our branch is anxious to establish contact with you and we would be very glad if you would write to us, giving us information regarding your wages and conditions, rates of production, etc., as we believe there is now a need for the world shipbuilding workers to be in a position to exchange such information and assist each other in solving the problems which confront them in their work. Best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

JACK MORRISON,
President.

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Interview Report

Grape Strike Gains National Support

(Interview with Gil Padilla, Vice President of the National Farm Workers Association.)

Los Angeles, Calif.—The strike is still in progress in Delano. They are now picketing in the fields during the pruning season, and because of this, the pruning season is about a month and a half behind schedule. In the picket lines we have all Mexican-American strikers now. There are about 100 pickets in the vineyards.

We have stopped the importation of scabs from Texas. Dolores Huerta went down there and closed the agencies which were referring scabs into Delano. Then she went to the border towns and got support from the Bishop in El Paso. She went all along the borders stopping the importation of scabs. Most of the scabs now in the area are not from Texas as they were before but from other areas.

SUCCESS IN L.A.

In Los Angeles we have been

having success with the grape boycott. The Central Produce Market has been stopped from handling Delano grapes with the cooperation of Local 630 who are not handling the grapes in the produce market. Very few grapes come in anyway, so the rest has been stopped completely.

Since the last part of January, we have focused our attention on a national boycott of Schenley products. The whole thing is to stop that bottle of Schenley from going across the counter. We are not intending to break him, but to give him just a little pinch so he will hurt enough to come down and negotiate with us.

Here in Los Angeles, the Mexican-American Committee to Aid Farm Workers, various union locals, civil rights organizations, church groups and Democratic Clubs are all supporting the boycott with direct contributions of money and food as well as active participation. MAPA ran a "Boycott Night" in East Los Angeles in which they picketed and leafleted the mar-

kets. They also had a dance for the strike, the proceeds of which went to Delano.

NEED MORE LABOR AID

Walter Reuther from the UAW who came to Delano just before Christmas pledged \$5,000 per month for both unions, the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). This has been coming in regularly, but it is only \$2,500 a month for each union, and our gasoline bill alone for last month was \$2,700. We still need a lot of money and a lot of food. We have no strike fund. We had \$57 when we started the strike last September.

We have our own kitchen. It takes about 300 dozen eggs a week just for the pickets. We have 2,500 people out on strike and we have to support them. It costs \$350 a week for food. Donations of food would be most welcome, especially sacks of dry beans, rice, flour, sugar, coffee, cooking oil and if possible, fresh meat and eggs.

Even if we got \$5,000 a week, we would still need the money. For the first time two weeks ago the NFWA was able to give \$5 a week to the pickets and the picket captains who have been on strike for the past two months. This is the first time they have seen \$5 a week. Many have lost their cars and their houses and furniture. But because of the food donated from here and San Francisco we have been able to feed them. Recently we have been able to save some of their homes and cars through financial donations we got from here and elsewhere.

MUST PAY EXPENSES

We must also support ourselves. We have 61 offices in cities all over the country we must pay the rent for. We also sent 15 people back East to 15 main cities to organize boycott committees, and they have to be paid.

We have no other regular income besides the UAW money plus donations from time to time by churches, civil rights groups, etc. We are prepared to go all the way. We can't quit after six months.

Schenley has been hurting quite a bit. They have been quoted in articles in the paper saying that "his people are all happy" and referring to our "so-called strike." But the president of Schenley flew from Massachusetts to meet with the growers in San Francisco a couple of weeks ago. This indicates that he is hurting and he wants to see something done to stop it. We are prepared to picket their warehouses and their cold storages, to continue the strike and the boycott until we win.

BOYCOTT SCHENLEY PRODUCTS

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

H.B.

On the Line

Workers Are Being WWP'd On Their Sure Grievances

by John Allison

Too many grievances, and especially money grievances, of workers at the Chrysler Highland Park plant are being WWP'd by officers and committeemen. WWP means "Withdrawn Without Prejudice," which simply means that the worker loses the grievance because it is withdrawn.

Now a grievance can be WWP'd for a number of reasons but mostly because some technical point like the wrong date or other wrong entry is made in filling the grievance out, or because it is not specifically appealed by the union officers to the next stage in the grievance procedure. Because of any slip, deliberate or accidental on the part of the committeemen or officers, the company can demand that the grievance be withdrawn, and the union has to accept the last answer of the company.

For anyone who doesn't know the answer of the company throughout the whole grievance procedure, it is always "NO."

NOT ACCIDENTAL

The workers in the plant are convinced that there have been too many grievances WWP'd, and they are not accidental. There

are too many of them to go into any detail, but one recent case will show what I mean.

A group of workers were scheduled by management to work out of line with seniority over the Christmas and New Year weekends. The shop steward filed a grievance in behalf of the workers who should have worked those days and demanded they be paid because the company failed to ask them to come in for those days. These men would have been paid double-time, and in some cases, triple-time.

The steward did his job all right, but when the case went before management and the officers, it just so happened that the case was not appealed to the next stage of the grievance procedure. The result was another WWP. Where the workers had a sure win if it had been handled properly, they got nothing but a sure loss.

This is just one plant. When you figure on all of the auto plants—Chrysler, GM and Ford—where this same type of double-dealing goes on, you can see that workers are gypped out of millions of dollars every year.

GAIN PRIVILEGES WITH WWP

Now you might think that the committeemen and officers would know better, and the sad part about it is that they do. This is just one more way that they can get management to let them have a lot of privileges they wouldn't have if they were fighters for the workers. The officers grease management's palms with grievance money that rightfully belongs to workers who are entitled to it, and the officers get their privileges.

But just you let a committeeman have a money grievance. Now that's something else again. If plant management schedules workers in a district to work overtime without also scheduling the committeeman and steward in charge of that district, the grievance is absolutely perfect. Not only that. The committeeman will threaten a strike and raise such a fuss that would make your head swim. He gets his all right, and no mistake about it.

Only I guess you can't blame them too much. After all, for all the favors they do for the company by WWPing other workers grievances, they probably feel that the company isn't doing right by them by trying to treat them the same way rank-and-file workers are treated.

CHANGES ARE OVERDUE

The one that is caught in the middle of this mess is the conscientious steward. He is right there on the line with the men, and is in the first stage of the grievance procedure. When he does his job right, only to have the committeeman or officers knock out the grievance, he is the one workers open fire on. The committeemen and officers are usually in an office taking it easy, since they don't have to be on the line.

And some stewards are yelling for help. There is so much anger and dissatisfaction among the rank-and-file workers that the stewards just may be able to get the help they need. A lot of things are brewing in the plant among the rank-and-file workers that just might bring about some surprising changes (see article, p. 1).

Steel Apprentice Work Speed-up

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Our apprentice program at the shop has the apprentices in a dither. The company wants them to go down two streets at one time: to make money and to learn—but basing their performance on the top-rate machinist.

The program is so speeded-up that the instructors don't know where they are—either on the theoretical or the practical end. They discharged four apprentices for not meeting standards. The majority have over \$400 worth of tools which they have already bought, or are buying on instalments.

The main theme of the shop is safety and this is supposed to come before production. They gave the superintendent three days off because of a rash of minor accidents over which he had no control. They tell you to go to the hospital when you have an accident, and then they hold an inquest on each case. In nine cases out of ten they charge that it was negligence on your part, and you end up getting a slip or time off.

The men are getting fed up with safety lectures at the beginning of every working turn. Under these conditions, it is not conducive to learning for either the apprentice or the regular working force.

Japanese Workers To Write For N&L

We were much impressed with Raya Dunayevskaya's lecture at our meeting here and her logic that only self-movement of the masses with many trials and errors is a way to the fundamental revolution in society.

We will be glad to contribute articles to your paper, but we do not think we can promise to write regularly. We would not like to send you articles that are insufficient or written with haste. We would prefer to write to you "irregularly", and will send you our first article for your March issue.

Please extend our best wishes to the rank and file workers in Detroit.

Worker
Toyota

EDITORIAL

LBJ-Ky 'Summit' A Combination of Jingoism and Hypocrisy

President Johnson went off to Honolulu to devise one more form of LBJ hypocrisy which talks of "a better life" for the Vietnamese peasant while putting the seal of the presidency at the disposal of that admirer of Hitler whom no Vietnamese elected to head his state—General Ky.

Just as President Johnson had ordered a temporary cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam so that his various "peace emissaries" would have time to cover the globe in order to line up those who would follow him in a new, escalated stage of bombing; and just as he then resumed bombing of the North while unctuously asking the UN to bring the warring parties to the "negotiating table," so he now thinks he can anoint his puppet with a sudden interest in "agricultural reform."

Our double-tongued, Janus-faced Commander-in-Chief deludes only himself if he thinks anyone will take seriously his pompous statements about building "a new society" when the acts he approves result in a scorched earth policy of SOUTH VIETNAM, spraying poison on the rice fields, putting their homes to the torch, killing civilians.

COMMITMENT TO WHAT?

We are now face to face not only with the escalation of the war in Vietnam, South and North, but with its expansion into other Southeast Asian lands, whose ramifications might very well set off World War III. It is high time therefore to take a comprehensive look at what America is "committed" to.

The favorite word in the lexicon of Secretary of State Dean Rusk is "commitment." Even those in the U.S. Senate who oppose the Vietnam war are nevertheless allowing the Johnson Administration to get away with the implication that "commitment" refers to the 1964 Senate Resolution which authorized the President to take "all necessary steps" to resist the aggression "evident" in the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Thus, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, though he is conducting public hearings into U.S. conduct in the Vietnam war, says he is "not at all proud" of the part he played in getting that resolution passed — as if a change in that resolution would get us out of the war. No wonder "the great debate" is turning out to be an expose, not of what Sen. Morse calls "the illegal war," but only of the common ground from which both the "doves" and the "hawks" argue: defense of American capitalism, its commitment to neo-colonialism.

The year of that commitment was not 1964, but 1954. The commitment was not to "others", but to U.S. imperialism's new role of "containing communism" even where that spelled out creating new forms of colonialism. Thus, although General MacArthur's passion for crossing the Yalu River had been contained, John Foster Dulles' theory of the "containment of communism" was given full reign. He walked out of the Geneva Conference and created SEATO. Threats of "massive retaliation" jibed well with McCarthyite witch-hunting, and the refusal to sign the Geneva accord which ended the bitter Indochina war, went hand in hand with the choice of Ngo Dinh Diem as the man to back.

What that commitment to neo-colonialism did not count on was that the authoritarian, semi-feudal, corrupt, exploitative regime of the Diem family would succeed in creating what Ho Chih Minh could not create — a genuine grass roots, mass opposition to Diem's rule. Where, in 1954, no less than a million ran from North Vietnam's totalitarianism, by 1959, Diem's terror against any and all opposition very nearly united the Vietnamese population, to a man, in a fight against his tyrannical rule.

It was only then that the Vietcong won the countryside. It was only then that the underground Communist movement in South Vietnam finally succeeded in getting Hanoi to come to its assistance. It was only then that Mao's China began to be heard more sympathetically than Khrushchev's Russia in Hanoi.

Ten military coups and 18 months after Diem's overthrow has brought no fundamental changes to South Vietnam, while U.S. "commitment" has become so total that it is propping up the latest military junta with the lives of 200,000 American troops!

OPPOSITION IN AND OUT OF CONGRESS

Congressional opposition to this all-out commitment to neo-colonialism is important only from the point of view that it reflects a much more fundamental anti-war position on the part of the American people. The voice of this vast majority is, however, not heard in the decisive manner in which, by the millions upon millions, it expressed its opposition to Goldwater and his proposals for escalating the Vietnam War. The question is: why? Why does the radical anti-war opposition appear to be so isolated from this vast majority?

It would be short sighted indeed if, for the sake of appearance of unity in anti-war positions, we failed to reveal the only principled stand, and unfurl not only a banner against war but for a totally new social order which alone could win the struggle for the minds of men, without which no anti-war position can succeed in actually staying the hand of the imperialists who have their hands on the nuclear trigger, West and East.

To do otherwise would be to continue isolation from those who do not join the anti-war struggle because they think that the type of opposition to U.S. policy they hear means favoring Peking or Russia or Hanoi. Let the people of Vietnam, South and North, decide their own fate. At a time when Castro is compelled to say that Mao's China uses "methods and procedures" that are "exactly the same as the ones used by the United States . . . in frank violation of the sovereignty of our country," it becomes imperative to take a second look at all aspects of the anti-Vietnam war struggles. It is high time for Marxists to do all they can to see that the struggle against Western imperialism doesn't become a trap for favoring Chinese or Russian state-capitalism which likewise oppose the Vietnam war for their own reasons.

Nothing must stand in the way of fighting Johnson and Ky's pretensions to speak "for" the people of South Vietnam. But neither do Brezhnev and Mao. Let the people speak for themselves. Only they can deflate that sawdust Hitler. Vice-President Humphrey may consider Ky a "partner in social progress"; but the Vietnamese

Readers'

WAR AND PEACE

I find the very phrase "peace offensive" to be offensive. The State Department has gone so all out for this war that it cannot even pretend to look for peaceful solutions without making it sound like war maneuvers.

People I talk to who voted for Johnson because they didn't want a Goldwater are all saying that as far as Vietnam is concerned, "I thought I was voting against Goldwater, but I got him anyway!"

Peacenik
Los Angeles

Elby Jay wants us to think he's the world's greatest peacemaker, a man of incomparable patience and generosity, just because he stopped bombing North Vietnam for a few weeks. This is incredible. Bombing North Vietnam was an inconceivable outrage in the first place. So he pats himself on the back for stopping his own outrage after 11 months.

During the bombing pause he added nearly 20,000 troops to the U. S. forces in the South. Now that he has resumed what was an unforgivable outrage in the first place, he invents ever new ostensible justifications for the bombings, justifications which at their most unctuous and hypocriti-

cal boil down to "teaching them a lesson" through massive, naked force. Such "lessons" are never learned.

The American people must stop this mad barbarian before it's too late.

Worker
Philadelphia

One short letter last issue on the myth of the elite that thinks it can achieve peace makes more sense to me than all the verbiage on the radio, TV and daily press. Of course, there are certain legitimate criticisms of LBJ's "feelers for peace," and the VDC should point them out—but when Aptheker was there, it gave me a terrible feeling.

I believe that one of the reasons the American masses, who are certainly against the war, don't really participate in great numbers in the Peace Movement is because people like Aptheker turn out to be the leaders of the movement in the end. I very much welcome that Reader's View, and its analysis of the question.

Activist
Los Angeles

Dean Rusk made a point the other day and hung himself at the same time. He said that a bomb carried by "a boy on a bicycle" is as deadly as a bomb carried by a B52. No doubt Rusk is under-estimat-

peasants know the semi-feudal exploitation which has made them form the Vietcong. Let us therefore turn the calendar back to the day the Vietminh, as a united land, defeated their French overlords.

HANOI AND THE RUSSIA-CHINA ORBIT

The day after the Vietminh defeated French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu, it was pressured by its two "socialist allies", Russia and China, to go to Geneva—and lose at the negotiating table what it had won on the battlefield: a united Vietnam. Post-Stalin Russia had, the previous year, hurried to conclude the Korean War, and now hungered for "peaceful co-existence" in order to have time to solve the crisis Stalin bequeathed it. China, likewise, was anxious to turn its attention to industrialization, undeterred by wars not only with the U.S. but the presence of the French Army in the Red River Delta.

In 1954 the Sino-Soviet conflict was nowhere on the horizon. The counter-revolutionary unity of that orbit was further cemented in 1956 by the action against the Hungarian Revolution. Nearly three more years was to elapse before, on the one hand, the mass opposition to Diem from below assumed the proportions of both a national liberation front and a guerrilla army, and, on the other hand, a Russian-American detente brought conflict into the Sino-Soviet orbit. The critical year for all independent mass movements was 1960, when an entirely new, third world of independent African states was born. It is the contest for the domination over this world that split the Sino-Soviet orbit apart.

Despite its geographic proximity to China, Hanoi first tried to maintain neutrality. Even when it did finally align with Peking, it neither gave up all its freedom of movement nor refused Russian aid. Just as the struggle against the U.S., neo-colonialist role in Vietnam must not get bogged down in the type of timid opposition shown in the U.S. Senate, so it must not fall into the trap of being for any other ruling class orbit which opposes U.S. imperialism only in order itself to dominate the world.

WHAT NOW?

Thought, too, is an event. To unfold a banner of freedom, to disclose a vision of a world on truly class-less, human foundations is the only way to win the struggle for the minds of men. This is so in the U.S. where the opposition to U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam can develop into a mass movement only when we stop dividing the "immediate struggle" from the "ultimate" aim of total freedom. And it is so on the battlefields of Vietnam where the struggle for freedom cannot be won without an underlying philosophy of freedom.

Where these two inseparables are separated, as they were in 1954 and thereafter, the battle won did not signify a new social order not only because it was lost at the negotiating table, but, above all, because North Vietnam didn't practice freedom the day after the battle was won. This was evident not only "the day after" when there was a mass exodus from North Vietnam, but again in 1957 in the country when both small peasant and intellectual revolts were put down as ruthlessly as in China.

The struggle for freedom in South Vietnam arose from below, and independent of any aid, in theory as well as in fact, from North Vietnam. Where it aids it now, as it should, it must not be allowed to decide "for" the liberation movement in the South. Only the South Vietnamese themselves must have the right to decide their own fate. It is toward that end that the anti-Vietnam war struggles in the United States, and the world over, must be directed.

ing the destructive power of the 1,000-pound bombs dropped by the jet bombers. But the point is that when you're fighting boys on bicycles with B52's, you've got to be in the wrong.

Student
Philadelphia

LATIN AMERICA

In your recent editorial on the Inter-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro, you stated: "The Latin American countries . . . flatly rejected the 'peace' force proposal."

Truthfully, the matter never came to a vote. Ten governments, all dictatorships and headed by the U. S., supported it; eight countries, headed by more or less responsible governments, opposed it. It was agreed, however, that the charter of the organization—which the Latins call "Ministry of Colonies"—needed revision. And it is at the revision, scheduled for some time this year, that observers feel a loophole will be found by the U. S. government to make the "peace" force a "legal" reality.

Nevertheless, the way Mr. Rusk spoke at the meeting leaves little doubt that the "peace" force is already in existence. And, indeed, it is—in the Dominican Republic, the martyred island.

The matter of Latin American independence from its "good neighbor" to its north will not be solved by puppet regimes but by the Latin American people themselves. Guerrilla movements are already in action in Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Guatemala. Sooner or later, the U. S. military industrial cabal will be forced to drop the pretense of "military advisers", as it did in Vietnam, and will have to rush its military might to protect the millions of Standard Oil, United Fruit Company, Sears, etc., from the super-exploited Latin Americans.

Observer
New Orleans

Recent events in Dominica have born out your predictions when the "truce" was signed. The "rebel" troops were disarmed and isolated under the combined forces of the United States and the dictatorship in Brazil. The old "army" was, of course, controlled by the right wing who built up a program of harassing the disarmed "rebel" sections of the Dominican Army.

Recent shooting has come from the direction of the "old" army, directed against the "rebels," while the demonstrations in the streets have come from the youth, directed against occupation of their country by outside American military forces.

Orders from Premier Godoy that military leaders of both sides should, "take posts abroad" have been largely protested or ignored. Unless the people of the country are left to settle their own problems in their own way, without American military intervention, there can be no real peace in the Dominican Republic.

Reader
Boston

Views

TOM RODD

The open-letter by Tom Rodd, that young pacifist who led a demonstration in Philadelphia right after Christmas, which you printed in your January issue, was very moving.

We are bombarded on all sides by the picture the daily press would like to paint of "peacniks" as bearded, neurotic, unwashed, brash delinquents. And it was eye-opening to read this letter in which a young man states, in simple words: "I do not like prison. I would like to chuck peace action. I would like to fall in love, marry, travel the world, play the guitar, read, talk, learn, roam freely, live richly, grow old, know the joy of my own children . . . But how can a man do these things when men are burned and killed in Asia and shot in the back in Mississippi . . . how can we sit back?"

It was a very beautiful letter and I hope it moved others as much as it did me.

**Technician
Chicago**

* * *

After reading the letter by Tom Rodd in the last issue, I think your readers would want to know that his participation in that public demonstration, which he knew would violate the terms of his probation, did, indeed, result in his conviction.

On January 7, 1966, Judge Rosenberg—who had given him the choice, when he was originally convicted of failing to register for the draft, of five years in prison or two years of constructive social work and no public demonstrations—sentenced him to four years in federal prison. He is now serving that sentence.

**Pacifist
Philadelphia**

* * *

FSM-TEACHERS WIN

The two FSM activists who were recently ordered by the state superintendent of public schools, Rafferty, to appear at a special hearing to see whether they would get their teaching credentials, came through with flying colors. Most of us believe that without the pressure that both the AFL-CIO Teachers Federation and the public school officials exerted in their behalf, they might not have won so handily. Before these two cases aroused the citizenry and the profession to denounce Rafferty's "inquisitions", four others had been called in, and two of them were denied their credentials. I don't know if anything will be done to reverse those decisions or not.

**Correspondent
California**

* * *

CIVIL RIGHTS

When some of the civil rights people talk about a new "sophisticated" stage for the movement and say that the day of demonstrations is over I wonder just what they do mean? If they mean that more is needed than carrying a few picket signs here and there, I agree with them. But many of these people were the very ones who always thought the so-called "masses" were pretty backward when they didn't

rush to join a picket line somewhere.

It has always seemed to me that the only demonstrations some "leaders" recognize are demonstrations they plan and organize. Yet most of the ones that have been the most real like the Montgomery Bus Boycott—were so spontaneous that the leaders had to run to catch up. And the ones like Watts were so far removed from any established leaders that they were all running to stop it.

I have been on plenty of picket lines myself, and I think there was a great value to most of them. But it is the Watts-type of demonstration that has the most to teach us. And the "leaders" have the most to learn.

It was Watts that joined the class question with the race question, so that nobody could separate them again, except at his peril. That is the lesson I think any "new" stage has to be based on, and not some professed "sophistication".

**Activist
Cleveland**

* * *

The demonstration at the air-force barracks in Greenville, Mississippi, was exactly what was needed to expose the phoney War on Poverty, LBJ's phoney "Great Society", and the phoney claims that those civil rights laws on the books in Washington mean anything.

The Negro woman they interviewed on TV was the most eloquent "leader" I have heard for a long, long time. And her definition of what "politics" is gets my vote. When she said you had to go back to politics to get to the heart of the thing, the kind of political action she was talking about was occupying the vacated barracks and just staying there until somebody did something about their situation.

It must have hurt LBJ to stop thinking about his war on Vietnam long enough to order the army to evict them.

**Activist
Detroit**

* * *

Recently I sat in on a civil rights conference and everyone was very earnest about how to get help for the Negroes in the poorest neighborhoods. A lot of talk was about how to use the War on Poverty funds, and how to get Negroes trained through the retraining programs, etc. Then a Negro from the neighborhood got up and said he had been retrained, but his problem was where to get a job. Everyone sat a bit stunned, I think, because nobody had an answer to that one.

**Concerned
Ohio**

SUBWAY STRIKE

I think a lot of New Yorkers were really for the subway workers, yet some just seemed to repeat a lot of garbage heard on radio and TV. One woman we picked up on the way to work began to talk this way and when we said, "Hey, didn't you see our big TWU sign on the back of our car," she switched right away and said, "Don't get me wrong, I'm a strong union member myself and the subway workers should get what they are asking for." Maybe she was just afraid of losing a ride.

**Electrical Worker
New York**

* * *

The last few weeks I have been working at a plant with a majority of European technicians, 2 Puerto Rican workers and one Negro worker. The technicians were discussing the transit strike and saying that the National Guard should run the busses. Half in jest I began yelling "Scab! Scab!" Visibly shaken, one of them pointed his finger at me and said, "I bet you're for the union." And when I said, "100%", I thought he'd bust.

He then said I could be for them because I'm not suffering from the strike. I told him that beside the 45 minute walk home after being dropped off by a driver, almost half my check went the first week of the strike for the upkeep of our car, and even that could not turn me from support of the subway workers.

The only other person that was with the subway workers was the Negro worker. He said, "People that are against them, just don't know what it means to be in a union. Every time a motor man gets into a train I think he is taking a chance with his life."

**Woman Worker
New York**

* * *

AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

The American Trotskyists, who have not created a single new idea in the last 20 years, are staunch supporters of Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung, but the love match is all one sided.

Recently they were put in the embarrassing position of learning what was said about them by Castro at the Tri-continental Congress in Havana, through the pages of the Communist Worker. Castro apparently spent some time denouncing the Trotskyists as "agents of imperialism." And what conclusion do you suppose they drew from such Stalinist behavior? Their paper, *The Militant*, devoted two full pages appealing to Castro to correct his mistaken impression! Some people just never learn.

**Observer
Boston**

The New Left in Japan

(Continued from Page 1)

"The modern revisionists and some bourgeois scholars try to describe Marxism as humanism and call Marx a humanist . . . This, of course, is futile . . . In the early stage of development of their thought, Marx and Engels were indeed somewhat influenced by humanist socialism. But (with the discovery of) the materialist conception of history and the class struggle as the motive force of social development, they immediately got rid of this influence." (3)

Nevertheless, not only was such behavior the exception, not the rule, but here too the Waseda University Students Paper invited me to write for it. In the article, entitled "The Humanism of Marx is the Basic Foundation for Today's Anti-Stalinism", I quoted the same passage from Chou Yang, adding: "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. '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. . ."

"There must be no more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. And some thing 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. . ."

Nearly everywhere I talked in Japan, whether to student audiences or labor groups, academicians or peace rallies. I was met with enthusiastic receptions. The thousands who did so didn't do it because they all agreed with the views of a Marxist-Humanist, but because they all felt the urgency for leaving all doors open in the working out of new international bases in the field of theory as well as in undertaking common anti-war actions and thereby forging new relations on all levels.

I. Hiroshima Internationalism

The deep internationalism of the Japanese youth can be seen in the peace rally held in Hiroshima on Dec. 8. If you recross the international date line, you'll find it is Dec. 7 in the States.

Now, any one feels very small and very humble when he arrives in Hiroshima. A visit to the Peace Museum is a most harrowing and sobering experience, guaranteed to fill your night with ghoulish nightmares, and by morning kindling such wrath in you against America for that fiendish act of dropping the A-bomb that you are quite ready to forget that you too are American, and that there is a second America, one that is determined that there be no more Hiroshimas, no more Nagasakis.

It seemed inconceivable that the very city that American imperialism atom-bombed would hold a rally in commemoration of all who died the night when Japanese imperialism attacked Pearl Harbor. Yet that is exactly what took place in Hiroshima on Dec. 8, 1965. I felt trepidation when I arose to speak and I began very slowly:

"While I do not wish to minimize Japanese militarism's role in the second imperialist world

war, the day of infamy that will never be erased from history is not Dec. 7, but Aug. 6. And when that day of infamy was extended, and on Aug. 9th, Nagasaki was atom-bombed, hell on earth seemed to be the only reality left. Because we are gathered here to make sure that that dehumanized version of reality does not repeat itself, our anti-war struggles must be inseparable from those aimed at eradicating that which is at the root of all wars: class society."

The breadth and depth of the discussions in Hiroshima revealed also the uniqueness of Japan's anti-Stalinism. First and foremost, its uniqueness was born out of the timing of the first serious break from the JCP. The years were 1956 and 1957. The revulsion against Russian Communism's suppression of the Hungarian Revolution took place at the same time as the study of Marx's *Early Humanist Essays*, especially the one on "Alienated Labor."

This study was not for academic purposes, but because of the struggle of Japanese railway workers. The JCP had failed to support the National Railway Workers Union strike in 1957, and this national manifestation of Communist betrayal completed the disillusion of the political tendencies within it that had been fighting party policy on Hungary. Thus the timing helped to keep, as one, politics, philosophy, economics, nationally and internationally.

Secondly, the uniqueness of the new anti-Stalinist movement was due to the fact that this totality of view, learned from practice, carried over into the anti-war struggle. In a land that was exposed to actual atomic bombing the desire for peace is not easily diverted by such spurious argumentation as that of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) which claimed that its bomb was "a workers' bomb," "defensive."

The rationale of the CCP only helped sharpen up the break from Stalinism so that no new stage of reconsideration of the nature of Stalinism was necessary. By the time the Maoists took over the reins of the JCP and plunged into the misadventure of breaking up the Gensuikyo (Japanese Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs), the whole Left, especially in Hiroshima, revolted against the strange admixture of crass opportunism and guerrilla adventurism, in thought as well as in action, that passes for Maoism.

Besides the peace rally, there was a public meeting under the auspices of the Marxist Student League, the Marxist Young Workers' League, and ZENSHIN that was attended by about 300. There were also smaller meetings with the students and the student press of Hiroshima University who were interested in all the details of the Berkeley Revolt.

LABOR AWARENESS

The most impressive part of those meetings with Zenshin which concerned themselves specifically with those questions on which we did not agree—the theory of state-capitalism and my emphasis on the working out of the philosophy of Marxism for our age as taking precedence over the question of "the vanguard party"—was the presence of workers from all basic industries, auto, electric power, shipyards, etc. They were concerned with establishing relations for action, as the Nagasaki Shipyard workers with those in the Clyde in Scotland where Harry McShane had distributed leaflets calling for common action between Scottish and Japanese shipyard workers. And there

(Continued on Page 7)

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(3) Chou Yang, *The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences*, Peking, 1963.

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

Radical Youth Can Learn Much From Humanist Method

The New Republic is publishing a series of statements termed "Thoughts of the Young Radicals," in which they have invited workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the Students for a Democratic Society to state their views of today's society and their prescription for the future.

Their perspective, as one of the workers wrote, is "from the bottom." They have been working with the poor whites and Negroes, North and South. From there, the picture drawn of America is devastating. It is an indictment of a society which claims to be pluralistic and equalitarian but in which the control over elemental life decisions are controlled by the politics of "liberal corporatism"—"the harnessing of an extensive social welfare system to a centrally coordinated but privately controlled economy." Welfare is not controlled by the poor, and in general is doled out to them in most restrictive amounts.

POWER VS. POOR

The society they see is "the postwar marriage of the defense plants and the Pentagon," contrasted against the powerlessness of the poor. They see a "managed society" which excludes the majority of its citizens from any real voice in decision-making that affects their lives.

Their insights into the problem are at times profound — "You can talk about giving Southern Negroes the vote but not the land, even though their relationship to the landowners is precisely what causes their condition." "The needs of the sharecropper as defined by the sharecroppers must meet the 'interests' of the landowner; for consider the implications of the big landowners no longer being able to control how the land they claim to own is to be used."

Their prescription rests on working with the poor, unrepresented people — work involving the unrepresented in building institutions, movements, organizations, which they can claim as their own and which begin to give them a voice in decisions that affect their lives.

The ideas put forth in this series are serious attempts at communicating where we are and where we should be going. But there seems to be a reluctance to identify historically with similar analysis. Why not call the system in which the sharecropper has lost control of his labor and has no control over the land as Capitalism? One hundred twenty years ago the young Marx began his analysis of the society he lived in by looking at precisely the same relationship the young radical raises in stating that the relationship of the sharecropper to the landlord is what keeps him in his present situation. Marx said that what is most degrading about the system he lived under was the labor process in which the individual human laborer has lost all control of his laboring power. All contradictions of the society stemmed from this fact.

PROBLEMS STILL SAME

In other words, here was a seminal thinker on many of the same problems that the young radicals face. However, objections are raised to bringing his name forth. First, by saying that the world has changed greatly since his day and thus he is not now as relevant as before. Second, bringing him in raises the problem of

bringing Russia and China into an already complex problem.

The answers to these objections lie in several areas. The questions being raised by the New Left in conjunction with their work with the unrepresented, the facts being discovered about our society, are often similar to those that Marx was working with. He spent some 40 years asking and trying to answer some of the same questions.

Yes, the world has moved greatly since his day, but that does not invalidate his work, but enhances it. His greatest contribution was methodology. A way of looking at society and what occurs in it. Thus the sharp perceptions of the young radicals in cutting through the myths and phraseology of society can become something more than collected phenomena. They could become a beginning of the reorganization of society, the developing of a philosophy of freedom through the use of his methodology.

TERMINOLOGY VS. FACT

The question of bringing Russia and China forward by mentioning Marx is a serious one. Yet, to ignore him would be more harmful. Russia and China are using Marxist language in their appeal to the minds of man, and yet the practice of either country is far from any society Marx envisioned and in fact represents the development he foresaw—capitalism in the hands of a single capitalist corporation, the state.

This becomes important when one raises the question of who controls the land or the factory; that is, who controls the human labor power. Is it the sharecropper or the landlord?

For the countries calling themselves socialist, the answer is to abolish private property and a new relationship would be established. But their own countries point to the fact that the mere abolition of private property is not the answer, and could, in fact, lead to a more repressive state of affairs.

Rather, the crucial question in workers' control of the factory and sharecroppers' control of the land is control over one's laboring and not simply the abolition of private property. Here Marx had much to say to separate himself from what he called the "vulgar communists" of his day who thought that all the ills of society could be done away with simply by the abolition of private property. He said, and it applies even more today, that as long as people have control over other peoples' labor power, private property in one form or another will exist.

In moving toward solving the crises of our age, the young radicals seem on the right track in working with the unrepresented—the human force for the reconstruction of society. But I think that Marxism, as Marx created it by observing the passions and forces of the oppressed classes of his day, is a necessary part of that reconstruction.

Time Never Did Anything—People Do

Detroit, Mich.—They say it will take time. Time for what? To learn how to live with other human beings on the earth? How long? How many more "laws" will have to be written, voted, and discarded? How many more riots, demonstrations, wars? How many more killings?

We have been told that we are a nation of law and order, of equality. Yet in recent years we have had laws enacted to ensure a minority group of their right to attend school, vote and partake of public accommodations. Is it not ironic that these same laws were "on the books" throughout history—in the Bible, the Amendments to our Constitution, and the 1954 Supreme Court Decision? Neither the church nor the government has enforced them. So people continue to believe they are immune to both the ancient and current proclamations.

RULES FOR OTHERS

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is rationalized to be valid for the next person, never for one's self. Desegregated schools and neighborhoods are fine—democratic, even—provided they do not interfere with one's own family.

The segregationist's role is a negative one, but one which completely rules out any mental guessing-game of "which side are you on?" The more numerous foes of true Humanism are the fence-sitters, the complacent ones,

those who supposedly agree with you in a discourse on human value, and then end with, "but

These environmentally brainwashed non-thinkers delude themselves into thinking "this is progress" and "too much too soon is not good. People have to earn their freedom." If time and earning freedom were the only criteria used, the 20 million of our Negro people would be our most distinguished citizens, scoring 100 in each category.

Recently, I attended an all day symposium on "Youth." One of the more challenging questions put to the audience was "Are we morally bankrupting our youth by surrounding them with anaesthetically - pure environments? Will this prepare them for living and producing now and in the future?" Watching the reaction of the audience, many of whom were affluent suburbanites, I saw

the incredulity that this question and the answers brought forth. Some were vehement in denouncing the speaker for intrusion into their make-believe way of living. SOCIAL SICKNESS

The speaker told a story, which I think hit home more than anything else he said: In one of our suburbs an elementary school had just been assigned its first Negro teacher. One mother, who was greatly interested in her child's reaction, waited impatiently for the child to return from school on the first day of this change. However, when the child didn't say anything for three days, the mother finally asked her how she liked her new teacher. The child answered, "She must be sick because she sent her maid."

This commentary on our society in view of all our laws deserves shame and disgust. The question still is "How long will it take?" And only we can answer.

Students Answer to Reality

Detroit, Mich.—One educationist, Brumer, suggests that any child who is mentally healthy can learn anything provided it is taught in the right way. I have found this to be very true in my own inner-city school.

I have found my students most responsive to all of the great philosophical problems which have concerned men through the

ages. They love depth in teaching. They love to analyze people and society and feel they are gaining insight and understanding.

For example, I gave the following topic to my students to write an essay on: "I'd rather die on my feet than live on my knees." (Albert Camus). The students responded with great depth and sensitivity—for they knew very intimately what this meant, even more than many suburban children who have had a much easier life. Poverty has made these students much more socially aware and sophisticated.

PROFOUND REACTIONS

One girl, for instance, reacted by writing: "Last night I became aware of the relationship between freedom and choice." Now that is the basis of Erich Fromm's famous philosophy as well as an insight which has tremendous depth.

Another student wrote that she would not live on her knees by obeying someone else's order to fight for a cause that she didn't believe in, especially since there was so little freedom for her own people right in this country. The last line of her essay stated that it's too bad that America is so rich, "because if America didn't have all that money to fight with she would have to find some other means of solving her problems—like reason, logic and humanitarianism."

BEAUTY IN SLUMS

Once, after a discussion of the emptiness of a great deal of life in the "jungle of concrete and clay" where size and price have altered our sense of beauty and value, one football player came up to me and said, "This might sound crazy, but I think there's a lot of beauty in the slums. I mean, it's more real there." The next day I found a beautiful poem about his feelings on my desk.

Every teacher could learn a great deal by trying to understand what life is like from the students' point of view. Once, after reading a story of life in medieval Germany, I asked the students where the gap between social classes was greatest, expecting that the obvious answer would be "Germany." But I was wrong. Their answer was "America."

Their ideas of class and caste in America have great significance as far as their ambitions (or lack of them) and self concept are concerned. Many teachers—a surprising number—oppose this view. "We must bring them up to a middle class standard" they maintain—and this is their excuse for being oblivious to the children's needs.

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The New Left in Japan: Achievements and goals

(Continued from Page 5)
was also deep concern with ideas.

In contrast to what is the situation now among trade unions in the U.S., the political groups in Japan have shop papers that are openly Marxist. Just as a group among the shipyard workers—the Social Science Research Club—were the ones to translate and publish a Marxist-Humanist analysis of *The Soviet Economy and the Law of Value—A Revision or Reaffirmation of Marxism?*, so auto, coal, and steel were most interested in publishing *Workers Battle Automation* by Charles Denby, editor of *News and Letters*. In what other countries did groups of trade unionists publish such theoretical as well as class struggle analyses? And where else would a Marxist group that does not fully agree with another Marxist grouping in a different country publish the other's views precisely on the points in disagreement—state-capitalism, and the philosophical essays on *Marx's Humanism Today* and the *Afro-Asian Revolutions*?

That this dynamism of ideas characterizes not only workers who are "politicalized" was most clearly evident in Toyota.

II. Toyota Labor Speaks

Toyota, "the East Detroit" of Japan, is a perfect example, and by now a very rare one, of the telescoped, brutalized industrialization of Japan when it was still a feudal country. In Toyota the fantastic remnants of feudalism and paternalism underlie one of the most automated industries, auto. Not only is it a company town such as I have seen in mining towns of West Virginia and Kentucky, or like some of the textile towns in Japan, it has some features that are more like a prison than a town.

Thus the workers not only live in houses owned by the auto company, but these houses are within a compound to which no entrance may be gained, not even by the relatives of the employees, except with permission of the company. Those employees who have a college education live in separate compounds from those with only a high school education; married couples live in different areas from the single men and the single men can have no female visitors.

Not only that. What calls itself a union, run by the right wing of the SP, tolerates these conditions and even manages "to show them off" to the "progressive labor leader" (Reuther) of its sister-city in the United States, Detroit.

It seems that Reuther took the grand tour of the factory, in the company of what the workers consider a company-union, but Reuther considers an example of "Western democracy". He left a picture of himself in the union hall which testifies to his visit. What the workers resented was Reuther's acquiescence to their conditions of labor, and to the town as a whole, which management dominates.

SEEK HUMANIST REALITY

Yet, out of this constricted milieu, one worker, not connected with auto, arose to challenge the economic domination and political monolithism that the auto firm imposed on the town. Masashi Toguchi who had once been a Communist Party member, but broke with it, decided to run for City Council.

Toguchi ran as an independent. The attack Toguchi launched against auto management and its stranglehold over the workers, as well as against the do-nothingness of the union, was concretized in two slogans:

"Down with the Fences!", and "Let's Make Love!" He won handily.

I was invited down there on a Sunday, the workers' only day off. The topic at the afternoon meeting concerned American labor, concentrating on the one hand on the birth of the CIO, and on the other hand, on the wildcats against Automation, which were as much against union as against management.

I had brought greetings for the Toyota auto workers from a group of rank and file auto workers in Detroit, and this was promptly translated into Japanese and read to the 150 who came out to hear the afternoon talk.

The thing, however, that brought the house down was the Detroit workers' expose of Reuther, and the revelation that they hated him as much as did the Japanese workers.

The evening meeting was on straight theory—the void in the Marxist movement since the death of Lenin. But make no mistake about it, Toguchi is completely opposed to Stalinism in general and the JCP in particular. What concerns him is a genuine proletarian revolution.

What the workers discussed that evening was how to realize the humanism of Marxism in practice, how to move in their daily struggles when they have stacked against them the company, the government, the union, the CP.

III. Zengakuren, Marxism and the Academic Milieu

The break that the post-war Japanese youth had made from the older generation has been so complete that to this day there seems to be very nearly no connection between the two generations. It would almost appear that, in rejecting the militarism and capitalism which had brought about the disastrous defeat of Japan, they had rejected anyone who was an adult at the time of World War II.

It is true that the JCP's self-created legend that the Party had been untainted with any of this, and had spent no less than 18 years in jail, brought it large support from the youth as well as the adults in the immediate post-war period. But just as the Socialist Party of Japan (SPJ) was, if you relied on votes alone, (4) the first party of the land in 1947, but quickly dissipated its influence through coalitions with the bourgeoisie, so the JCP's highpoint, in 1949, when they elected 35 delegates to the Diet, took a quick down-turn through its constant betrayal of workers' interests, since they were not interested in fighting the Japanese bourgeoisie, and concentrated solely on the fight against U.S. imperialism. In any case, its hold over the Zengakuren (All Japan Federation of Student Governments) was never total, even when its influence was greatest, from 1948 to approximately 1955.

By the time of the June 1958 convention of Zengakuren, even the Communist Party members were so affected by Zengakuren's militancy that all hundred of their delegation met separately to demand the dismissal of the Central Committee of the JCP! By the time the bourgeois press in America "discovered" the Zengakuren and called it "Communist", the Zengakuren was not only free of Communist domination, it was fighting its own battle against the Communist Party line.

The highest point reached by Zengakuren was in that pivotal year 1960 when it led mass demonstrations against both U.S. imperialism and its own Kishi government. And because by then the Zengakuren was not merely a student movement, but a political one that truly represented the majority of the people, they succeeded in stopping Eisenhower's projected trip to Japan, and in forcing Kishi to resign.

These, however, were not its greatest achievements. The greatest achievement was this: Out-

side of the bourgeoisie, every strata of the population, labor and women included, came alive. In those struggles against the Japan-American Security Treaty, as both symbol of continued American domination and the resurgence of its own bourgeoisie, the self-development of the so-called common man reached so high a point that it created a true basis for independent Marxism—and the beginning of a decline of Zengakuren.

In a word, the very success of its ventures meant the end of one type of cohesiveness. The political tendencies within it, the very ones that helped lead it away from the CP, now found their theories tested in practice, and prepared to shift their concentration from the student movement to the class struggle, and "the building of a revolutionary Marxist party."

TROTSKYISM SHORT-LIVED

The revulsion against the RCP suppression of the Hungarian Revolution led many tendencies to veer toward Trotskyism. That flirtation was a short-lived one, shorter than it had been in any other country that I know of. It is another unique feature of Japanese anti-Stalinism.

The anti-Stalinist youth in Japan refused to follow the 20-year torturous Trotskyist path of criticizing Stalinism as the "loyal opposition" looking for the bureaucracy to collapse at the sight of a mass movement. And they were not about to follow Trotskyism's degeneracy into Pablist retrogressionism with its belief that the counter-revolutionary CP could become "revolutionary" by "pressure from the left." The three tendencies that coalesced into Trotskyism split apart.

As against the political clarification and differentiation of political tendencies within the student body, the older intellectual, the true academia made no such clean break with Communism. And their isolation from the labor movement made it impossible to see any urgency for the philosophic foundations, the Humanism of Marxism.

Only one of the old academi-

cians, Tadayuke Tsushima — and he is an ex-professor—has not only broken from the CP (long before 1956) but has done serious original work. On his own, he began a Marxist study of the Russian economy and came to the conclusion that it was state-capitalist. It is necessary to end our own provincialism and bring his work to the attention of America.

I do not mean to say that the other non-Stalinist intellectuals have either made no serious studies, or are anywhere as pragmatic as the American New Left. On the contrary, there are some serious studies of modern capitalism by Ouchi, and, where it doesn't concern the USSR, by

Uno. There are also some serious works on philosophy, for example, A Kakehachi's *Philosophical Foundations of CAPITAL, and Philosophy of Economics*.

In no case, however, were the academicians, whether in Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya, Fukuoka, or anywhere else in Japan, as impervious to discussions as is the American academic world where Marxism remains taboo, and those who "specialize" in it, do so only in as a "know your enemy" type of propaganda. In Japan, contrariwise, I was not only invited to discuss with them in small academic circles, but on public platforms.

The point at issue with the Japanese intellectuals, however, is: can there be an independent working out of ideas unless one is independent not only of the national ruling class, but also of all who use Marxist terminology to cover up exploitative relations in any country? Doesn't blindness to the second group lay the groundwork for retreat to state-capitalism calling itself Communism because, allegedly, it is "one lesser evil" when compared to private capitalism?

Take, for example, the attitude to China's explosion of the A-bomb. It would have appeared to be a suicidal act, in a country like Japan where the anti-bomb movement is so overpowering, to have come out against the limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. And yet, not only did the JCP do so, but by the time, in 1964, China exploded its bomb, Kaoru Yasui, head of Gensuikyo, congratulated Mao! Splitting the Gensuikyo, naturally, helped the anti-Stalinist movement, but it didn't really stop the growth of the JCP, as witness the latest elections. Why? Because anti-Americanism cuts across all "lesser" divisions, and by now even breaking up the anti-war movement is a "lesser" evil.

Under these circumstances, to underestimate Maoism and the pull it exercises on intellectuals, is to blind oneself to the realities of our world. Yet I had been told by some at Tokyo University that we must not "exaggerate" Mao's strength as an ideology attractive

to the Left; after all, the bourgeoisie in Japan is also "Maoist" since it wants to trade with and profit from China. And, among academicians, like in any other group, some are opportunists and there is plenty of Peking gold around for propaganda purposes.

MAOIST DANGER

All this is true but it is neither fundamental, nor undermines Maoism, first, because that is exactly what that hybrid is—a combination of worst opportunism and adventurism. Secondly, it is precisely such a blend which exercises an attraction for the administrative mentality that characterizes intellectuals in our age of state-capitalism.

Above all, however, as threadbare as Mao's philosophy is, Mao never forgets the pretense that it is related to proletarian revolution. Thus, Peking gold or otherwise, the aura of "Mao's Thought" is this: he constantly speaks of revolution as if he believed in its spontaneity, but he himself, as was evident in his urging Khrushchev to bring in the troops and tanks to put down the Hungarian Revolution, stops at nothing, including counter-revolution, to make sure that the control over any revolution is in the hands of "the Party". . . .

He is trying to be all things to all men by being very rhetorical about "internationalism", but, in fact, glorifying nationalism, especially Chinese. At the same time, although he is forever talking of the brave new third world of underdeveloped lands as "the storm centers of revolution" that will "outflank" the technologically advanced lands, it is the latter he hungers for. And he never forgets that in the East this means Japan, not China.

ROLE OF MARXIST

Needless to say, Mao isn't waiting for any self-developing proletarian revolution in Japan, but is working out class-compromiser, elitist, military "solutions", as in Indonesia, which boomeranged into the great tragedy that it now is (5). The New Left cannot afford to underestimate Maoism's strength, either in Japan or elsewhere. But one can fight it, not by using his tactics of either gold, or empty rhetoric or counter-revolution, but only by having a comprehensive philosophy, such as Marxist Humanism, that does not live in a rarified academic atmosphere, but is part of the very organism and movement of the revolution itself.

Merleau-Ponty once expressed the true purpose of philosophy most succinctly and profoundly when he stated that it must be "spontaneity which teaches." 100 years before Merleau-Ponty, Marx, in arguing against those who wanted "to negate" philosophy by, as he put it, "turning one's back on philosophy . . . and murmuring a few trite and ill-humored phrases," insisted that the only way "to abolish" philosophy is "to realize it," that is to say, make the theory of liberation and freedom itself real. To grasp the meaning of spontaneous action and have philosophy merge with praxis is the only way to realize it. Each by itself is one-sided; only in unity can reality be transformed and thus philosophy realized. It is toward this end that the New Left strives. Therein lies the affinity of ideas between the New Left in Japan and in the United States.

(5) For a further development of this question, see "Revolt in Indonesia: What Next in Asia?" and "Indonesian Communism: A Case of World Communism's Decomposition," *News & Letters*, Oct., 1965. That the Japanese youth is aware of the importance, and the tragedy, of Indonesia is evidenced also in their translation of these articles and publication of them by the newspaper of the Agricultural College of Tokyo University. In general, the student press in Japan is far superior to the American in the many serious world topics they analyze.



Raya Dunayevskaya at Hiroshima with Tohru Kurokawa, translator.

Women Workers Underpaid

"While Europe's eye is fixed on many things,
The fate of empires and the fall of kings;
While quacks of state must each produce his plan,
And even children lisp the "Rights of Man",
Amid the mighty full just let me mention,
The rights of woman merit some attention."

(Robert Burns, 1792)

GLASGOW, Scotland—And so another resolution is passed demanding "equal pay for equal work"—this time by Glasgow Trades Council. Like the flowers that bloom in the spring, "equal pay" demand is a hardy annual at the Scottish Trades Union Congress. Support for this laudable belief has come from every trade union in the land.

The amount of paper used on this matter must be colossal, particularly by A.E.U. Branches. But still the working woman gets less than the working man for doing the same work.

Had Sylvia Pankhurst and her courageous band of Suffragettes put their trust in petitions and resolutions, the fair sex might have remained second class citizens. The Suffragettes harassed, hounded and hissed Cabinet Ministers. They upset spellbinder Lloyd George, and made orator Churchill inaudible.

Had Annie Besant and the London "Match Girls" put their trust and faith in Victorian dogooders and reformers, the stark satanic mills would have remained stark. The "Match Girls" took a match, lit it—started a flaming strike.

What should be done? It's high time that the lassies from Lancashire, with their sisters

from Clydeside, and all the Cockney working "gals," teamed up together, pulled the switch and stopped work.

Wouldn't it be just grand if they told the supervisors, the managers and the bosses to get lost until they got the same pay as men? What a furore their action would cause. That would be the first strike of its kind.

\$28 for 48 Hours

South Bend, Ind.—I got a job in the bus station here. The first day I just had to bus dishes (collect dishes from tables and spray them). The second day I had to bus dishes and wash pots. The third day I had to bus dishes, wash pots, and make salads. The fourth day I had to bus dishes, wash pots, make salads, and wrap sandwiches. The fifth day I had to bus dishes, wash pots, make sandwiches, and run the cash register.

On the weekends I would have had to mop the kitchen. But after I saw what my first pay check was going to be every week, I decided to quit.

I think in the bus station the people should get more because they work their heads off, and they just get twenty-eight dollars a week. I don't think the people should work if they make under a dollar an hour because some of the people have babies and wives to take care of.

Twenty-eight dollars a week will just get food for the week, and it won't help foot the bills that they have. The money that I got from the bus station didn't help me too much, and I stay with my parents. I think the people in the bus station should get more money for the forty-eight hours that they work.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Nigerian Revolt May Chart New Course

The government of Nigeria, the largest of the new African nations, has been overthrown by the Army. Major General J. Aguiyi Ironsi has taken over the posts of both President and Prime Minister.

The revolt started with a group of young Army officers who first seized control of large units of the Nigerian Army and conducted a series of successful raids on the homes and offices of the corrupt and influential politicians who have ruled Nigeria since its birth. The Sardauna of Sokoto, power behind Prime Minister Balewa, Finance Minister Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Western Region Premier Chief Samuel Akintola and Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Balewa were kidnaped and shot.

Although the capitalist press of the West likes to portray Nigeria as a "showcase of stable African democracy," the country has been torn by regional politicians fighting for power, rigged elections, bribery and corruption on all levels of government and business.

Okotie-Eboh was known as the "king of dash," a term used in Africa for bribery. He forced payments from everyone having business relations with the government, passed laws to protect his own private shoe factory and even tried to bribe his way out of the hands of his executioners.

In the elections last October in the Western Region, the ballot box rigging and persecution of opposition candidates was so blatant that the elections were boycotted by the leading Western Region Party and the Eastern Region threatened to secede. The situation brought on widespread rioting and the Action Group sent out armed groups to raise money for the political struggle.

It was against this background of widespread dissatisfaction and open growing revolt that the Sardauna of Sokoto and Akintola held a secret meeting in Ibadan two weeks before the revolt and called upon the Army to crush the growing revolt with force. From these meetings grew the plans of the junior Army officers to stage their own revolt. It seems that their initial success led senior officers like General Ironsi to take over the revolt and to dissolve the national and regional governments.

The death toll of 40 civilians and 24 Army officers indicates that this was a revolt at the top, with little if any participation by the population of the country. Yet the revolt appears to have the approval of most sectors of the population.

Students paraded bearing a coffin whose banner declared "Tyranny Has Died" and both labor unions and businessmen

hailed the change. The West African Pilot declared, "This great country has every reason to be proud of the military, which has taken over the fumbling feudal and neocolonialist regime. Today, independence is really won."

We do not know that the Nigerian revolution has finally really begun. But of these two things we are sure: (1) Now that the Sardauna of Sokoto and his not so feudal but equally corrupt Western henchman, Akintola, are dead along with Balewa, the domination of the feudal North has been broken. (2) There is a chance that the move against neo-colonialism and true independence has been begun.

Far from lumping the revolt in Nigeria with the standard military coups in such places as the Congo, this revolt had the support of the people and should be given a chance to show whether there will be a genuine involvement of the masses in the government, whether Awolowo will be released from jail, and political dissent not considered heresy. The role of President Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was critical of the regime he presided over but had not his old courage to move against it, remains a mystery as he happened to be in London recuperating from an illness. The events in Nigeria deserve sympathetic and critical world attention.

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CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE AIR FORCE

In the South, Negroes who are registering in large numbers are finding themselves evicted from their plantation homesteads. Within the past few months, 90 families have been evicted for registering to vote in Wilcox County, Ala. One 70-year-old woman says she feels like the slaves must have when they were turned off the plantations after the Civil War.

In Greenville, Miss., a group of 54 entered the deactivated Greenville Air Force Base and demanded food and jobs. "We are here because we are hungry and cold and we have no jobs or land. We don't want charity. We are willing to work for ourselves if given a chance," a spokesman for the group declared.

They took over a one-story building near the main gate to use for shelter, while sheriff's deputies and F.B.I. men tried to find a way to get rid of them.

The demonstration at the abandoned air base was the outgrowth of a meeting of 700 people sponsored by the Freedom Democratic Party, at which a "Poor Peoples Conference" was set up to ask for the land, buildings and money on the base. "We are at the Greenville Air Force Base because it is Federal property and there are hundreds of empty houses and buildings. We need those houses and land. We could be trained for jobs in the buildings," their statement read. They also complained that Federal food aid is mostly cereal, old and full of bugs. They asked that the anti-poverty program be taken out of the hands of the County

segregationists, and put in the hands of the poor people.

This principle and this truth earned them nothing more from the Federal Government than from their segregationist state government and landlord — expulsion from the property. So, in this affluent "Great Society" they are now living in a tent city, where they are cold, jobless and starving.

RUSSIAN AUTHORS & APTHEKER'S SLANDER

Two Soviet authors, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel, who have books published abroad under the names of Abram Tertz and Nikolai Arzhak, respectively, have been tried and convicted by the Soviet courts. According to Soviet law, the sending of manuscripts abroad for publication is not a crime.

The Soviet government has charged that the writing of these men has made the country appear in a bad light abroad, hence they have committed an offense against the state. The same sort of charges were leveled against Lenin, Marx and Trotsky when they, under similar circumstances of oppression, were forced to send their writing to another country for publication.

Hundreds of writers throughout the world have protested the trial of these men and the actions of the government which suppresses freedom of speech. But the Communist "Theoretician," Aptheker, so prominent in the anti-Vietnam War free-lance trips to Hanoi, came out with the standard Stalinist slander of "Facism" against these writers. Isn't it time the anti-Vietnam War movement took a second look at some of its trends?

INDIA

The death of Prime Minister Shastri after signing a peace treaty with Pakistan in Tashkent, U.S.S.R., has brought Indira Gandhi to power as Prime Minister of India. Her selection was based on the fact that she apparently has fewer enemies than other leading members of the ruling Congress Party.

Her task will not be an easy one. She must first implement the new peace treaty with Pakistan, withdraw the troops and work out a settlement of the Kashmir problem. At the same time she must find the means for feeding the ever growing millions of people in the country who are facing certain starvation.

The 1965 crop was 13 million tons less than in 1964 due mainly to drought, while the population is growing at a rate that will see one billion people in the country in 35 years. Without drastic reforms in religious beliefs, some form of effective birth control and a reorganization of Indian agriculture, India faces years of starvation and misery.

Already food riots are in progress in the state of Kerala where the students of four colleges took to the streets, halted all vehicles and stoned police vans. When 100 were arrested, the industrial workers at Quilon staged a huge demonstration demanding the release of the demonstrators.

Indira Gandhi ordered the rice ration increased in Kerala but has said nothing otherwise about the situation. Her government estimates that as many as 12 million persons are in danger of starvation during the next year. Thus nothing but the name of the ruler has changed.