

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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EDITORIAL ARTICLE

American Civilization on Trial

The decay and degeneration of American civilization can be seen these days in every facet of life, from the barbaric war in Vietnam, to Luci Baines Johnson's insensitive, mindless and willful choice of that day of infamy (when the United States dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima) as her wedding day.

From Nero fiddling while Rome was burning to the tall Texan now occupying the White House and ordering napalm bombings of other men's lands the frivolity and ennu that begin oozing out of the pores of an established order bear witness, not to its stability, but to the gradual crumbling to pieces of mighty empires.

And, with it, comes the disgust of part of the ruling class itself. We hear voices of dissent to the Vietnam war from the halls of Congress, and so respectable a bourgeois critic as Walter Lippman felt compelled to write: "The Administration has gone off whoring after false gods in the pursuit of world power." (Newsweek, August 1, 1966).

THE BIG LIE

The Big Lie has characterized every pronouncement of the Administration, from the 1963 assurance by Secretary of Defense McNamara that the GIs in Vietnam would be brought home and the military tasks "can be completed by the end of December 1965," to the very latest (August 16) denial, in Washington, D.C., by Marine Commandant Gen. Wallace M. Greene Jr. that he said what he said in Saigon, that American troops must be boosted to 750,000 and even then it would take from 5 to 8 years "to win."

Nor are the lies and the hypocrisy limited to the halls of the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department. Congress has now unloosed that infamous House Un-American Activities Committee to try to still the voice of anti-war protestors while it itself keeps lowering the amounts allotted for "the war on poverty," upping the amounts it votes to spend on the war in Vietnam, and, while talking of "limited objectives," actually flirts with the idea of "knocking out the nuclear installations" in China! Toward that end they are scuttling any and all programs affecting the Negro. Witness the disgraceful spectacle the sanctimonious Senate is staging against open housing.

JOHNSON'S AMERICA

The recent explosions in the black ghettos of the big cities are but one manifestation of the revolt against a society where the poor get poorer all the time and the unemployment, which stands at "less than 4% average," actually jumps to 20 to 40% for Negro unemployed. At a time when the estimated war cost for fiscal year 1967 is \$10.5 billion, the President's budget not only cut \$1.6 billion from the amounts for so-called great society projects, but also cut in half old government public works, not to mention the scuttling of any idea of "direct income transfers to the poor."

President Johnson, who took time out from his war hatchings, to make gratuitous attacks on the Negro outbursts, had not a word to say either when white mobsters threw a knife at Rev. King which failed of its mark and followed it up with a rock that felled him to his knees, or even when they unfurled a swastika as the symbol of their assault on the civil rights marchers for open housing. The time when the talkative Texan talked on and the time when he chose to keep his mouth shut are symptomatic of the values, or, more correctly, lack of values that dictate US foreign policy.

THE SECOND AMERICA

There is, of course, a second America. The Negro Revolution is its most important, spontaneous, massive expression. It has gained so great a momentum of its own that even its divisions, far from manifesting disintegration, are signs of growth and political maturity.

With this Negro Revolution stand those white freedom fighters who know how to put first things first—struggling for rights in America. Simultaneously they fight also against America's war in Vietnam. As throughout the world, so throughout these United States they marched by the thousands August 6 to August 9 both in protest against the war in Vietnam and in honor of those who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

These marches are a good beginning. But it isn't the beginning of the anti-war struggles.

Ever since 1963 when American "advisers" became combatants, the American people have shown their opposition to this, then holy war, first, by defeating Goldwater who would extend it, then by showing their growing dissatisfaction with Johnson who did extend it. All polls show that a majority of Americans oppose the war, and yet the anti-war movement is a minority, and a small minority at that.

Why? Why have not a significant number of those who opposed the war taken to the streets? Why have they shied away from the existing movement? Is it because "they do not understand?"

To think so would prove that the Left too is bound by that capitalistic conception that "the masses are backward." The truth is the masses demand some answers, not because "they do not understand," but because they understand very well that the "unity" of the anti-Vietnam war forces is fictitious.

Who doesn't know that US imperialism has been as brazen in

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FREEDOM MOVEMENT EXPLOSIONS FORCE NEW LOOK AT OLD IDEAS

The deliberate and callous indifference to the freedom movement, which the Administration has displayed ever since the Mississippi March, is, in large measure, responsible for the increased tempo of the white counter-revolution which has now burst into the open in "white riots" throughout the country. Within a week: in Baltimore, gangs of white thugs ran through the ghetto, hunting down and trapping young Negroes in alleys; in New York, the threatening actions of SPONGE (Society for the Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything) set off the exchange of gun-fire that resulted in the death of an 11-year-old Negro boy; in Lansing, Michigan, the mayor himself blamed three days of violence between Negroes and whites squarely at the feet of white gangs, some of whom had come into the city from many other surrounding communities to attack Negro teen-agers; and in Chicago, thousands of howling whites waving Nazi flags, mobbed and stoned the non-violent, integrated marchers who were protesting housing discrimination — and only the poor aim of one knife-throwing white racist prevented the actual murder of Rev. King.



Hiroshima Anniversary: gown for Luci, stone for King.

Similarly, the Ku Klux Klan, which had felt a temporary decline in its membership directly after the farcical Senate probe into their racist and con-man activities, is now boasting that it has not only recouped any losses it suffered, but is recruiting at a rapidly accelerating place—North and South.

MISSISSIPPI MARCH

As against this new appearance of counter-revolution, inspired by the silence from the White House, the Mississippi March marked a new high stage for the Freedom Movement. The three-week march from June 5 to June 26 distinguished from the Selma March of last year not only by the fact that it was a march primarily of Negro Mississippians themselves, rather than of Northern "supporters," nor even by the fact that more than 4,000 new Negroes were registered to vote by the marchers, but primarily by the fact that the March loosed discussion and debate within the civil rights movement on every serious question from the "war on poverty" to the Vietnam War; and from self-defense vs. non-violence to "black power" vs. integration.

For the Administration, on the other hand, the March became the point where the pretense of being "for" the Movement was dropped, and only the escalation of the war in Vietnam remained on the agenda. The gassing and clubbing of unarmed men, women and children by the Alabama storm troopers last year produced both the "we shall overcome" speech of LBJ, and the passage of the Voting Rights Act by Congress. Yet the vicious gassing and kicking of 2,500 unarmed men, women and children in the schoolyard at Canton by the Mississippi storm troopers this year produced nothing but encouragement to the white racists.

ADMINISTRATION SHOWS TRUE FACE

The Administration, further, has allowed the Civil Rights Act of 1966 to become not only completely emasculated of both the section that would have permitted the government to file school desegregation lawsuits, and the section that would have prohibited discrimination in housing—but actually to contain a new so-called "anti-riot" amendment, which transformed the bill from a pro-civil rights act, into a pro-integration anti-riot act!

The white power structure seems to have learned so little from the demonstrations of the past three summers, except that Negroes will continue to refuse containment in their intolerable ghettos, that greater police powers are all it seems capable of creating as an "answer." The white power bloc in Los Angeles failed even to approve a hospital for Watts, despite the open re-

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MFU Wins at Tommy Tuckers

BALTIMORE, Md. — Nineteen workers at Tommy Tucker's Store in West Baltimore walked out Aug. 4 in disgust over contract proposals advanced by management. The walkout came after three days of worthless talks in which the owner, Samuelson, and his lawyer offered only a six cent an hour increase in wages, no union shop, and no guaranteed hours. On the night of Aug. 3, the negotiators explained the situation to the rest of the workers.

The two negotiators, Leafer Washington, a saleslady, and Beulah Little, a marking clerk, recommended "that the management offers be rejected and that some kind of action be taken to show Samuelson how we feel." (See related story on p. 7.)

SET NOON WALKOUT

The workers' meeting debated several possible courses of action and decided to call a walkout for 12 noon the next day. Workers and Maryland Freedom Union staff members worked through the night to prepare leaflets, posters and to inform workers not scheduled to work that day to come to the picket line.

Workers at Silverman's down a Maryland Freedom Union con-

tract) also were asked to join the line on their lunch hour. Some people were worried that a strike couldn't be pulled off in the middle of the day, when workers would have to leave the job while already working.

By noon Aug. 4, nine workers had come down to the store from home, even though they didn't have to work. In addition, about 50 members of CORE and the Civic Interest Group were waiting outside. Leafer Washington walked off her post and went to the back of the store to tell Samuelson that the workers were walking out because the management offers were ridiculous. She disappeared into the office and

(Continued on Page 3)

Expenses during the past few weeks of the Tucker struggle have run very high. The Maryland Freedom Union appeals to the readers of News and Letters: Help us carry on our struggle to end slave wages in Baltimore! Send money to:

Maryland Freedom Union
905 W. North Ave.
Baltimore, Maryland 21217

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Black Power: Help or Hindrance?

There is considerable discussion among many people today concerning the recent statements and positions of some civil rights organizations. The cry of "black power" is in the air and everyone has his own interpretation of its meaning. Some say it means violence and brute force against whites. Some say it means economic and political control by Negroes in their communities. Others say it means self-defense when Negroes are attacked by whites. In a sense, it can mean anything.

WHAT COUNTS IS HOW POWER IS USED

No one can say it is wrong to defend oneself against an attacker. And there is no question as to the need for Negroes to attain power. The question is how to get it and how best to use it.

What is disturbing is the thought of all the Negroes, and whites as well, who have paid the price and sacrificed their very lives for a total freedom, for a unity of black and white. Yet some of the leaders today are agitating for the separation of whites and blacks in the struggle. Many of the gains that have been made so far would have been impossible without the support of whites. That is why this black-power posture, if it is a threat to Negro-white unity, may mean that no power of any kind will be possible.

Some who have been expounding the black-power virtues have also revealed themselves to be against the labor movement. But many Negroes in the unions feel very strongly the need for the labor movement and the Negro movement in this country to work together. If we are ever all to be free, it means that white workers and Negro workers must pull together. Many Negro workers know from their own experience, as I do, that the CIO could never have been built without the joining of the forces of both Negro and white workers. We needed each other.

OLD WAYS WILL NEVER RETURN

I received a call from a woman who recently returned from the Deep South. It was her first trip back there in five or six years. She said she wanted to begin making a financial contribution to the civil rights movement and wanted to know which one she should make it to.

She said that she had never been concerned about the movement in the past. She had never made a contribution before. But after being in the Deep South for two weeks and seeing the changes that the Negroes in the South have made, and what the civil rights movement has done, it was such a shocking and happy experience in her life that from now to the end of time she will support the movement actively.

"In many ways there is a new South, and much of the old has gone, never to return again. Places that I would have been afraid to go into five years ago I can enter today without fear, and am accepted as just another human being," she said.

ALL BENEFIT FROM NEGRO STRUGGLE

I know from my life in the South the kinds of shacks that Negroes have been forced to call their schoolrooms, but I know from history that it was the Negroes during Reconstruction, after the Civil War, who first brought free public education to the South. They fought for it and won it, not just for Negroes, but for all, just as the labor movement did in the North. This is only one example of how everyone benefits from the fight for Negro freedom.

The three greatest periods of history to me are the Abolitionist movement before the Civil War, the birth of the CIO, and the history that the civil rights movement is making right now. The unity of white and Negro was necessary for all three.

It is of the utmost importance to know the past so that we know not only what kind of action we want to take today, but where we are going tomorrow. We need plenty of action, but we also need a clear vision — a clear idea of what kind of freedom it is that will make us all totally free, black workers, and white workers alike.

RIGHT FACTS, WRONG CONCLUSIONS

It is an easy thing for a leader to point out to black people all the crimes and all the brutal things that whites have committed against our race. It is easy to point to the fact that none of the whites who have murdered Negroes have been convicted or sent to prison for their crimes. It is heart-breaking to list all those brutal murders, knowing that these are the facts.

But when the conclusion is that all whites are therefore beasts, it twists these facts to a point where the distortion helps the enemy, and not the Negro. I know all too well that Negroes have a better reason for their feelings of hate than the whites have. But those feelings of hate serve only to break up any hope for a unity of white and Negroes, without which a new life and new human freedom for all, which we are struggling for, can never be achieved.

Strikes Grow In Agriculture Across Country

DELANO, Cal. — The grape strikers in Delano, who have shown how farm workers can organize themselves and win decent wages and a written contract, are giving inspiration to farmworkers all over the country who are now forming their own unions.

• **IN STARR COUNTY, TEXAS**, nearly 1,000 melon workers went out on strike June 1. Current wages are often 60c an hour and sometimes as low as 40c. Workers are asking for \$1.25 an hour.

During the first week the strikers closed five packing sheds to slash production at La Casita

Farms, Les Puertos, and Sun-Tex. In the second week the growers retaliated with violence against the workers (arrests, spraying of insecticides on strikers), and scabs from Mexico. But the strikers won contracts from eight small growers.

• **IN SOUTHERN FLORIDA**, farmworkers have formed the Agricultural Workers Union of Florida. The majority of farm workers are Negroes and the rest are Spanish speaking (mostly Puerto Ricans). Their pay is under \$800 a year. The union is beginning by signing up crew leaders, but the president of the union promises that it will be a democratic union to help all the workers.

Cleveland Disorder Contrasts with Mine Area

DETROIT, Mich.—Several weeks ago, during the Cleveland outburst, we became very concerned over some of our close relatives living in the riot-torn areas of that city. Since we were leaving for our vacation in Pennsylvania, we decided we would go through Cleveland and see what was happening to them.

As soon as we entered the Negro section of town, a jeep-load of troops pulled alongside our car and waved us to the curb. Three or four of them had jumped to the ground before our car came to a complete stop and had guns and rifles pointed directly in our face. A machine gun was pointed at our backs by those remaining in the jeep. They said they had orders to investigate out-of-town cars coming into the area. They wanted to know why we were there.

SEARCHED HEAD TO FOOT

After hearing our reason, they asked us to get out of the car so they could search it. While one did this, the others held bayonets close to our backs. Other jeeps and trucks were stopping every car with young Negroes in it. They were ordered out of their car with their hands up, marched to a wall and searched from head to foot.

When I noticed that those cars had Ohio license plates I asked a trooper why he was searching cars with Ohio tags when he had told me that his orders were

to investigate all out of state cars. He said, "Those young ones started all this trouble. We have orders not only to search their cars, but to search them."

NEGROES ANGRY

Many adult Negroes were very angry with the youth. They said that the majority of the places that they were destroying needed to be destroyed, but that they were also destroying everything that the people had in those shacks. A Negro man said that the rioters burned a white cleaning establishment, but all the clothing in it belonged to Negroes. He had two very good suits that were burned up. The Negroes will not get any of their clothing back, but the white man was insured and he won't lose.

They said, "Some of the youth yell 'black power.' Where can they get any power to compete with what those soldiers have on those trucks and jeeps?" Some said they had to agree with Rev. Martin Luther King, that our violence will always be crushed by a greater violence. Cleveland is the proof of this.

They all concluded by saying that every death was an innocent victim. While many could identify themselves with the deeper, inner frustrations of many of the rioters, they could not identify with the riot methods of these demonstrations.

DIFFERENT WORLD

After spending a day and night in Cleveland, we left for our vacation some 50 miles east of

Pittsburgh in a mining area. There you are in a completely different atmosphere on the questions of race, tension and hate. There it was a case of a class difference.

Some months ago, one of Pittsburgh's wealthiest millionaires had sent an agent into this mining district disguised as a government agent. His job was to tell the people that the government wanted him to investigate their property because of a plan to build some housing program there.

All of the families had bought their homes some years ago from the mining company. Many were one room shacks at that time, but the workers have transformed them into modern homes. Expansion programs are going on around them.

A week before we arrived in this area the people had discovered that it was a private contractor, not a government agent, that had visited them and had put fear into them in order to have them sell their homes.

The people involved seem to be 50-50 white and Negro. They held a meeting while I was there and every one—man, woman and child—was 100% against selling their homes to any contractor. They spoke of using their weapons if any agent came into their area again with some scheme to get them to sign any papers. This was echoed loudly by both black and white, and I personally felt that every one meant it.

WHITE MINER EXPLAINS

After the meeting while coming back home at night, I spoke with a retired white miner. I told him how surprised I was to find the relations so close between the white and Negro families there. This seemed a surprise to him. I had noticed that every other house was a white one and everyone seemed to visit each other freely. The young children go around together even in the woods and berry patches. He said maybe I had been paying too much attention to that preaching of "black power junk." He wished all those who believed in that stuff would be sent to work in the mines for a year.

"Our lives down there depend many times on our fellow workers, and color never enters our minds. Disasters in those pits do not care about your color—and you are just as thankful if a black man saves your life, as if a white man does it. We have lived this way all these years under the ground, and we know we can live the same way on top of the ground. We know our enemy—people like this millionaire, and the mine-owners who have made their millions out of the sweat and blood of working people, and are now trying to take the crumbs we have left." He could not understand why any working man could not understand that after all these years.

New Bulletin Out On Negro Works

A bulletin of Negro history educational materials and multi-ethnic readers has recently been published by the Museum of Negro History and Art in Chicago, Ill.

The bulletin describes books for teachers and pupils in the area of American Negro history and African history. Each book offered is fully described, its reading level is given and the company publishing it is listed.

The new bulletin was edited by Eugene P. R. Feldman, teacher of history and other social studies at Britannica Academy of Chicago. It can be ordered for \$2 from the Museum of Negro History and Art, 3806 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Wilson's Victory A Defeat For British Working Class

GLASGOW, Scotland — The heroic strike of British seamen will be remembered for many years to come. It has lessons for the whole working class.

It is futile to talk of a moral victory when it is obvious that all the cards were stacked against the seamen who did not have the backing they were entitled to from the other trade unions. The National Union of Seamen has decided to accept the concessions they were offered pending the final report of the committee of inquiry, the same committee of inquiry as praised the shipowners and criticised the seamen. It is defeat.

WILSON HELPS COMMUNISTS

Harold Wilson, the Labour Prime Minister, played his last dirty card the day before the strike ended. Wilson kept the people waiting for a number of days with the promise that he would prove that pressure had been brought to bear on the leaders of

the seamen by the Communist Party. His speech was a flop except for the fact that it helped the Communists to a greater extent than any event for some years.

The most he did was show that the industrial apparatus was at work. If the fact that the Communist Party is out to win key positions in the Labour movement is new to Wilson he must be a political innocent. Much of what they do is objectionable to other sections of the movement.

When all was said and done it was the seamen who were on strike and not the Communists. Wilson gave the Communists too much credit while casting a slur on the intelligence of the seamen.

THE LESSONS

The first and most obvious lesson is the unfortunate fact that it is wrong of us to let the ruling class deal with one section of the working class at a time. Wilson has used this strike as a warning to the whole working class. Those trusting members of the Labour Party who thought a victory at the general election was a victory for the working class may ponder over the limits of bourgeois democracy and the role of the state. Struggle is necessary regardless of what party is in power. This must be understood.

We must guard against those who try to lay down rules and a timetable for the class struggle. The mistake the Communist Party is making in this regard is as bad as Wilson makes when he thinks the class struggle can be switched off.

AN ADVANCE

The fact that the seamen did take a stand at a time when efforts are being made to stampede the workers into acceptance of Government plans to dragon the workers is something we must appreciate. Wilson may yet realize that the class struggle cannot be swept aside, but it will continue until the birth of the new society.

EDITORIAL

Aircraft Worker's Charges Hold Up

When a rank-and-file worker uses the pages of News & Letters to speak for himself, his voice is heard loud and clear. The latest example is seen in the attack against us and the rank-and-file worker who wrote about picketing the UAW convention against discrimination, union finances and other grievances in the plant. The attack came in *The Propeller*, official publication of North American Aviation Local 887, whose president showed he could call us "leftwing extremists" and "dupes" of Communists more easily than he could answer questions raised in the article.

The union paper also charged we did not "research" our facts about discrimination in the apprenticeship program, because there is no "formal" apprenticeship program at North American. What nonsense; "formal" or informal, there is an apprenticeship program and minorities have been excluded. What else is this but discrimination?

Just as ridiculous is the paper's defense that the union has someone on full-time to look into discrimination, and that the local president was honored by Los Angeles City Council for advancing human dignity.

There are thousands of UAW representatives who are supposed to check on discrimination. But every worker knows that this doesn't mean a thing unless the union throws its full weight behind such a representative and behind every rank-and-file worker who has a grievance based on discrimination. If this had been done, there would not have been a single picket at the UAW convention. By the same token, the City Council of Los Angeles that commended the local president for advancing human dignity is the same one that was there when the Watts revolt occurred. It hardly seems like the best judge of human dignity.

No. It is not NEWS & LETTERS that has to do either research or defend itself against such union bureaucrats as the president of this local. We have seen his type in the mines, the mills and the shops throughout the country. And if he would read NEWS & LETTERS, he would know immediately that we are far more the enemies of "Communists and their dupes" than either he or the UAW can ever be.

In the shop, the machine makes no distinction between color or nationality, and no one has any dignity on the line. This is the direct responsibility of the union, and it has miserably failed to eliminate simple racial discrimination, let alone preserve human dignity.

BULLETIN

As we go to press, news comes of plans for a civil rights strike against North American Aviation. At a joint meeting of some 300 Local 887 aviation workers and the Congress of Racial Equality's Employment Committee, held to protest company discriminatory against minorities and the failure of the union leadership to prevent these practices, the group voted to meet again in September to take final action.

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Tommy Tucker Work Walkout

(Continued from Page 1)

everyone waited for her to come right back out. But it was 12:05, and then 12:10, and she still didn't appear.

STRIKE IS ON

People got nervous. Finally she came down the steps and waved to everybody, "Let's go!" Everyone, except a few of the old women who were loyal to Samuelson, walked straight for the front door. As soon as they were all outside, Mrs. Washington explained that the reason she was held up was because Samuelson was standing in front of the office door and refused to let her out while he tried to threaten her to call off the walkout. She finally pushed by him and came out to start the strike.

All the workers took signs and began to picket the store, and they were quickly joined by the people from CORE and C.I.G. Soon they had swelled the line to almost 100 people and the customers quickly stopped entering the store. As in all other M.F.U. pickets, the boycott effectiveness was nearly 100%. Workers sang "No slave wages over me, and before I'll be a slave, I'll see Samuelson in his grave . . ." and chanted "Dollar an hour must go!"

At 2 p.m. the walkout was to have ended. But a sidewalk meeting of the workers voted to keep the line going until reasonable negotiations were begun. Workers from Silverman's joined the workers from Tommy Tucker's in keeping the line going. People watching across the street took up a collection to buy lunch for the strikers.

MAKE NEW OFFER

Finally, at 4 p.m., the lawyer for Samuelson offered to negotiate, with "new and serious proposals." The workers voted to return to work only on the condition that they would strike the next day if progress was not made.

While negotiations are still in progress, it appears that we will win average wage increases of 22c-30c an hour, a guaranteed 40-hour week for the full-time workers, and the union shop. —R.F.

On the Line

Highland Park Plant Strike Vote Shows Need For Action

By John Allison

The questions the rank-and-file started to raise when Chrysler Corp. announced a year-and-a-half ago that it was going to move its Chrysler Highland Park plant to Perrysburg, Ohio, still have not been answered. The gas tank job was moved out to local Detroit area shops in July and the glass job is moving next month to Perrysburg, according to Chrysler's plans, and only now has the rank-and-file started to get some idea about how the company has been carefully laying and carrying out its plans, while the union has been doing practically nothing.

And so now, a month or so before the first big Perrysburg move will be on and after the rank-and-file have found out some things for themselves, the officers of the local asked for authorization for a strike vote because the company has not given needed information and has not bothered about grievances that have piled up. Some 95% of the workers voted to authorize the strike, but for plenty of reasons the officers knew nothing about.

DON'T WANT NEGROES

For example, a rank-and-file Negro worker reported that he attended a recent meeting held in Perrysburg arranged by a Detroit clergy group and a community relations group in Perrysburg. At the meeting in Perrysburg, an all-white community, the news came out that the whites living in Perrysburg have never had any racial "trouble" and were not willing to have Negroes move into the community.

It should also be pointed out that Perrysburg is near the Maumee River, and along that river there are beautiful homes like you will find along the river in Grosse Pointe — and the whites living in those Maumee River homes are as much against having Negroes move in as those whites are in Grosse Pointe.

WORKERS DON'T COUNT

When the issues of moving of workers and housing in Ohio were raised with Chrysler management, they said the company was in the auto-making business, not in the moving or housing business. When questions were raised about transportation to Perrysburg by workers who might have to keep living with their families in Detroit, the company said it

was not in the transportation business. So much for the rank-and-file workers.

But for the company management personnel, well that is something else again. The company made arrangements with real estate groups in both Michigan and Ohio to arrange for management housing, and has taken care of management moving as well.

UAW President Walter Reuther is now talking about the contract being a "living document" where it comes to reopening negotiations to get higher wages for skilled workers who are demanding \$1 an hour increases. These are the highest paid workers in the UAW now, and they have Reuther's blessings to go for more.

CLEAR HEADS TO ACT

But for the thousands of rank-and-file workers at Highland Park the contract can't be a living document. Oh no, you can't re-open a contract just for a few thousand workers who are having their whole lives and the lives of their families uprooted. It makes no difference that production workers have given 25-30 years of their lives to the corporation. They will have to work in Perrysburg or lose everything. Nothing else, absolutely nothing else, is left for them.

But this really isn't all there is left. Both young and old workers are now getting their heads cleared. They know the union has made a mess of things, and are saying they will show Chrysler and the union how to change a lot of things that affect their lives and the lives of their families. The strike vote made this perfectly clear.

Aviation Worker Blasts Misuse of Union

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — The misuse of the *Propeller*, Union newspaper for members at North American Aviation, is seen in times when there are political elections forthcoming, such as now. The paper seems to be used mainly for propaganda against political parties and political philosophies not similar to the philosophy of the UAW.

An example of the misuse appears in the issue of July 21. The headlines are "Save Our State in 1966 Drive, Begun By Labor." Just about the whole front page and half of page three is devoted to anti-Reagan propaganda. First of all, the members feel that they are competent to decide for themselves whom they should elect.

WANT GRIEVANCE REPORTS

But most of all, the union members feel that the *Propeller* could be put to much better use if it would report the results of the grievances that they file, which number in the hundreds every month. The only way that they can get information about these grievances is to make long-distance phone calls, and to write long letters, when actually the situation could be eased by putting the results of these grievances in the paper.

I think the union and the company have joined together and

decided not to process grievances which are very harmful to the company. A grievance that involves an hour's pay for two or three employees might be settled quickly. But one which involves two or three dozen people, and perhaps seven day's pay for each, can never get settled — or if it does get settled, it may take about a year or a year and a half.

Very few grievances are appealed through the arbitration procedure, which is the last step and in which an impartial arbitrator decides whether the union or company is right in a particular instance.

CONTESTS INSTEAD OF INFORMATION

Another thing that the paper should be doing and is not doing, is providing the membership with an interpretation of the provisions of the recent contract which was negotiated. I would suspect that the whole paper could be utilized each week for 52 weeks, and still not be boring nor noninformative, if it gave information relating to the members about contractual provisions.

Instead, to get people interested in reading the *Propeller*, they have started giving out prizes for a contest. I suspect that this will recapture the people's interest in the paper, but only for a moment. What they really want from the 'Prop' is news

about what is going on in their local, news about what is going on outside which affects them in their work or in their local or in their home.

WORKERS GET GIBBERISH

There is also an article on Page two of the 'Prop' which talks of how "the subjects of the great king Autonetics must bow to his Princess Insurance Department of the Land of Payroll."

This may be considered good literary structure by some, but it does not belong in a union newspaper. If there is a problem in the Insurance Department that affects the people, a grievance should be filed or a case presented to the State Insurance Department.

Instead we get a lot of gibberish about Great King Autonetics, and Princess Insurance Department. To conclude the article, the local does not mention that any action is being taken. Instead we read about the "poor, stupid, village idiot princess. She had investigated a claim she had not even received. Well, would believe the dragon ate it?" This type of article would be better placed in some book of fantasy than in a union newspaper.

In general, the *Propeller*, as far as the members concerned, is a waste of their money. It is used to the political advantage of the officers of the local, not to benefit the membership.

EDITORIAL ARTICLE

American Civilization on Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

its bombardment of North Vietnam as it has been because it has no reason to fear a joint Russo-Chinese defense of their ally? Who doesn't know that Mao's China would rather fight this war till the last Vietnamese?

The Left should know more than that. They should know that this lack of elementary solidarity is proof of Communism's global ambitions. It will not do to close one's eyes to the fact that United States imperialism is not alone in its global ambitions. Vietnam was divided into North and South precisely because, with the Korean war ended, both Russia and China wanted "peacefully to co-exist" with the West and compelled the Viet Minh to accept the division. In turn, North Vietnam paid no attention to the South Vietnamese struggle against Diem; the Vietcong was quite alone and without allies until the 1960s when the now irreconcilably divided China and Russia each finally supported the Vietcong's fight against the American colossus for its own national reasons.

LORD RUSSELL

This much, and more, is recognized by the anti-Stalinist Left of Japan. (See Statements by Zenshin and Zengakuren, p. 7.) But the American Left acts as if American civilization is on trial because Lord Russell is preparing to stage a "War Crimes Tribunal", rather than because the freedom movement in the United States has put American civilization to the test.

Precisely because capitalism is a world phenomenon which includes not only private capitalism (the United States), but state capitalism (Russia and China), it will not do either to bury one's head in the sand regarding the struggle between the nuclear titans for world domination, or to act as if the Vietnam war was only for "private profit" instead of also for global strategic positions.

Lord Russell's present anti-capitalist stance notwithstanding, he is ignorant of Marxism as the philosophy of freedom against both private and state-capitalism and for that new human dimension which only the end of class society, with its division between mental and manual labor, can bring about.

Unfortunately, the saddest example of how this division between mental and manual labor dwarfs the mind of the intellectual, even when he possesses neither capital nor state power, is Lord Russell himself. Just listen how, in his desire to equate Johnson with Hitler, and Nazism with American imperialism, Lord Russell offhandedly dismisses the extermination of a whole race!

"With the exception of the extermination of the Jews, however," writes the callous professor, "everything that the Germans did in Eastern Europe has been repeated by the United States in Vietnam on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and complete." Just as, at the end of World War II, he called for a preventive war against Stalin's Russia, so now he seems bent on calling for one against Johnson's America.

No, far from helping the revolutionary forces within the United States, Lord Russell can only hinder our anti-war struggles. As one Britisher put it: "He (Lord Russell) tells us that the demand for peace is empty. On the contrary, the demand for peace is full of desperate longing of the peasants." (See letter of Peter Cadogan, of the Committee of 100 in Readers Views.)

As we see, intellectuals are always ready to decide "for" the masses. The truth, however, is that, just as the rigged elections-to-be under Ky's military dictatorship cannot possibly bring either peace or self-determination, so the anti-war struggles will not become massive enough to help end the war unless we make it clear that the opposition to the Vietnam war is opposition to ALL state powers that wish to exploit Vietnam, for whatever purpose, with the inevitable end of abridging the right of the South Vietnamese to decide their own fate. The "Yankees Come Home!" slogan must be joined with Self-Determination for South Vietnam, free from all outside interference.

Neither Washington nor Peking; neither Moscow nor Hanoi. Give South Vietnam back to the South Vietnamese! Destiny must be in the hands of the masses themselves, Vietnamese as well as Americans, Russians as well as French, Africans as well as Latin Americans.

BACK TO JOHNSON'S WAR

Every day brings news of more atrocities and more "accidents." Not only is South Vietnam, as a whole, being subjected to the destruction of its land, but there is hardly a day when the bad morale of the American air men doesn't show itself by the accidental dropping of bombs on civilians in villages that are supposed to be "safe."

The war hawk mentality is so all-pervasive in the Johnson Administration that even when the State Department "wants to" re-establish diplomatic relations with Cambodia, the military manages to redraw the map to show that Cambodian territory "is" South Vietnamese territory, and then proceeds to bomb those villages that are allegedly "sanctuaries" for the Vietcong.

And what about the Vietcong? Isn't it true that, even according to official American statistics, the North Vietnamese army constitutes at most 10% of the force fighting the military dictatorship of Ky and his American troops? Isn't it true that in the Spring of this year the Vietcong was recruiting no less than 3,500 men a month inside South Vietnam?

80 per cent of Vietnamese still live in the rice paddies, and it is there, and not in North Vietnam, or China, or Russia, that the war is being lost, even as it is in the second America that American civilization has lost. It cannot be otherwise, either at home or abroad, for all freedom fighters aim to reconstruct society on totally new, truly human foundations.

—Raya Dunayevskaya,
Chairman National Editorial Board

WE ARE PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE —

● that Chapter 17, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" from "Marxism and Freedom," has been translated into Chinese and is now being published serially in Hong Kong.

● and that the articles by Raya Dunayevskaya on "Rose Luxemburg's Theory of the Accumulation of Capital; How it Differed from Marx and Lenin" have been translated into Japanese and published in Tokyo.

Readers'

"BLACK POWER"

Stokely Carmichael, speaking here in mid-July at a rally on Black Power, made some good points. He said, "America calls us uncivilized, but they think civilization is bombing Viet Nam."

But he was several times deliberately ambiguous and once downright slanderous. The slander came when he said, "The white college students (meaning white radicals) are fighting for the right to wear beards and smoke pot, we're fighting for our lives."

Negroes are fighting for their lives and Carmichael had earlier correctly pointed out that black people must fight the false image of themselves put out by the daily press. But on radical white youth he knowingly adopted the stereotype used by the capitalist press and TV to characterize all of rebel youth.

A. M.
Philadelphia.

What do they mean about "black power," when it could mean death for so many of the Negro people? The Negroes have never had the chance to buy guns and pistols like white people, who had the chance and the money both for all the weapons they need before Negroes ever got around to fighting for their freedom so hard.

This word, black power, is setting things back so far that it may become one of the worst enemies we have in the struggle for freedom that is already so hard. I hope that the leaders will think back a little and realize that what they really want is equal rights for all people not just one race of people. When one race rules, the whole world is in danger of being wiped off the face of the earth.

I think it is time for the Negro people to wake up and really think about themselves and for themselves. Because the same Moses that leads them out of the wilderness can lead them right back into that same wilderness. When you hear everybody talking about it, you worry about people getting back into the same old ruts.

Ethel Dunbar,
Detroit

I don't know what black power means to others, but to me it is what my father taught me ever since I was born on a farm back in Arkansas a long time ago. They called him a "crazy n---r" because he taught us to be proud of our race.

Black power to me means that we must learn to direct our own lives, make our own decisions. We must demand

the right to vote and use it. We must try to get political and economic power to back up our demands.

It has never meant "violence" to me. It has just meant the attempt to control our own lives.

CORE Member
Detroit

A discussion recently came up in the Philadelphia Socialist Committee about the slogan "Black Power." Some seem to feel that it has merit and might provide a good vehicle for a public educational sponsored by the group. Others felt it could mean the substituting of the black capitalist for the white, in the exploitation of the Negro.

For my part, as a socialist and a union man, I can only see this slogan as a divisive one to drive the white and Negro worker further apart. I feel socialists of whatever camp should consider that before they adopt it in any sense.

"Black power," to my way of thinking, is just as harmful to a united working class as the CTU or the Jewish Bakers Union or the Polish American Congress or any other tag or label created to differentiate one group of workers from another.

J. M., Union Man
Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

It is frightening to see those white mobs waving the Swastika in Chicago. It is frightening because you wonder how many young people today have no idea of what the last generation learned from Hitler and his gas-chambers!

There has been a lot of talk about how the West Germans have kept their true history from the new generation of German youth—how they have kept any mention of Hitler out of their history books. But what are we teaching our youth of their past history?

How many white youth know the true history of the Negro in this country? How many know about the fascist movement? How many know what Father Coughlin was? How many know how the union movement was built, or even what it stood for?

Must each generation learn all over again? Do we have enough time left for that? I don't think so.

Jewish Mother
Detroit

With all the headlines that the white mobs are making in Chicago, the fact that the marches which they have been stoning have been very well integrated, has almost been lost.

I cannot believe that the openly Nazi-character of all these white riots will not force more and more whites to recognize who the true enemy really is—and bring some of them, at least, to the side of the freedom movement at last.

Let us hope that these screaming fascists will do for the Northern movement what the Bull Connors and Al Lingos did for the Southern one.

Activist
Cleveland

I know how the police dragged Berkeley students out of Sproul Hall here, after the newsmen and cameramen were evicted so they couldn't record it. But the sight of police choking and dragging not only demonstrators but even the defense lawyer out of the HUAC hearing room — and right in front of the TV cameras — was unbelievable. It makes you wonder just how far we are from a complete police state!

Student
Berkeley

If they use force like that on an ACLU lawyer, who was making a legal objection at a hearing, what in the world would they do to a nobody like me? That HUAC hearing scares me.

Worker
Detroit

People talk about worrying whether fascism will come to this country. But so far as I'm concerned, we have it in our shop already. It isn't the same kind they had in Germany. It isn't the brass knuckles and guns and knocks on the door at night kind. It's the way they treat workers kind, and that's probably just a more vulgar form.

I'm a janitor, for example, and they really keep pushing me. Once I put up a kick about the low pay I was getting, and they told me that if I dared to say anything to anybody else, they'd get rid of me right away. They don't want the workers to talk to each other at all. To me, that's fascism.

Worker
Detroit

WAR AND PEACE

The mass murders in Chicago and Texas were horrible, but are they really as hard to understand as the analysts are trying to make us believe?

Aren't they basically a reflection of our times — which is driving men to madness, and which glorifies mass murder — provided it is conducted by the Army instead of just by individuals?

Reader
Chicago

I read the following letter from Peter Cadogan, of the Committee of 100, in the NEW STATESMAN, and it was so fine, I have to pass it on to you:

In 1961 Bertrand Russell misled the independent peace movement into building on panic fears of war by accident. It was a policy without substance, it led to growth without roots and we have suffered ever since in consequence.

Now it seems that Lord Russell is at it again. He is propounding a policy over Vietnam that has a shallow emotive appeal but which will not stand a moment's closer exam-

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

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Views

ination. He has already done a great deal of damage to the development of a positively non-aligned campaign for peace in Vietnam.

He tells us that the demand for peace is empty. On the contrary, the demand for peace is full of the desperate longings of the peasants. This vital new key to the situation Lord Russell prefers to ignore as he plays politics with the lives of the innocent.

Bertrand Russell's Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is working for the military victory of one side in a situation in which, as innumerable independent observers have attested, no military victory for either side is possible. To urge 'victory', therefore, is to urge endless slaughter without point and without humanity.

Reader
New York

Harold Wilson has emerged temporarily, from the lash of his critics by again playing the "mediator" role. The Parliamentary Labour Party, at a private meeting, was told that the critics were undermining his "international authority." No one has done more to undermine his international authority—such as it was—than Mr. Wilson himself.

At this meeting, Wilson criticized the M.P.s who marched in demonstrations to the

American Embassy but never to the Chinese Embassy. There is a certain amount of logic in this, but not so much as he would desire for his support of Johnson's policy. However, he won by 200 votes to 46. What happened to 100 who signed an earlier protest we will never know.

It is hardly likely that his mediation offer will meet with success. Can he go to Hanoi and say "Here I come as the mediator in this horrible war—but I think the other side is right?"

We in Britain should not tolerate the government's support for an American policy against which the best people in America are fighting.

Harry McShane
Glasgow

The Communist Party has come out openly with demonstrations under its own auspices over Vietnam. The one in London was not large but got publicity through the clash with the police.

The demonstration in Glasgow was a pitiful affair. Anyone desiring to demonstrate had to do so behind the Communist Party. The day chosen for the demonstrations was, of course, the 4th of July.

Nevertheless the feeling about Viet-Nam is very strong.

Correspondent,
Scotland

I read an item about Kay Boyle, the well-known writer now teaching at San Francisco State College, who walks back and forth everyday, dressed in black, in front of the California Funeral Service, where the Marine and Navy dead are "processed." The Army dead go to Travis Air Base.

She carries no signs and gives out no leaflets — just keeps her lonely vigil. She estimates that between 30 and 45 a week are processed there.

After all these years, and two Big Wars, and now we are right back on the job again. What price will it take for the workers to put an end to this?

Reader
San Francisco

Recently students were urged not to dissent merely to be dissenting, or because others were dissenting, but to know what they were dissenting about. That is excellent advice, but incomplete.

To make it a valid guide to thought we would have to add: Neither should one assent to something without a good reason, particularly if it is a vital decision, such as peace or war.

If this had been followed in recent years, or were followed right now, we would be far better off.

Cogitator
Florida

THE DAYS OF PROTEST — FOUR REPORTS ON THE ANTI-WAR RALLIES

The anti-war demonstration that took place in Detroit on August 6th, the twenty-first anniversary of the dropping of an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, began with a motorcade and ended in a rally downtown.

Unfortunately, the ideas put forth in the rally were not designed to build a serious anti-war movement. Little connection was made with the bombing of Hiroshima.

Instead, Johnson was hung in effigy and a Viet Cong flag was parade up and down. This left the whole demonstration open to attack by a far right group. As a result, the demonstration ended in a series of fights — climaxed with the police breaking up the rally and arresting a number of demonstrators.

The "big debate of ideas" within the anti-war committee before the march, centered around whether the demonstration should be only anti U.S. (hanging Johnson in effigy, I imagine), or whether it should be in support of the Viet Cong (walking around with V. C. flags.)

With this level of debate, it is no wonder that the demonstration drew few outside the radical movement.

—Marcher
Detroit

The biggest anti-war demonstration ever held here in Philadelphia occurred on Aug. 6, when 1,000 people marched from the memorial monument to the Jewish fighters and martyrs of the Warsaw Ghetto to Independence Hall, the home of the Liberty Bell of which our Government has made a mockery.

Slogans of the march were: End The War In Viet Nam; No More Hiroshimas; Bring The Troops Home Now. The march thus connected itself with sufferings from imperialism and struggles for freedom past and present.

All sorts of groups were

represented: the Trotskyists and SANE, DuBois Club and Shalom Aleichem Club, Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, pacifist anarchists marching under the black flag, Third Camp socialists under their own name, and people who just felt strongly about the war. The participation of Negro groups like the Young Militants of Philadelphia and SNCC also brought new dimension to the march.

The public showed a lot more sympathy for this march than for the last one on March 26. At the same time the war-mongering counter-demonstrators have become angrier and have grown in number.

Behind the scenes, the preparation for the march was not quite cozy. The Stalinists and groups tied to the State Department (like SANE) wanted only to remember the past (Hiroshima). The strongest opposing tendency at meetings to prepare the march, the Trotskyists, wanted only to talk about the present (Bring the troops home now).

In this case the compromise made an improvement, because it strengthened the argument of the march by stressing the continuity of past and present.

—Marcher
Philadelphia

The papers reported 5000 anti-war marchers in Times Square—but since the march was all over the place at once, it is hard to say how many there were altogether. Some estimates went as high as 20,000.

The papers and TV, as usual, gave very biased reports. Channel 4 showed pictures only of people carrying V-C flags, whereas there was only a small group of about a dozen such V-C supporters. The rest carried slogans like

"Self-determination: U.S.—1776; Vietnam — 1966. "We support our troops: so please bring them home to us," and the like.

In contrast to this blatant attempt to identify all the marchers as "Commies", they identified the group of counter-pickets only as "supporters of the war." In reality, they were all from far-right groups and openly carried YAF, States Rights, and other such badges.

Besides that, they never mentioned that there were only about 50 counter-pickets, among the thousands of anti-war marchers.

In general, from the buttons you could see, various forms of "extremism" seemed on the rise. The slogans were more political and militant than before. There were lots of young Negroes with "Black Power" slogans who looked like they were from various nationalist groups. Aptheker was introduced as a "peace candidate," of all things. There were lots of very young kids with old-radical ideas and slogans.

It seemed to me that people are very frustrated and many are prone to accept anything anti-American as somehow militant and revolutionary.

—Marcher
New York

Over 2000 marched in Los Angeles Aug. 6th.

After a rally at the Federal Building during which the protestors heard Senator Ernest Gruening speak of the "inexcusable, shameful, undeclared war", the rally moved to a picket line in front of the Armed Forces Induction Station.

The rally was one of the bigger demonstrations that have occurred in the Los Angeles peace movement over the past several years and lasted for three hours.

The march in San Francisco was even larger.

Activist
California

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Once Again — Theory and Practice

It is no accident that in the past few years a veritable avalanche of books has appeared about the young Marx. With the sole exception of Marxism and Freedom, which included the first English translation of Marx's early essays because the author aimed at re-establishing the Humanism of Marxism, these books stretched Marx's Humanism to the point of non-recognition. They were written by "pros" — old radicals or professors — who stamped their imprint, ranging from totalitarian Communism to Zen Buddhism, and from psychology to technology, on Marx's early writings.

This is a repetition of what took place in Western Europe at the end of World War II, when everyone, from the Catholics to the Existentialists, were busy "discovering" the young Marx, and putting their imprint on his writings. Thereby, the Humanism of Marx, that is to say, the theory of alienation which is inseparable from the quest for universality, became degraded either to a theory of alienation of "the soul," or a preoccupation with the existent.

A NEW SYNTHESIS IS REQUIRED

History must not repeat itself. The young Marx must speak for himself. The alien clamor around him must be muffled so that we can hear him, see the pluri-dimensional in his outlook, grasp not merely the sense of alienation, but the act of liberation. The new left can help make this happen, provided it turns seriously to theory and begins to lay the foundation for a new synthesis of theory and practice.

Too long has established Marxism violated the very essence of this most profound theoretician of freedom — Karl Marx, the young and the old. "Marx," wrote Karl Kautsky when he was still the recognized head of the International, "proclaimed no philosophy, but the end of all philosophy." This misreading of Marx's statement that philosophy must be "realized" had no little to do with Kautsky's failure to publish Marx's Humanist Essays. It took a world war and the Russian Revolution, plus years of bargaining, to pry these manuscripts loose from the vaults kept by the literary heirs, to whom Friedrich Engels had entrusted them when he died in 1895.

ORIGINS IN HEGEL

The collapse of the established Socialist International had left Lenin without a philosophic foundation for his revolutionary thinking and compelled him to return to the origins of Marx in Hegelianism. It was only then that he first understood that it was impossible to understand the mature Marx, to comprehend, as he put it, even the first chapter of Capital unless one has studied "the whole of Hegel's Logic."

In unmistakable terms Lenin broke with his leader, Plekhanov: "Plekhanov wrote probably nearly 1,000 pages (Beltov + against Bogdanov + against Kantians + basic questions, etc., etc. on philosophy (dialectic.) There is nil in them about the Larger Logic, its thoughts (i.e., dialectic proper, as a philosophic science) nil!" And in the conclusion of this criticism of Plekhanov, he included all 20th century Marxists, that is to say, his own generation: "At the beginning of the 20th century Marxists criticized the Kantians and Humanists more in a Feuerbachian . . . than in a Hegelian, manner."

Unfortunately, Lenin's break with his own philosophic past remained "a private affair" not only because he had not published his Philosophic Notebooks of 1914-15, but also because he continued to recommend his own earlier works as well as those of Plekhanov on philosophy. Nothing else was available since neither his Notebooks, nor Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts had yet been published.

Thus Lenin left a dual philosophic heritage. The duality made it easy for the Communist theoreticians of Stalin's Russia to keep writing, after Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks and Marx's Manuscripts were finally published in the late 1920's, as if the Lenin of Materialism and Empiro-Criticism, which gave the green light to vulgar materialism in 1908, and the Lenin of the Philosophic Notebooks, which helped form the underlying philosophy of the 1917 Revolution by re-establishing the unity of the ideal and the material, were one and the same.

So prevalent is this attitude among all present-day writers — Russian Communists as well as Maoists, Titoists and assorted modern Kautskyans, Trotskyists and even American pragmatists — that no modern philosopher has yet attempted seriously to grapple with this statement from Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks: "Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it."

Marxism is a philosophy of human activity—the labor of hand and mind. For our age of absolutes, which invests everything with its opposite, so that even counter-revolution parades about as revolution, it cannot be stressed too strongly that Marx did not oppose idealism. What the Humanism of Marx does oppose are these:

(1) the de-humanization of ideas in Hegel, who dealt with the various stages of consciousness and self-consciousness as if those existed outside of the human body;

(2) capitalism, which is a class society based on the exploitation of man by man—of those who labor by those who control the means of production, so that all labor, even when it is freed from chattel slavery and serfdom remains "forced labor"; and

(3) "vulgar communism," which thinks all ills of capitalism are abolished the moment private property is abolished when, in truth, no new society can arise unless that which is most degrading in class societies, and is the source of all that is perverse in capitalism—the division between mental and manual labor—is rooted out totally.

ALL REVOLVED AROUND FREEDOM

The writings of the young Hegel, as, later, those of the young Marx, were not published until after World War I. The fact, however, that Marx was unaware of these writings did not keep him from penetrating through the de-humanization of Hegel's philosophy as Hegel had retreated to his ivory tower, and discovering the revolutionary nature of the Hegelian dialectic, and also its humanist origins. Because freedom is the point of departure, and the point of return, for both Marx and Hegel, the daring of the young Hegel, who wrote under the impact of the French Revolution of 1789, is breath-taking even today:

"Only that which is an object of freedom may be called an

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

Student Left Challenges Outmoded Ideas

It is the new student left—black and white—who have immersed themselves in the Negro Revolution that we look to when searching for fresh impulses to help remold our society. Thus a collection of their writings* is to be welcomed as a potential source book of creative thought on the shortcomings of the present and the hopes of the future.

Mitchell Cohen and Dennis Hale, editors of the anthology, have collected writings and speeches from the working papers of the Students for a Democratic Society, articles from *The Activist* magazine and other sources, and grouped them into three areas—Agenda For a Generation, Race and Poverty in American Politics, and *The Campus Revolt*—because “we felt the time had come for students to attempt a systematic analysis of their own movement, in the words of its own partisans.”

SOME WEAKNESSES

Selections suffer, however, from some serious weaknesses. One is the narrowness of selections. The radicalization of student youth has undeniably been intimately connected with the civil rights movement. As Mario Savio writes in his contribution—“Last summer I went to Mississippi to join the struggle there for civil rights. This fall I am engaged in another phase of the same struggle, this time in Berkeley.” Yet, the only contribution by a Negro student is by Charles McDrew on “The Spiritual and Moral Aspects of the Student

*The New Student Left. An Anthology, Edited by Mitchell Cohen and Dennis Hale. Beacon Press. 288 pp.

Nonviolent Struggle in the South,” written in 1960.

NEGRO YOUTH VITAL

There are, to be sure, contributions by students on the civil rights struggle. Articles by Bruce Payne on his experiences in Mississippi and an analysis of SNCC, Thomas Kahn on the Freedom Rides, Jonathan Eisen on the frustrations of seeking change, and Thomas Hayden on SNCC, as well as other articles are valuable contributions—although, at times, dated. But not to present more thoughts of Negro youth is to fail to give an accurate relationship of the student movement to the Negro Revolution.

In addition to the lack of Negro student left, there was perhaps too great a tendency to have more than one selection for a given writer, notably Tom Hayden, who authored four articles. Judging by the publisher's advertisement for the book, this was, in no small part, the result of trying to capitalize on the fact that Hayden went to Hanoi.

Wouldn't it have been more principled to have involved more representative people, especially the Negro student left like John Lewis and Robert Moses? While not now students, they were not long ago, and much of their work has been with students.

DIALOGUE LACKING

The main weakness, to this writer, which characterizes the new student left as a whole, is the failure of a serious, full discussion on where the movement to remake society, as a global phenomena, is going. The lack of dialogue on the creation of a philosophy of freedom to revitalize society on new human beginnings is all too apparent.

It is true that from time to time there are hints of this in

the contributions. Thus, Thomas Hayden writes: “Marx, especially Marx the humanist, has much to tell us . . .” Mario Savio of the Free Speech Movement, touches on it when he states: “The concept that bureaucrats have is that history has in fact come to an end . . . Most people who will be put out of jobs by machines will not accept an end to events, this historical plateau, as the point beyond which no change occurs. Negroes will not accept an end to history here.”

But in general, the approach is one of American pragmatism. From discussions of how to organize the unemployed, to student participation in a strike, to working in poverty areas—all are permeated with a pragmatic approach.

Organizing communities is approached as organizing and no more. To be sure it is humanistic in motivation, but young intellectuals have an obligation to clear their heads, as well. When the discussion extends beyond the community it is often only to re-think the same problem on the national level. (Unemployment can't be solved locally, it takes action on the federal level.)

Working in civil rights, in poverty areas, in the university, must actively involve the creating of a philosophy of freedom in order that one does not lose one's self in activity, activity and more activity. In going from one organizing campaign to another, without stopping to clear one's head and ask how can we once and for all remold this society, we tend to lose perspective, and, more importantly, cannot possibly achieve a transformation of society.

HEAD-CLEARING NEEDED

The task of the theoretician is not an easy one, but the effort must be made if we are ever to realize the new. I would suggest two areas for so-called head clearing.

First, we must firmly grasp the historic root of our struggle. This means history as process, as well as specific events. Thus, we must know the vanguard role of the Negro as touchstone of American civilization, just as we must know the system we are living under—capitalism—with its private Western variety and its state Russian and Chinese variety. But we must also know history as philosophy. And this means that we must stop treating Marx as a four letter word. He has much to say for us today, not just as an economist, but as a historian and philosopher.

Secondly, we must realize that the creative power to change society comes not from the student radicals, but from the masses of people—workers, Negroes, housewives, and youth. It is a creative power not only in terms of activity but also in terms of thinking, of creating a philosophy of freedom.

This is not to say that the student radicals—the new student left—do not have a role. They do. Even in their own terms of wanting to be organizers, they must move to a broader conception of what being organizers means. They cannot just be organizers of direct community action, but must become organizers in the sense of eliciting from the masses their full human potential, aiding them to develop themselves, making explicit their implicit thoughts and actions for creating a new society. And from this, aid in creating the philosophic foundation for a truly human reconstruction of our society. This is the challenge and the task to which the new student left should be addressing itself.

On Meredith March

Registration in Mississippi

DETROIT, Mich. — I arrived in Mississippi on the Saturday after James Meredith had been shot, and on the following Monday was one of a large group of volunteers who met to find out how they could help the Negro citizens of Mississippi to become registered voters.

The large group was broken into smaller groups, each assigned as a task force to a different county. I was assigned to Sunflower County. The county groups were briefed individually by the leaders, members of the Delta Ministry, who have been working in this area for several years.

BRIEFINGS AND WARNINGS

Briefing included such essentials as the number to call if arrested, an ever-present possibility during all the time we spent away from the March. We were told Ruleville was a pretty good place, and Drew, a few miles further north, was a very tough place. Ruleville turned out to be the home community of Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamer, one of the true heroines of the civil rights struggle.

We met in Mrs. Hamer's home that rainy June day, and she told us briefly about growing up in a poverty-stricken family of 20 children. She then told of her later experiences when she was thrown in jail and savagely beaten for having been imprudent enough to set foot off a Trailway Bus. The true reason for this, of course, was that she had engaged in local political activities and had encouraged other Negroes to do likewise.

I had heard at least part of this story before, as a member of a crowd in a large city church, but somehow it seemed much more real to hear the words spoken on Mrs. Hamer's humble front porch, where she sat surrounded by her family and neighbors. Mrs. Hamer concurred in what we had been told of the town of Drew. In her words, you could easily be arrested there for the crime of “walking on two legs!”

EASTLAND'S PLANTATION

Senator Eastland's plantation was also in Sunflower County. He was said to have 1,800 employees, fertile ground for any task force workers that would dare to enter his domain. A part of our task force did just that, but was unable to remain long enough to make much headway. A part of our task force also braved Drew. The Chief of Police happened to be

away on vacation, so they were only followed by the police and not arrested. Arrest would have invariably led to a fast trip to the County Farm.

That first day we “cut our teeth” on Ruleville, but, thanks to Mrs. Hamer and other dedicated workers before us, we found that the local Negro population were already registered voters, almost to a man. The second day we went to Sunflower City, which we found had also been pretty thoroughly covered.

MASS RALLY IN INDIANOLA

For the last few days we concentrated our efforts on the more untried streets of the tiny town of Inverness, and finally on a March from Sunflower City to the county seat of Indianola. This was led by Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamer, and culminated in a mass rally in the courthouse square and lines of people in front of the voter registration office.

Dr. King had been expected to speak at the rally, but twice came reports that he had been delayed for reasons that would be explained later. Many of the people in the crowd had looked forward to hearing this famous minister. Finally he was flown in to the tiny local airport and then brought by car to the square where Mrs. Hamer stood in the hot sun speaking passionately to the people, telling them of the better life that lay ahead.

PHILADELPHIA MEMORIAL

Finally we learned of the reason for Dr. King's delayed arrival. He had gone earlier to the town of Philadelphia, Miss., with a group from the Meredith March. They were there for the purpose of holding a memorial service for the three civil rights workers who had been slain there exactly two years before. During the memorial the group had been physically attacked, and, although no one had been seriously injured, the resulting confusion had made it impossible for him to leave on schedule.

Some of the marchers had been hit by objects thrown at them and others had been drenched by a hose. The worst fracas had occurred when a newsman was attacked by a local tough, and some of the marchers came to his rescue.

Although the total number of voters registered in Indianola that day was well under 100, considering the fear that had to be overcome, and the number of obstacles encountered along the way, it was truly impressive.

Many are praying that before another primary passes into history, Senator Eastland will find himself voted out of office.

Watts Festival A Smash

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — The three-day Watts Festival, which marked the anniversary of the revolt one year ago, was officially sponsored by the Jordan Alumni Association, but the ones who really took charge of the streets were Alert, the Community Patrol, with their white flags and all. Very little publicity was given to this. Yet it was the most outstanding feature of the whole festival.

Alert is the group formed by Negroes after the Deadwyler murder, to patrol the Southside at night and check on police, watching for cases of police misconduct. They carry two-way radios and cameras, and the white flag commemorates the white flag Deadwyler had on his antenna to signify he was on an emergency run.

During the festival, there was hardly a policeman on the streets, and it was a wonderful feeling—especially in Watts. It made me think of the stories about the Resistance people running the streets and directing traffic during the Spanish Revolution, and how free the streets began to feel.

As we approached Compton and 103rd (called “Charcoal Alley” by some because this was the section left in rubble last year), we saw Alert cars had blocked off the streets so people would be free to walk without traffic. One lonely policeman was directing cars to turn off 103rd into the side streets.

The Festival had evidently been embraced by the whole

power-structure, from the mayor, to the police department, to the daily press. Even Sargent Shriver had agreed, at the last moment, to be Grand Marshal of the parade—apparently without the advice of LBJ, which was supposed to make him some sort of “hero.” There had been very little participation on the part of the civil rights groups like NAACP, CORE, SCLC, Urban League, etc.

Tents were set up on the empty lots along 103rd, and the best thing at the Festival, was a drummer who performed on homemade drums in one of the tents.

The most important thing to me outside of the way Alert came out as the “organization with the mostest,” was the lack of animosity towards the whites. We wandered all over the neighborhood off 103rd, and everywhere the people were friendly. It was hard to see any of that anti-white feeling that our CORE chapter here—and so many others—have been talking about so much.

An estimated 10,000 people—both Negro and white—toured the Festival on the second day. There were two fine presentations at the Watts Happening Coffee House of “Ballad from Watts,” depicting the Negro's development since slavery.

The third day featured a parade, watched by 20,000 to 25,000 who then jammed the six-block festival area. By the time I got there, about 4 p.m., the streets were still full of people—most of them from Watts. No one had ever thought it would go over so big. Now everyone is talking how big it will be next year.

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MFU Story

Low Paid Workers Win Fight For Union

BALTIMORE, Md. — I was a worker at Lincoln Memorial Nursing Home where the MFU—the Maryland Freedom Union—was first started.

This nursing home, from my point of view, was the worst in Baltimore. During the big snow storm last January, seven patients died from lack of heat in the home. When you entered the front door, you could smell urine all over the place. A worker who had been there for three years was still making way under a dollar an hour. I was making 35c an hour.

Bolton Hill nursing home workers learned of our strike when the Baltimore Afro-American printed a front-page article about our fight. The very next morning, Feb. 14, they met and also decided to go out on strike.

To be honest about the two nursing homes, we lost at both of them. But people ought to know that even if we lost as a union, something was gained in that fight. Most nursing home workers in Baltimore now get a dollar an hour, because the owners were so scared of the union. This was also when the structure of the Maryland Freedom Union was formed.

We decided to work to organize retail workers in the ghetto. **FIRST VICTORY**

Our first target was Silverman's department store. Workers made 70c an hour and worked 49 hours a week with straight time for overtime. The workers met, signed up with the MFU; a wom-

an was elected shop steward, and we were on our way. After two days of picketing and a 100% effective boycott by the black community, Silverman's signed our first recognition agreement.

By June 2, workers had negotiated their contract: it included a \$1.50 an hour wage for full-time workers, a 40-hour work week, with time and a half for overtime, and sick leave, vacation, and holiday pay.

FAST SECOND VICTORY

Our next victory was at Gibson's department store of the RCR Corporation. There were only three workers there, but they came to us and complained about their 90c-an-hour wages and that they were made to work altering clothes for long hours in a hot, cramped, little room in the back of the store where there was no ventilation.

We asked the Man to sign, and he said that the board of directors wouldn't be in town for a week and that there was nothing he could do. But after we picketed for an hour and a half and he didn't make a single sale, he gave in and signed the agreement.

The workers who had won the first contract at Silverman's then began to sign up the next door Tommy Tucker's workers.

This store, the largest on Pennsylvania Ave., could break or make the MFU.

On Friday, July 8, picketing started in front of the main store, which has 38 employees, after the corporation vice president refused to recognize the union. Thirty workers — a huge major-

ity — had already signed pledge cards for the union. The picket line and boycott were 90% effective, although we only had a few pickets.

INJUNCTION FAILS

That afternoon Tommy Tucker's got an injunction against staff members of the MFU to stop picketing or passing out leaflets. The line was taken over by the Congress of Racial Equality and other community groups.

On Saturday, the following proposal was presented to us: that if a vote was taken of all the workers present in the store and a majority were for it, a recognition agreement would be signed. The voting was carried out by the Community Relations director of the Baltimore police force — and the majority of the workers voted for the union. But the owner still refused to sign, after giving his word.

When we came out we blocked the store doors. No one was arrested. And he had to close. We then moved to his pawn shop next door and closed that up.

CLOSE ALL STORES

We had a sound truck out telling everyone to join the picket line and help support the black workers inside the store. The whole picket line moved six blocks from the main store to another pawn shop which he owned, and closed that one too.

On the far west side of Baltimore, where there was another Tommy Tucker store, we staged a shop-in, set up a picket line in front of the store and closed it down.

We then moved to Light St., an all-white neighborhood. In that Tommy Tucker store they had all white workers, and we formed a line there and closed that store. By this time it was nearly 7 p. m., and we called it a day.

BOYCOTT 100% EFFECTIVE

Monday, CORE and community people on Pennsylvania Ave. — and staff of the Maryland Freedom Union as individuals — started up the picket line again. Three people were arrested at the pawn shop. Two people were arrested for sitting down in front of a police car. When people in the black community understood what had happened, they began to join in on the picket line.

By then we had enough people to cover both stores. After this the boycott was 100% effective, in spite of the fact that this was welfare day in Baltimore. Not a welfare mother went into the store.

After all the people were let out of jail, we received a message that Tommy Tucker management wanted to meet with us at 4 p. m. There were a whole bunch of muck-amucks there: the mayor's aid, the police commissioner, someone from the city council, the city solicitor — all the big shots in town. We agreed to an NLRB election to be held on Wednesday.

AGREEMENT SIGNED

Thirty-five people were eligible to vote. There were 31 uncontested ballots and three contested ballots. We won 26 to five.

To me, this is the real meaning of "Black Power." Where you can see the black people of the community sticking together to accomplish something like this. It wasn't only the Maryland Freedom Union that won that victory, it was the whole black community. It also showed that the MFU can be just as strong as the official old labor federations, even though we are very new and very small. When workers pull together, nothing can stop them.

—Ola Johnson, Secretary, Maryland Freedom Union. (For related story on what happened during contract negotiations which followed, see P. 1)

Once Again — Theory and Practice

(Continued from Page 5)

idea. We must, therefore, transcend the State. For every State is bound to treat free men as cogs in a machine. And this is precisely what it ought not to do: hence the State must perish."

It is this concept of freedom that enabled Marx, who developed his views on the eve of proletarian struggles of the 1840's, to concretize the abstract in Hegel, and thereby to transcend him. The 1848 revolutions that covered the whole of Europe, disclosed to Marx how "to realize philosophy," that is to say, to make freedom real. The heart, brain, and spirit of his philosophy all pointed to one truth: the driving force of "the dialectic," "the absolute negativity" of development through contradiction, was man himself, not just his thought, but the whole of man; not just alienated man "in general," but the alienated workers specifically, at the point of production.

Marx maintained that bourgeois theoreticians, because of their place in production and their compulsion outside it to defend the status quo, have a false ideology, are "prisoners of the fetishism of commodities." The worker, on the other hand, because of his place in the production is the "negative principle," the force which will resolve the contradictions of capitalism.

INDIVIDUALITY IS ESSENCE

The unity of theory and practice is, as Lukacs phrased it, "only the other face of the historical social situation which makes self-knowledge and knowledge coincide. Thus the proletariat is both the subject and object of its proper knowledge." Indeed, as Lukacs correctly puts it, Marx accused Hegel of not having truly transcended the duality of thought and being, of theory and practice, of subject and object, "that Hegel had not gone beyond Kant on this decisive point, that his dialectic was a simple appearance and not the actual, interior dialectic of the historic process" and that he, Marx, was carrying to its concrete, actual meaning the Hegelian conception of a "spirit-phenomenon."

To grasp the spirit of our age, to participate in the freedom struggle of today, to gain a new dimension in thought as well as in action, and thus to end class divisions, discrimination against minorities, the alienation of youth, it becomes imperative to recapture the inner essence of Marxist-Humanism—the individualistic element, which is its warp and woof. That individualism is not the petty-bourgeois individualism preoccupied with its own ego. Just as Hegel had conceived individuality to be "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself" so Marx defined freedom as "the free development of each (which) is the condition for the free development of all." Precisely because our age of state-capitalism, neo-colonialism and nuclear blackmail affects even the Left with an administrative mentality and a thirst "to lead," it becomes imperative to begin the discussion of a freedom philosophy on this, just this level.

Japanese Seek Solidarity

TOKYO, Japan—This year the August Rally is in the midst of the intensification of the U.S. aggression on the Vietnamese people and the rapid change of Japanese capitalism into imperialism.

Despite the fact that the Hanoi bombing has aroused strong indignation among the Japanese people, the Socialist Party as well as Communist Party did not organize any serious protest action at all. It was only the Anti-War Youth Committee composed of the youth sections of the trade unions and the Togakuren and the Fugakuren (local organizations of the ZENGAKUREN in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto) that actually waged repeated demonstrations on the street under the suppression of the police.

EARLY in June, the Japanese government willingly accepted the visit of the U.S. nuclear submarine belonging to the Seventh Fleet to Yokosuka (adjoining harbour of Tokyo).

The protest demonstration was not strong enough to prevent the anchorage of the submarine, through the sabotage of the SP and the CP in the struggle.

Thousands of student demonstrators were completely cut apart from the workers' demonstration by the police, who were overwhelming both in number and power. Nearly 50 students were arrested and many were seriously wounded.

WE HAVE long maintained that the decisive power that can bring an end to the threatening situation of the world today lies not in the counter measure by means of the nuclear weapon or in the summit talk among the powers, but in the mass direct action of the people of the world, especially in the unified struggle of the workers of the 'advanced' countries and the colonial territories based on the proletarian internationalism.

—NC-JRCL
Zenshinsha

TOKYO, Japan—As the international "peace movements" led by communist parties are split between Soviet Union and China, so in Japan there are two "peace movements" under the hegemonies of Socialist and Communist Parties.

These were one till 1961 and expelled Zengakuren because of our assertion to develop a strong anti-war struggle against Soviet nuclear testing, but now are struggling in split factions.

The Socialist peace movement criticizes U.S. aggression in Vietnam as a violation of Geneva agreements and threat to Asia peace, demands that the U.S. government stop the war, and asks the Japanese government to prevent the expansion of war to Japan.

BUT U.S. imperialism continues its Vietnam aggression in order to maintain its military control over South East Asia in rivalry with the Chinese and Soviet camps, and the Japanese ruling class cooperates with it in its own interest.

The Communist anti-bomb conference holds slogans against U.S. aggression on Vietnam, and to stop nuclear war. But they refuse the slogan against Chinese and French nuclear tests . . .

WE OF Japan Zengakuren have criticized these erroneous tendencies and developed mass struggles against Vietnam war, against N-tests of USA, USSR, China and France, against the port-call to Japan of US atomic fleets, against Japanese government's cooperation with Vietnam aggression, and its strengthening of military power, against US military base in Okinawa, and at the same time fought to create international solidarity of anti-war struggles.

—Zengakuren
(All-Japan Federation of Student Autonomous Associations.)

Book Review

Labor Government A Fraud

GLASGOW, Scotland — Legislation to stop wage increases, and to curb the traditional activities of the trade unions and the shop stewards, has been made more severe within recent weeks. That only gives greater force to the case put forward in the best publication issued by the British Labour movement for a considerable time. I refer to "Incomes Policy, Legislation and Shop Stewards", by T. Cliff and C. Barker, with a preface by Reg Birch.*

The role of the State is revealed more clearly in a time of crisis than at any other time. It is all the more revealing when a Labour Government becomes the instrument used to compel the workers to submit to the requirements of capitalism. This policy has been accelerated since the book was issued. At an earlier stage it was the aim of the Government to counter the bargaining power of the workers by a wage-freeze. This was to be a substitute for unemployment which always affects the worker's power to raise his living standards. It is now the Government's policy to have a wage-freeze plus unemployment. This is unprecedented in the history of capitalism.

THE Five Year Plan which was published last year, and about which so much was said during the General Election is now in shreds. The boastful speeches by Harold Wilson about making Britain "great" and "dynamic" are no longer referred to. Nothing equals the urge to prevent the workers from getting a higher price for the labour power. Wage

increases already agreed to have been put back for six months. Penal powers have been included in the legislation.

DEALING with the incomes policy and the proposal to freeze dividends, the authors expose the shallow contention that there is something "fair" about this. Among the many points made is that of how six ordinary shares valued at £1,000 in 1913 rose by 1st September, 1959, to £73,000. There are other illustrations of this kind.

Under the heading: "The Dead Weight of Bureaucracy", there is a thorough examination of the way in which the trade union bureaucrats are collaborating with the State. Nothing like it could have been imagined by the active leaders of half-a-century ago. Some are given titles, and it is well known how they seek posts on the board of the nationalised industries. There is a long list of retired trade union officers which includes 48 on nationalised boards and 25 in Government posts.

IT IS only possible to deal with a few of the issues raised in this book. It is the contention of the authors that the Incomes Policy of the Labour Government is a capitalist measure. They do not regard the trade union bureaucracy as providing a basis for a struggle against this policy. The book as a whole puts a case against relying on Parliament and for resistance to Government policy. The authors, correctly, emphasise the need to improve rank and file organization. There is, I think, a need for this to be followed up by literature insisting on urgency in view of recent developments. It is clear that the movement of the immediate future will be revolutionary in character. The policy of the Labour Government must be defeated.

—Harry McShane

*Published by the London Industrial Shop Stewards Defence Committee, Secretary G. Garlson, 117 Carmelite Road, Harrow Weald, Middlesex. Copies can be obtained from C. Davison, 83, Greyhound Road, London N 17. Price 2s. 6d each plus postage.

Freedom Movement Outbursts Force New Look at Old Ideas

(Continued from Page 1)

volt there one year ago, and the constant threat of another ever since.

Nonetheless, the despair on the part of the Negroes in ghetto after ghetto across the land has burst forth into open revolt again this summer in Omaha, Des Moines, Chicago, Cleveland, Troy and who knows where else before the summer is over?

It is true that after the destruction of these hated slums, the slums still remain—but it is also true that this is the only language the power structure seems capable of hearing. Where, before their demonstrations, Chicago's Negroes weren't even allowed the use of a hydrant, after them, they were given ten \$1000 portable swimming pools. This at the cost of two Negroes dead, hundreds wounded, 400 in jail, and thousands of dollars of damage!

GAINS OF A DECADE?

In the South, there have been more than 30 civil rights killings in the last decade, and only three convictions—none for more than ten years.

It has been 12 years since the Supreme Court Decision banning segregated schools, and two years since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which authorized the federal government to withhold funds from federally-aided programs to compel integration. Yet the U.S. Commissioner of Education was recently forced to admit that in the South only 5%, and in the North only 15% of Negro students are in integrated classes.

Perhaps most important of all, while the Negro Revolution has resulted in better neighborhoods and better jobs for the so-called "talented tenth," the poor and the ghetto-dwellers—who make up 95% of American Negroes—have remained poor and in the ghettos.

In Westside Chicago, for example, the unemployment rate is 15%—about four times the national average. In the Mississippi Delta those still working earn \$3 a day for a 13 hour day of chopping or picking cotton (\$5 a day for driving a tractor)—but this year 95 percent of the cotton will be picked by machines, and before next spring it is estimated that over 30,000 people in this one area alone will be jobless.

WAR ON THE POOR

There are now 32 million such Americans—both Negro and white—officially classed as poverty-stricken, in this "richest nation" in the world. Yet two years after its much-ballyhooed launching, the "war on poverty" has proved to be so stingy that it is ludicrous. The fear that LBJ aroused in January when he announced his new budget, that his ever greater escalation of the war on Vietnam would be "financed" by ever greater slashing of domestic funds, has proved well-founded.

The extent of the reactionary nature of Congress is revealed in the fact that right in the midst of the most severe demonstrations this summer, a Senate subcommittee shriveled a five-year, \$2.3 billion demonstration-cities proposal, designed to begin a massive assault on slums, to a two-year, \$900 thousand project.

On the other hand, more than \$2 billion a month is being poured into the destruction of North AND South Vietnam.

CRITICAL POINT

It is little wonder that the slogan of "black power" holds an attraction for so many—despite the fact that each one means something totally different by it. It is more symbolic of a mood than a philosophy. It has brought into the open the true depths of the counter-revolution which is attempting to stem the tide of the Negro Revolution, North and South.

The situation is thus at a criti-

cal point, and one in which the freedom movement will certainly not be helped by any attempt to move the stage back to Elijah Muhammad, who has not only stood on the sideline as the civil rights movement has gained momentum over the past decade, but who has actively opposed the movement.

It is ironic that Stokely Carmichael, who is being called the "new Malcolm X," is actually moving in the opposite direction that Malcolm X was taking just before his death, when he was forced to break with Elijah in order to get into the mainstream of the freedom movement.

It is significant that Carmichael drew no more than 600 to Cobo Hall in Detroit at the end of July, while Rev. King drew over 15,000 at that same Hall about a month earlier, to a rally co-sponsored by civil rights organizations and the UAW. These first faint glimmers of organized labor moving off dead center—at the insistence of Negro rank-and-file auto workers within the union—were an important, if far-too-long delayed, development in the urgently needed cooperation between the labor movement and the Negro movement.

Of much greater importance is the work that is being done to organize the unorganized in such Northern ghettos as Baltimore. (See stories, pp. 1, 7.)

WHITE LABOR AND THE NEGRO

Cooperation between white labor and the Negro is long overdue. White workers must be compelled to recognize that their own fight against their conditions of labor, against their bureaucracy, against a society in which they can hope for "full" employment only when a war is being waged (and it is their children who are the first to be drafted)—depends very heavily on their relationship to the Negro movement. In this respect, the fact that the white mobs dare march under a Nazi flag in Chicago may help the freedom fighters, as those who remember the thousands upon thousands who died to destroy Nazism, begin also the remember their class interests.

The American workers, black and white, cannot afford to ignore the history that they themselves made when they created the CIO. They were able to do it only when they united and fought together to change their conditions of life and labor.

NEEDS OF THE MOVEMENT

At this moment of history, the need for "black and white to unite and fight" is even greater than it was before. It should be obvious that the very same forces that have organized to keep the Negro degraded, are likewise the most vicious of the anti-labor forces—including the KKK, Nazis, Birchites and the most "respectable" seated in the halls of Congress. Far from lumping all whites together, it is important for the Negro movement to recognize not only the class nature of our society, but to differentiate between the bureaucracy and the rank-and-file within the working class.

Equally important is the need to see that it would be suicide for the Negro movement to isolate itself in an attempt to "go it alone."

Despairing as many Negroes must be that white America will ever really change, their need is not to create further separation from white labor and the white students, who, inspired by the Negro Revolution, have helped to move it from its initial stages to the present one—but to break still greater sections away from the white power structure, and thus finally begin the creation of a new, truly free society at last.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

AFL-CIO International Agency Is Arm of CIA

The recent flurry of disagreement between Walter Reuther and George Meany, heads of the AFL-CIO, lie in the international activities of the American trade union organization which Victor Reuther is supposed to direct and which Jay Lovestone really directs.

Jay Lovestone is a former General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, thrown out by Stalin after the 1928 Congress of the C.P. in which he supported Nikolai Bukharin. With the outbreak of World War II he turned super patriot and has been adopted by George Meany, the reactionary aged leader of organized labor in the United States.

Lovestone's chief aid is Irving Brown, for the last 17 years on the payroll of Walter Reuther. Together with their aids and a budget of \$400,000 in union funds, they seek to undermine democratic trade unionism throughout the world in concert with the C.I.A.

Victor Reuther frankly admits that, "the AFL-CIO was unfortunately supporting a small and unrepresentative group of Dominican trade unions and ignoring the larger democratic ones."

Jay Lovestone conducts his operation in conjunction with the C.I.A. very much as if he had both the authority and funds of that unregulated body—without explanations to either the Congress or people or the trade unions that foot

his bills. He has members of his staff who report only to him in every embassy throughout the world.

His funds and activities include strong arm acts against his opponents, subversion in foreign countries, bribing of officials and all of the other dirty work of the C.I.A. No "labor attache" gets appointed to an American Embassy abroad without his personal O.K. He is able to control press releases concerning his activities, as was testified by Leonard Marks, a Washington Post Correspondent, who showed that his dispatches were omitted from that paper when he criticized Jay Lovestone.

A well-documented report, "Lovestone's Cold War" by Dan Kurzman (New Republic, June 25) shows how another of Lovestone's agents, Harry Goldberg, operates in India, Indonesia and Italy. In the State Department his agent is Carmel Offi; Benjamin Mandel in the congressional security committee. It is no accident that Latin America is an area of special attention for Lovestone.

In Latin America Lovestone's tool is the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT), which backed the military dictatorship in the Brazilian coup of 1964, while it was jailing thousands of people. Lovestone's chief hatchet man is Andrew McLellan, who edits the Inter-American Labor Bulletin des-

pite his lack of labor background. McLellan is a close associate of Thomas C. Mann, until recently Undersecretary of the State Dept., and largely responsible for the reports that involved the U.S. in the Dominican affair.

To summarize, the U.S. labor movement, unbeknown to it, is supporting through its dues-paying members a branch office of the C.I.A. which is, throughout the world, subverting the world labor movement to the ends of American capitalism, spying on labor leaders abroad, using its influence to direct these labor organizations into supporting U.S. State Dept. policy, even if it means supporting military dictatorships against the workers.

Just as Lovestone's activities included support of the Batista-controlled trade unions in Cuba and the military dictatorships in Honduras and Guatemala, so his most recent act was the support of the military in the Dominican counter-revolution. It goes without saying that the rank and file know nothing of these reactionary activities. It is for this reason that we bring this out into the open so that the rank and file which fight the bureaucracy here know how more nefarious are the activities of these bureaucrats abroad where they play every bit as reactionary a role as the CIA—for that's what the CIO's international arm has become.

CANADIAN LABOR

Canada has been hit by a wave of both wildcat and authorized strikes in all sections of the country which threaten to upset the capitalist applecart.

On July 15 the workers of the International Nickel Co., 18,000 strong, struck in a wildcat at Sudbury, Ontario that lasted until Aug. 8 over lagging union negotiations; 15,000 steel workers struck in Hamilton, Ontario; 5,300 packing-house workers are striking across Canada; 118,000 railroad employees have rejected their proposed 18c contract; 5,000 textile workers are striking the Dominion Textile Co.; 4,500 workers are out at a power development in Quebec City; and 7,000 carpenters are striking in British Columbia. All told, 300,000 workers will be on the picket lines before the summer is over unless their demands are met. Last year 172,000 Canadian workers struck.

Recently the St. Lawrence Seaway workers won a 30% wage increase, and the general feeling of workers throughout Canada is that this settlement should set the pattern for other wage negotiations.

Hospital workers in both Quebec and Montreal, like their American counterparts, feel that they are among the most exploited members of society, and they too have struck in hundreds of hospitals to obtain a living wage.

The Canadian system of labor arbitration, involving representatives of the government and their endless reports on their "findings," leaves the workers cold and their rejection of these reports contrast sharply to the reliance of the

various companies that the government will intervene on their behalf. The American air lines strike is a similar situation.

Canadian workers too are dissatisfied with the kind of leadership they are getting from most of their unions, who, like the companies they are fighting, are controlled from the United States. In the strike of the largest steel mill in Canada, in Hamilton, the workers turned over and burned both company and union officials' cars. The workers belong to the U.S. Steel Workers Union.

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STATE CAPITALISM U.S. STYLE

Each year, in the United States, more than 1,000 corporations disappear by the process of conglomerate mergers in stock deals whereby the big corporation absorbs the smaller in a stock deal. Many thus swallowed are not so small: Pure Oil Co., Richfield Oil, Consolidation Coal and ABC-Paramount. Today 200 corporations control 60% of the manufacturing capacity of the country with General Motors at the top of the list with profits (after taxes) of 2.1 billion.

Most of the aircraft companies depend almost 100% on the government for orders, know-how, financing machinery and plants. Many "defense" firms are supplied with 50% of their fixed capital and 90% of their working capital as they use government owned machines in government owned plants for their private profits. Boeing's 1965 profits were 21% of its net worth. 70% of all research done in the country is at government

expense. \$30 billion in defense funds will go to these companies this year.

Leadership in industry and government are one and the same, executives from industry take government posts and there pursue policies good for big business. Elected officials and military officers retire into executive posts with the big corporations. It is useless to talk of government regulation of business when they are already profit sharing partners.

The link is so close that General Electric is able to "borrow" a \$1.2 billion aircraft and wreck it taking some publicity pictures. All the A.E.C. installations and Cape Kennedy are run and managed for fat profits by Union Carbide, General Electric, Westinghouse and others.

How much closer to state capitalism can you get?

BOSTON

The Negroes of Boston have issued an ultimatum to lawmakers: clean up the place (Roxbury) or suffer the consequences. Three Negro legislators issued the ultimatum to Boston's Mayor, demanding that abandoned buildings be torn down; massive and continuous street cleaning take place; city owned vacant lots be cleaned up and playgrounds installed; a swimming pool and skating rink be built; and an immediate effort be made to create a large scale employment placement facility with provisions for job training.

The Negro legislators said that unless their demands were met they would lead demonstrations against the conditions in the Negro ghetto of Boston.