

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

10c

Vol. 12—No. 2

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

FEBRUARY, 1967

10c A Copy 6d in Great Britain

## ON THE INSIDE

Youth, Philosophy and Revolution  
by Raya Dunayevskaya—P. 5

Unity and Race, Class, Youth—P. 3

A Negro at North American Aviation—P. 2

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Taxation Without Representation

Some workers I know were discussing the federal budget that is being proposed by L.B.J. and his budget experts. One worker, Dan Moses, said the first thing he was taught in grammar school 50 years ago was that the basic cause of the American Revolution was taxation without representation, but most people didn't have any idea what that really meant, or that it would ever apply to them. "Yet here we are," he said, "the working people of this country, being taxed to death without any representation—not just by the federal government, but by the state, county and city governments, too."

He went on to describe how Michigan's Governor Romney, proposing new taxes in his state budget, says they must start within the next six months for the common working people, and six months later for business and the bankers. A few years ago, government officials would try to pretend that the American people were being taxed equally, but today they don't even bother. The poor pay the bills.

#### EQUALLY CRAZY

"There was a saying some years ago," he continued, "that the Democrats were tax crazy, and the Republicans were war crazy. Today they are equally crazy. Both are war thirsty, and both are tax fanatics. The poor not only pay for the wars in taxes, but also with their blood and their lives. The Republican governor, Reagan, of California, not only came out with the biggest tax budget in their history, but also wants tuition raised for college students—which will mean that thousands of poor working people's children who cannot afford it, will be denied an education."

Dan said that what concerned him was that the students seemed ready and willing to revolt against these actions, but the workers seem to think it is hopeless to try to act against them.

He said that at a recent union meeting, the leaders were asking for discussion on by-laws changes. They wanted workers to vote their local officers more money for expenses, equal to the same amount the International representatives get. At the same time, they gave a report on the amounts of money in the different treasuries of the International Union. They reported \$33 million in the Supplemental Funds treasury.

One worker, said Dan, asked why he couldn't get SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) payments for the period of the strike the company had in Ohio last October, since the workers were granted unemployment pay for that time after the courts ruled that the company had to pay it when the strike was in another state.

The workers who had six or more to support received their full amount from the compensation office because they do not draw SUB checks. But those who had fewer to support lost from \$25 to \$40. This worker wanted to know: why hadn't they received SUB if the fund was so healthy? Afterwards, someone told him that the union had agreed with the company to refuse workers the SUB payments, because the company was planning a big cutback, and they would have to be paying SUB regularly when the lay-off occurred.

#### A BYLAW CHANGE SNEAKER

One sneaker in the by-law changes had to do with union dues. Until now, a worker out of work for a month did not have to pay dues no matter how much he drew on unemployment and SUB pay. With the change, if a worker is paid more a month in unemployment and SUB than he would get for a 40-hour-week pay, he would have to pay union dues out of the unemployment payment. After some hell was raised by some of the workers present, the International representative said it wouldn't make any difference if they did vote against it, since it had already been adopted at the last UAW convention in California.

One worker yelled back, "Why are you asking us to vote on it if it makes no difference? You are telling us that the International Union treasury has over 100 million dollars. What is it for? Is it for Emil Mazey, the secretary treasurer, to find some bankrupt banks to invest in? We don't get any representation for the amount we're paying."

"The question of being taxed without representation," concluded Dan, has become a reality with me some 50 years after I memorized it in that dilapidated wooden school back in Georgia. And those government leaders have the gall to say that the reason prices and taxes are so high is because working people's wages are too high.

"Workers are still struggling for decent wages. College students seem to be taking the cue from what we did back in the 30's. It's time for the poor to unite with those who are revolting against being over-taxed and robbed of their earnings, and take the cue from what the settlers did almost 200 years ago. It's high time to put an end to the business of being taxed for the purpose of making the rich richer and the poor poorer."

### Editorial Article

## Is China Preparing for 'A Great Leap Forward' or for World War III?

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Suddenly, Mao Tse-tung (heretofore famous for his declaration that "US imperialism is a paper tiger") has preoccupied himself with transforming a real paper tiger—"a handful" of anti-Maoists — into so overpowering a force that it has (1) caused "a state of civil war" in China, (2) influenced Army units "to disobey Mao's seize control committees" in a province no less crucial, and closest to the borders of Russia than Sinkiang, where China's nuclear testing ground is located, and (3) had Lin's Army paper proclaim

that, since the "pro-Mao forces may, temporarily, be in a minority", the Army itself must answer these "reactionary power holders with the gun."

#### REVOLUTION OR COUNTER-REVOLUTION?

What are we to make out of this welter of fantastic reports, issued, moreover, not by the alleged opponents of Mao, but the Mao faction itself which, though "temporarily in a minority", nevertheless controls all mass media — newspapers, radios, telegraphs, magazines, posters — and speech itself?

Can such a history-transforming act as a civil war be without voice? It would be easy to dismiss stories of victories against "enemies" we didn't even know Mao had, of reconquest of regions we didn't know he had lost, by declaring them to be sheer madness or sheer pretense. But if civil war exists only in Mao's fertile imagination, what is its purpose? If it exists in fact, where are the real forces of social revolution — the proletariat, the peasantry, the youth who have not been anointed as "Red Guards"? Who, then, except Mao himself, has "taken the road back to capitalism"?

To transform the "great cultural socialist revolution" into a fetish, a secret signal for world revolution, as some radicals are attempting to do, is but the other side of the unctuous attitude of bourgeois journalists who are trying to reduce epoch-making events to a question of "Mao's paranoia."

The developments in China have a logic of their own and it is this we must try to discern. To counter the weight of one-sided news, let's begin with verifiable events — places, dates, human forces that can be tested against objective world developments. Such a date, obviously, is the period — from November 1965 to May 1966 — when Mao was out of public sight. Far from having been fatally ill, as the bourgeois press then reported, it now turns out that he was then preparing the "cultural revolution" to which the country is now being subjected. The year, 1965, interests us especially since it helps illuminate not only Mao's disappearance but also three world developments.

#### RUSSIA, THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE INDONESIAN COUP

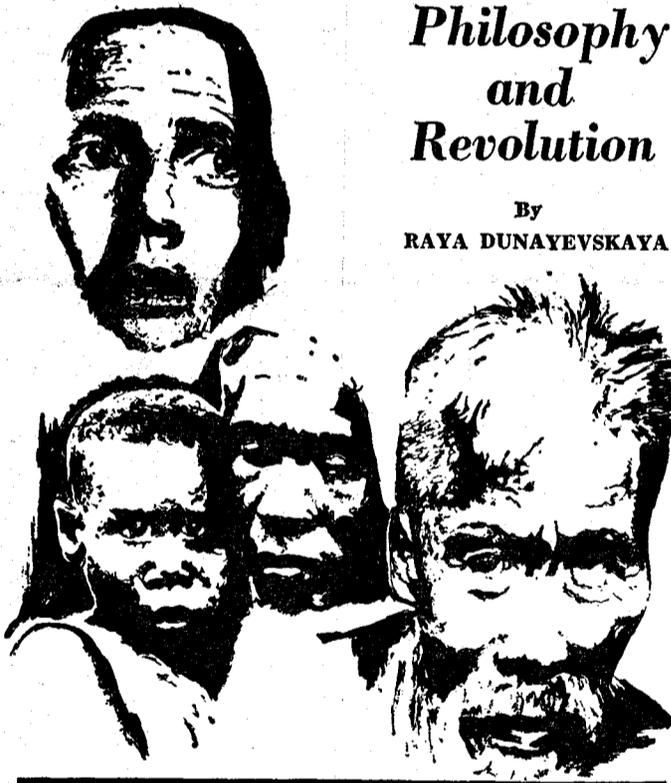
The first of these developments was Russia's attempt, following Khrushchev's fall in October 1964, to work out a new *modus vivendi* with China. The second is the new escalation by U.S. imperialism of the Vietnam war by wantonly bombing North Vietnam. Since this coincided with Kosygin's presence in Hanoi, after which he left for a meeting in Peking, it was expected that joint aid to North Vietnam would be worked out by the two Communist giants.

Instead, we were witness to just how far China had moved from

China, Russia, USA—

## State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism or Philosophy and Revolution

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA



INCLUDES ALSO AS APPENDIX —

Analysis of Rosa Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*

50c

### JUST OFF THE PRESS

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the appearance of Marx's CAPITAL

Order Your Copy Now

ONLY 50c

(Bundles of 5: \$2.00)

Order From

News & Letters

8751 Grand River

Detroit, Mich. 48204

Enclosed find \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ copies of "State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism."

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

(Continued on Page 5)

## What It's Like to be a Negro at NAA

Los Angeles, Calif. — I hired into the North American Aviation plant in 1953. First I wanted to become a machinist. But when I hired in, they said there was only one job available, assembler, so I took it. I liked the job, to me it was fun.

Every week the supervisor would pass by the leadman and say, "well, look, could you give me just one more, just one more." And I would bend my back to see if I could get it. But when it kept on happening, I said, this isn't for me, I'm just a slave.

### APPLIES FOR TRANSFER

I put in a transfer application to become a machinist. They eventually took me down and gave me a little test. I didn't hear anything else about it.

We worked at night and had a quota to make. We were building bottom decks for the F-86, a fighter plane. The quota was one a night, and I made sure I got it because I figured if we started slipping they might cut out the night shift. That would mean I would have to drop out of school where I was going during the day.

One night they called me into the office. They said they were going to fire me but were giving me a chance to terminate first. I asked what the trouble was. They said I couldn't get along with anyone, and my attendance record was bad. I told them I had never had any arguments with anyone, and my attendance record was nearly perfect.

Then they said I falsified my application. I asked how. They said I stated I had an honorable discharge from the military. I do, and I showed it to them. They said, "No, that's not an honorable discharge, that's a discharge under honorable conditions. Are you going to terminate or do we have to fire you?"

I told them I wanted to see a

## How Much Pull at North American?

Last year at the Compton facility women (all Negro) were assigned to pull cables. The work was extremely heavy. After complaining to supervision for several weeks we decided to measure the pull before filing a grievance.

The pull gauge only measured up to 90 lbs. and it was over that. So with this information a grievance was filed because male caucasians were being hired (less seniority) to sit down and sort wires while women had to stand eight hours a day and pull cables in excess of 100 pounds. The solution supervision gave, in the meantime, was to add Mexican-American women to the line so it would be integrated.

Labor relations stepped in and made supervision ease the job some. They gave us two Negro men and what they called a better method of pulling.

A work slow down occurred and one person was transferred to another facility. Upon arrival, a supervisor at the Compton plant is reported to have called the facility where this person transferred to and gave a personal opinion of the worker.

In short, he said the worker was hard to get along with, etc. This employee suffered untold abuse because she was alert enough to know the terrible working conditions already suffered were unfair and illegal (state law is 25 pounds for a woman). This is just another example of NAA justice.

Negro Woman Worker  
Los Angeles, Cal.

labor relations man, but he said he couldn't do anything for me and suggested I see my union. When I went back to my supervisor he asked what labor relations had said, and I told him. He told me to forget what had happened that night, and nothing else would be said about it.

### WORSE THAN SLAVERY

There were several other workers, also Negro, who had this same experience. They called one Negro into the office and told him he wasn't valuable to the company because he was doing only one job—the doors. They said they would have to let him go if he didn't show a little improvement.

He was really shook up. He thought he was going to be fired, and he had just bought a home. I think this is worse than being a slave. This guy had been doing more doors than all the rest of us, and yet they were threatening him.

It isn't only Negroes they do this to. There was an Indian worker who built decks. The engineers would come down with frames that had been cut wrong in the dye. They wanted to scrap them because they wouldn't fit, but in the end they would come out right, and they couldn't figure it out. It was this Indian worker who corrected all these things.

When he worked, he was just like an artist. Every time they hired any Caucasians they would have this fellow teach them how to do the job. Then they would give the whites their own jigs and an "A" classification. The Indian worker always remained a "B". They claimed his attendance record was bad.

### TRIES PHOTOGRAPHY

I finally got my high-school diploma, and then I started studying photography. I enjoyed it so much I put in for transfer to photography, complete with a brochure of pictures I had taken.

One of the supervisors said it was one of the best applications he had ever seen, and asked me to check with him every week but nothing ever came up. I decided that trying to become a photographer was pie in the sky.

I have seen so many guys qualified for lead man. They propose a white for leadman, and, just to make the record look good, a colored guy. Then three guys grade both men, and the white guy always gets the job. Lots of guys want to get ahead, and finally quit to take other jobs, because they know they'll never make it at North American.

### APPLIES FOR WELDING

In 1959 they were going around asking everyone to become welders. But they told me I had to be certified before I could get the job, so I started at Trade Tech, I did very well; my sample would

always be put on the bulletin board. While I was going to school, white workers would go to school for about two weeks, go out to North American, and get a job. A lot of them couldn't certify, but they would let them stay a few months to see if they could learn. Even if they couldn't certify they would make machine welders of them.

Every six months, I would put in for a transfer. Sometimes they would tell me to take an appearance test and each time the instructor would say I had passed and they would notify me when there was an opening.

Then I was laid-off, and when I came back and was being re-hired, I asked the secretary how the welders were doing. She said they didn't know what they were going to do because they couldn't find welders anywhere. When I told her I was coming back as a welder, she stopped typing and looked at me. It seems that she had let the cat out of the bag.

### TESTS, AND MORE TESTS

They said I would have to take an appearance test, which I passed. At the department I was given another test, which I also passed. Then they took me to the tooling department and I passed a test there. So they hired me as a welder.

I was doing well, but when they hired in a white welder, they immediately stopped letting me tool-weld, which gives a lot of overtime. I had the union steward check the record and the company told him I couldn't do that type of welding.

The steward said, "He's been doing it on straight-time, how come he can't do it on overtime?" They still claimed I couldn't do that type of weld. The steward said, "Well, send him to school for it." I went back to training for about a week.

I am laid-off now, but I expect to be called back sometime, to take a test. When I am called back they will also call white workers for the same job, and even if they have less experience, I think they will get the job.

### IF YOU ARE WHITE

The union cooperates in this system. If you are white you can negotiate: what shift you will work on, what you will do, how much money you would like. But if you are colored, they say, "Well, we're sorry. Take it or leave it." You can't negotiate.

If you talk to some of the old-time workers at NAA you can find examples of really open discrimination. At one time they had separate drinking fountains for Negroes and whites. The same people who made that rule are still in charge at North American. They still feel the same way, only now they give it to you with sugar.

## In Memoriam

George Saul 1897-1967

We mourn the death of George Saul, who devoted his entire life of almost 70 years to building a new society on truly human foundations. His life was a demonstration of the unity of thought and practice.

While still in college at the University of Denver, studying to be a lawyer, George got a job in the Post Office to earn his way through school, and joined the union that was being organized there. That was the end of his "career" as a lawyer and the beginning of his lifetime as a union activist.

During the 20's he took part in the Sanco-Vanzetti protests, in the Colorado miners' strike, and in the great Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike of 1929. During the 30's he helped to organize the CIO, and was one of the founders of the UAW in Michigan. He was both on the picketlines and in the debating halls, and took more than his share of beatings and arrests to make unionization real in America.

In 1962, at our urging, George began a column in NEWS & LETTERS called "Then and Now." He intended to tell the stories of the struggles of which he had been a part. The column would have been a chronicle of all the important struggles in American labor history, because that is what a biography of George Saul is.

When illness prevented him from continuing to write, his wife, Fanny, who had been with him in all the battles since the 20's, took down his words and wrote up the column for him. Finally, however, his illness became so severe that even that was impossible. It is a loss to the entire movement.

George was a true revolutionary, a life-time revolutionary. He left both the Communists and the Trotskyists because he believed that the freedom of the workers is their own task, and he opposed all bureaucracies. We are proud that he found himself close to us at the end of his life.

## British and Irish Workers Must Join to Solve Issues

GLASGOW, Scotland—The Labour Movement of Britain has for many years acted as if events in Ireland were of no concern to it. It looks as if such an attitude will require to be dropped before very long.

Mr. Terence O'Neill refuses to divulge what he discussed at his recent meeting with Harold Wilson. The fact that the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland expects to see Wilson again in August, for the fourth time, is not without significance.

The question of gerrymandering of votes and acts of discrimination against the Catholic minority is coming to the fore again. Mr. O'Neill did admit that something had been said about the demand made in the North for electoral reform. It just happens that a good deal will be said about it very soon.

The fact that Northern Ireland is tied to Britain has meant a great increase in the number of unemployed. The number amounts to 41,000. No less than 6.4 per cent of the labour force is now unemployed. With a position like this it is not easy for those in power to rely on the old tactic of turning the Protestants and Catholics against each other. The Belfast and District Trades Council has called for a complete change in the political set-up.

### ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION?

It would be a mistake to think that workers in Northern Ireland are attracted by the conditions prevailing in Eire. The workers of Eire have tried hard to improve their conditions. There is now a threat of legislation to put limits on the right to strike. The proposals have been turned down by the Congress of Irish Trade Unions. There are no signs to indicate any change in the atti-

tude of the Government.

Eire also has its army of unemployed. It amounts to 64,000 and keeps going up. This together with the scandalously inadequate system of social security means that there is widespread hardship among the workers.

There is a growing agitation developing against the present conditions. The writings of Connolly are more popular now than they ever were. It is the general opinion that the division of the country prevents the unity that is so necessary if living standards are to be improved.

### MUST RIGHT WRONG

It is not possible for members of the British Labour Movement to act as if Ireland did not exist. If the division of Ireland is wrong we must accept our share of responsibility for that wrong. If our fellow workers in Ireland become engaged in a serious industrial movement the spirit of solidarity between workers of different countries must be revived. It is well to remember that the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland can become an issue if the workers try to solve their problems in their own way. We are deeply involved.

Fundamentally, their problem is the same as that of the workers here. It is not possible to ignore immediate problems when we know that efforts to deal with such problems can sow the seed for the real struggle to end capitalism and usher in the new society. The immediate aim of the Irish people is to attain freedom. With that we must identify ourselves.

We should not forget the importance that Marx and Engels attached to Ireland's fight for freedom. That fight is not over yet.

Paperback Edition Now Out: \$1.75

(Also available in hardcover: \$5.95)

## An International Symposium on SOCIALIST HUMANISM

36 essays, edited by Erich Fromm

Includes Leopold S. Senghor of Senegal, Raya Dunayevskaya and Herbert Marcuse of the U. S., Adam Schaff of Poland, Lucien Goldmann of France, Iring Fetscher of Germany, Karel Kosik of Czechoslovakia.

Published by Doubleday & Co., Inc.  
Copies available from News & Letters

Attention all Detroit readers!

## Lecture and discussion on: NEGRO AS TOUCHSTONE OF HISTORY

Date: Thursday, Feb. 23. Time: 7:30 p.m.

Place: 8751 Grand River Ave., Detroit

Admission Free

# Need Unity of Race, Class, Youth

NEW YORK, N.Y. — The year began with the Negro and student movements seemingly unable to defend even partial gains that had been taken for granted, like Adam Clayton Powell's symbolic position in Congress, or free tuition and poverty money in California, where Ronald Reagan moved against the students and the poor.

At the same time, the working class seemed to be taking the offensive, challenging management, the government, and the labor bureaucracy all at once, and winning — as the airline mechanics' strike proved last summer. Where, in the recent past, the Negro revolution and the radical youth had begun to challenge the power structure, labor is now flexing its muscles. **CIVIL RIGHTS WON?**

To many people in the Civil Rights movement the Civil Rights bills were the final victory, the "great" one. The fight was over and they could go back to their regular lives: the students back to schools or careers, the liberals and middle class people back to their soft lives.

Some stayed to fight for better middle class advancement, some because they could not identify with any other form of life, and others because they sought to remedy what they thought were mistakes the movement had made.

Some of the struggles of the civil rights movement have had relevance to the class struggle — the rent strikes, the Montgomery bus boycott, the freedom unions and ghetto organizing projects. But for the most part, there was no attention given to the lower class Negro workers.

Those who saw this started to change it through Community Organization in CORE and SNCC. But many middle class supporters revolted at the "back-to-the-ghetto" move and stopped giving money. People working in the ghetto were put on meaningless token projects.

### CO-OPTED LEADERS

The final blow came with the poverty program. Everybody in the movement said "let's take their money and use it to organize against them." But you don't get something for nothing.

A government always tries to pretend it is above the class conflicts of society and tries to resolve them within itself, naturally in the interests of the rulers. That is what the war on poverty meant. They simply co-opted a lot of the leadership by putting them on the payroll.

What will happen now that the real war in Vietnam has taken all the poverty war money is another question, for the poverty program has raised people's hopes and put them in motion. They may try to keep Johnson's broken promise by organizing themselves.

Now the movement is feeling the repercussions of not aligning itself to the lower class and working Negro. Although it is shouting "Black Power" and making threats of action to come, it is like a bubble that will pop at any moment.

### STUDENT POWER?

Just as the slogan of "Black Power" is doomed to remain an abstract revolutionary phrase as long as it is separate from the class struggle, so the students of the New Left, if they follow the line of "student power," will never solve their current crisis.

The New Left had very auspicious beginnings. Starting as a northern counterpart to the southern students sit-ins, it very early turned its attention to the social problems around it.

SDS tried to get students off the campus and into the ghettos.

The ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project) sent many middle class youth into the slums to live, struggle and learn with the urban lower class, both black and white. "Participatory democracy" was their banner.

Mississippi Freedom Summer in 1964 brought many into contact with the masses in the South, and some learned much from them.

The Berkeley revolt grew directly out of the work in the South, and began as a protest against university interference with students working in off-campus struggles. At Berkeley the relationship between the on-campus protest and the larger social movement was always clear, and this was the greatest strength of the movement. **ISOLATION**

The abstract revolutionism of the "student power" slogan has only served to isolate radical students. SDS and other New Left chapters now spend half their time looking for issues and trying to think up programs.

At Columbia University, for example, after much debate, the SDS chapter finally agreed to devote its energies to organize opposition to the releasing of student class rank to draft boards. A few weeks later, the faculty itself co-opted the whole program by voting to refuse to release the class standings.

Breaking out of isolation is not so hard as some students think. For example, in the same week that students all over California demonstrated against Reagan's tuition hike, Negroes and poor people were demonstrating against Reagan's attack on poverty centers. The enemy is the same and so are the means: so why not stand together and begin to create the new links to build a new society?

### LABOR UNREST

Just as Powell was being denied his seat in Congress and Reagan was attacking students and poverty people in California, that very moment found Cleveland welfare and nursing home workers, Railway Express handlers and social workers, California grape workers, New Jersey teachers and Westinghouse factory workers in Baltimore all walking the picket line. The bourgeois press was moaning that "1966 was a year full of strikes and 1967 may be worse."

Workers have refused to accept Johnson's phoney wage

guideline which offers them less of an increase each year than the rise in the cost of living caused by the war in Vietnam, and they knew that management, with profits soaring, is getting everything.

On the first day of 1966, New York City bus and subway workers shouted down a proposal to extend the strike deadline and walked out. Although the city government tried to smash the strike by jailing the leadership, the strikers won 8% wage raises. Their victory was followed last summer by the airline strike, where the mechanics too had to take on their big three: the airlines, the government, and the sell-out union bureaucracy. The workers rejected the pitiful increases negotiated for them, and kept up the strike until the Johnson guidelines were dead and buried.

### WILDCATS

The number of genuine wildcat strikes, usually over grievances and working conditions in the shop, has also continued to increase, although it is impossible to get accurate figures as both company and union try to hush them up. Two recent examples, the North American Aviation "civil rights" strike and the Kaiser wildcat in Los Angeles, show how closely these movements are tied to the race issue. (See Oct. '66 and Jan. '67 N&L for stories.)

Many production workers, as opposed to skilled and craft (Continued on Page 6)

## On the Line

# Auto Boom Bubble Begins Breaking, Brings Big Bust

By JOHN ALLISON

Workers are beginning to realize what this word, austerity, really means. The first sign of a cutback was in the form of white collar workers getting friendly with production workers. You can always tell when something is going to happen by the way the company people act toward the production workers.

So it was when the word came down that there was to be a big lay-off of white collar workers. All of a sudden, everyone got union-minded.

### WHAT LAY-OFF MEANS

Now we are beginning to get lay-offs in the factory. What does this mean to workers in general? The old-timers already know. It means that the young workers get laid-off, and then the old ballgame starts:

The workers left are told to "stay on the job." Gloves are only issued once a week. There are more time-study people roaming the plant. The supervisors begin to write-up workers for answering the call of nature. Workers are told each day to "be careful."

The company complains that their profits are falling off. They refer to the "good years" as those when there was unlimited overtime. But during those "good years" many workers were pushed too hard to make profits for the corporation, and lost their health because there was a great demand for automobiles.

### PRICE WAR VICTIMS

They sacrificed their health in the "good years" with excessive overtime in order to meet the needs of their families which kept on costing more and more. They were "war-victims," victims of the price-war in which the cost of living kept on going up and up and up.

Prices are still up. And now workers are being laid-off, at the same time that the war in Vietnam goes on. For workers austerity has already begun. We are in a box, and there doesn't seem any way out.

The young workers now realize what factory life is like. The money-lenders are giving the workers a hard time. With every lay-off, the big corporations are helping these cut-throats make money off the working people.

It is getting to the point where workers are saying, "You can never trust the corporation. Good times or bad times, it makes no difference. The company's goal is always production and profit. And it's always the workers who pay."

# Union Drives Spread to Florida and Texas

*Editor's Note: Starting in Delano with the now-historic grape-workers' strike, the movement to organize farm workers has been spreading throughout the entire country. The stories of these strikes and news of the movement are all documented in El Malcriado, published bi-weekly by the Farm Workers Press, PO Box 1060, Delano, Cal. 92315. Subscriptions are \$2.50 per year. Below are stories of the organizing now going on in Texas and in Florida.*

Belle Glade, Fla. — It has not reached the ears of the vacationers at Miami Beach yet, but the cry in Florida today is a strong, loud "Viva la Causa!"

The fields near here — where 70% of the vegetable crop is

owned by fewer than a dozen families — have been hit by a wave of strikes. Starting with 150 workers on the picket lines, the number grew to more than 2000 in only one day as the feudal era in the fields of Florida neared its end.

These migrants have little to show for their back-breaking labor. In an area that produces \$116 million in crops, the average income in Belle Glade is one of the lowest in the country — \$2000 a year.

Strikers are demanding \$1.60 an hour. This was the stand of the initial group of strikers — 30 celery cutters who walked off the Sam Crissman farm after he refused their demands. They were getting \$1.15 an hour for the muscle-breaking, tedious work.

### MANY ISSUES

Money, however, is not the only issue. It may not even be the biggest one at the moment.

There is the factor of human misery — at a price — here in the rich heartland of agricultural Florida.

Families of five or more are huddled in one and two room apartments (if you can call them that) in which there sometimes is running water, but no bath or even toilet facilities.

For these shanties, the farm worker tenants pay \$8 to \$12 a week, giving the owner of a 16-unit "apartment house" a gross return of up to \$16,000 a year.

### SPELL OUT DEMANDS

The organizations working with the farm workers are banded together in the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers. CCFW has produced a resolution calling for a union contract which would include:

Increased hourly wages, improved incentive rates, guaranteed minimum daily wage when work is available, show-up pay for when a worker reports for work and work isn't available, hospitalization and medical insurance for employees and dependents, transportation allowance, sanitation, health and safety standards, payment from grower to worker directly rather than through a crew leader as pay-

master, mandatory Social Security deductions, workmen's compensation, housing or housing allowance, access to property by non-employees, grievance procedure and arbitration, as well as other fringe benefits normally found in other union contracts.

Starr Co., Texas—Texas is a state which still swims in the murk of 18th century labor relations. Texas is a state where labor organizers are dealt with ruthlessly and quickly, where hundreds of innocent men rot in the jails while ranchers and politicians, spurred on by an insatiable greed, add to their fantastic wealth.

There is a company of Texas Rangers camped out in Rio Grande City. Their mission: to break the farm workers strike.

Franklin Garcia of the meat-cutters union, said: "They got hold of me once, and there's a law that says they can't hold you without charges more than 24 hours. So they rode me around in a car for 23 hours, let me out on a country road, and then picked me up again before I could walk to a town. This went on for four days. You can't tell me anything about the Texas Rangers."

Texas has laws called the O'Daniel Acts. Under the O'Daniel Act, shouting "huelga" is a serious crime.

"Some years ago," Garcia said, "we were in a strike and there was an incident on the picket line. A scab spit at a picket, right in his face. The picket slugged the scab."

### TEXAS JUSTICE

"Well, they were both arrested. The scab was given a fine of \$13.50. The picket was given 25 years. This is a documented case. I've never been able to forget it, because things are still the same down there."

We asked how things were going in the current strike. What is it going to take to win? "It's going to take a series of injunctions from a federal judge," he said, "just like the Negroes needed in Birmingham."

## "HUELGA" ...THE FIRST 100 DAYS OF THE GREAT DELANO GRAPE STRIKE



A thrilling account of the biggest farm strike since the thirties, now going on. This book, 160 pages with many photos, is one you'll want to keep. \$1.50 each

Farm Worker Press  
Box 1060-Delano, Calif.  
Send me \_\_\_ copies of "Huelga"  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

# Readers' Views

## TURMOIL IN CHINA

The events in China are tragic.

Whatever his twists and turns, Mao Tse-tung won widespread respect in strange places. In Stilwell's eyes he was a hero compared to Chiang Kai-shek. His platitudes were regarded as the height of wisdom. Now his "thought" is challenged.

More than a hundred flowers are now blooming despite the Red (should it be Black?) Guards. The flowers seem to be of various kinds. Whatever happens, other thoughts besides those of Mao will now find expression.

H. M.  
Scotland

The workers in our shop are very confused about what is happening in China, even more than they are confused about Vietnam. The only thing they seem convinced about is that the way the U.S. is conducting the war seems sure to get China into it.

Production Worker  
Detroit

Some of the so-called "intellectual workers" in our shop have tried to present China as the saviour of all the oppressed people in the world—especially the Negroes. Up to now, some of the rank-and-file workers have accepted this idea. But when the Red Guards appeared on the scene, everyone began to take a second look, and those who might have been sympathetic to Mao Tse-tung are questioning what the "intellectuals" have been telling them.

Whenever there is as much turmoil in a regime as there is in China, the workers are very distrustful of it. They picture themselves as workers in China, and wonder what would be happening to them if they were there, instead of here.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

## BLACK POWER

Every News & Letters is exciting and unusual, inasmuch as you cannot find fertile and honest views in other printed news media. But I have to take exception to the portion of the Two Worlds article in the January issue which criticizes SNCC for making a generalization of all whites — at the same time that I applaud the January issue as the most nearly perfect concerning the Negro in America today.

The article on black power recognizes the Negro revolt as violent, live, painful and selfless. The Negro revolt is the real core of American labor

problems, but too few are willing to concede the fact because current histories distort other issues concerning Negroes . . .

Even Miss Dunayevskaya, with absolutely no personal, political or racial offense, views Negro militancy with the eyes of a caucasian . . . I am sure that she is aware of the state of generalization in our nation about black people which has persisted for so long.

That one is for or against SNCC's philosophy is not the issue. Causation is more important. Why should Negroes, steeped and brain-washed in a generalization for some 400 years, possess such strange metaphysical, emotional and psychological attributes that they, as Negroes, are not just as liable to succumb to generalizations as the bigoted power structure always has?

The ignorant bigots and ill-informed liberals (some of whom are really not so liberal) have created the fallow field where the frustrations of blacks have given the Negro cause to generalize.

Quite honestly, the thinking black American will not take SNCC's or anybody else's way of generalizing, anymore than the white power structure succeeds with its generalizing. (News & Letters is living proof of that.) Yet, being black, I understand what SNCC is saving — while it would take two volumes to explain only halfway to one who has not been black in America . . .

Black American  
California

The Perspectives Report by Raya Dunayevskaya was one of the most amazing things I have ever read by her. I must confess that, while I always find them important, some of her articles have been pretty "heavy" for me, and I have found myself forcing myself to get through them. But this one, especially the section on "Black Power," was so concrete, so completely applicable to what is happening right this minute, that I sent it off to a friend of mine I thought ought to read it, too, as soon as I finished it.

Teacher  
New York

I never felt so miserable in my life as I did the day a white worker was talking with me and asked me please to tell him what "black power" was all about. I thought I knew, but I found out I just couldn't explain it.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

Your editorial on Adam Clayton Powell last issue hit the nail right on the head.

I really appreciated every word it said. I showed it to every friend I could.

Negro Reader  
Pittsburgh

A white worker I eat with told me that he couldn't figure out a strike in which only the Negro workers were asked to go out. In any strike we've ever had Negro and white workers have gone out together. We had a long talk about what Powell's case meant. He really wanted to know how Negroes felt about the whole thing.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

I wear a "Black Power" button to work because a lot of whites who see it come over and ask me about it, and that gives me a chance to explain to them what I mean by "black power."

New Reader  
Detroit

## MARXIST THOUGHT

I reread the December issue last evening. Raya Dunayevskaya's article helped me to understand better the limits of the economic science as it is practiced today, both in the East and the West.

Economics does not contribute to solving human problems, but concentrates on the "technical" side of phenomena. Without the underlying philosophy, the "Socialist" economists, too, see today's capitalism without crises — though it is their forms that changed.

If Marxism is a methodology, a guide to re-thinking and re-making the world, then I fear that, good as their intentions may be, the "economist's" instruments cannot satisfy.

Correspondent  
East Europe

I have studied your writings and I am thoroughly convinced you are right. You have filled a gap in Marxist thought. The movement would have been richer had the early works of Marx been available and understood.

Supporter  
Scotland

## LEADERS AND RANKS

The carnage of the assembly line will not be comprehended by Mr. Henry Ford and General Motors executives until they work on the line. Besides retiring the union officials, or just plain firing them, the rank-and-file members should strike until Ford and General Motors executives consent to work on the assembly lines themselves for a minimum of two months.

They will be yelling "uncle" inside of 30 minutes, but they must comprehend their murderous attitude and only until they've "had it" will they understand. To the line! To the line! Ford et al!!

Supporter  
Illinois

The laundry workers and the cleaners — those are the poor guys who need some help. They have a contract that is supposed to give them a few pennies more every three years. But it's so easy for the owners to by-pass the

contract that the rates have constantly been going down instead of up. They never get a vacation—they are somehow always laid-off or fired just before they're supposed to be eligible for one.

Most people wouldn't believe that they get 6c for pressing one suit, and a penny for a shirt. This isn't in the deep South. This is in Detroit!

Do they need a union? You bet—the only trouble is that they already have one! It consists of a business agent who comes around and tells them they'd better take what they're offered or they won't have any job at all.

Union Man  
Detroit

## STUDENT PROTESTS

Reaganism affects much more than just California. This state, so far as I am concerned, is being used as a national base for everything the reactionaries have in mind for the whole country.

Political Student  
Los Angeles

There has been quite a bit of activity on the ULCA campus since the firing of Kerr.

There was a rally of about 6000 students in Pauley Pavilion (which the students refused to call by this name, and called Memorial Sports arena instead, because Pauley, who is on the regents board, voted against Kerr.)

Unfortunately, almost all of the speeches dealt with the firing of Kerr and the budget costs alone. Only one speaker dealt with a more fundamental issue — that of student participation in the decision-making of a university.

Student  
Los Angeles

They run campuses like Army camps or maybe prison. The rules that apply outside don't apply inside. You would think since these administrations are dealing with all educated people they would allow more things to go on. Allow more room for initiative.

I really think the power structure college-wise fears for its livelihood. There are a lot who don't contribute to anything but dull afternoons. If groups of students had the use of the facilities they could do a lot of learning and teaching themselves even at the undergraduate level.

Student  
Ohio

Meiji University, one of the biggest universities here in Tokyo, is now striking. The students are occupying the campus, and managing autonomous teaching, inviting sympathizing scholars. We will try to send you further information as the strike develops.

Reader  
Tokyo

## BULL'S-EYE

Somehow, the last issue of N&L (January) seems to have convinced the company of the error of its ways. That column on the way workers on sick leave are treated by the Insurance Department must have hit a bull's eye somewhere. At least, right after the January

issue came out, the company wasn't turning a single claim down.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

## NAZI RESURGENCE

The editorial in your January issue refers to the West German Chancellor Kiesinger as an "ex-Nazi". I'm afraid it's worse than that. Kurt Georg Kiesinger never left the Nazi Party.

I'm afraid that future history books will read in this fashion: "The first Nazi Chancellor in Germany was Adolf Hitler, who ruled from 1933 to 1945. The second was Karl Donitz, who ruled one week in 1945. The third was Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who took office in 1966."

And the role of the Socialists also repeated itself. In 1933, when Hitler was first appointed Chancellor, the Social Democrats were urged to come out in the streets against him, as they had during the right-wing Kapp Putsch of 1920.

They replied, in effect, "This is not a *coup d'etat* like Kapp's. Hitler is becoming Chancellor through Germany's constitutional processes. If we try to stop him, we will be revolutionaries."

They relaxed and accepted Hitler, just as Brandt has not only accepted Kiesinger, but given him his seal of approval.

Professor  
New York

## ESSAY ON FREEDOM

Dear News & Letters: This is what I say. Our Freedom is what we want. We want freedom to live. In the World War men were killed. All they didn't have was freedom. That's why we want our freedom.

Seven Year Old  
Detroit

## TWO "THANK-YOU'S"

I really enjoy distributing News & Letters and selling N&L pamphlets because I know that it's not only the truth, but what I would call an "insight." The paper means so much to me that I honestly feel good about sharing the knowledge it imparts.

The groups I like to sell to the most are those who aren't in the "movement" — church groups, for example—because these are the people who generally read only the daily press, and just don't know what's really happening in this world.

Negro Mother  
Detroit

Thanks for your simply great little eight-page paper. I want you to know that it, and all the pamphlets I bought, have found a happy home with me here. I am reading them slowly because I believe they must be studied and not just read to fully appreciate them.

Many thanks for all the work that went into them. So much these days is just "dashed off" quickly and can be read once and then discarded. It is good to have some material you can read over and over like yours.

Student  
California

## News & Letters

VOL. 12, NO. 2

February, 1967

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters. 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor  
O. Domanski ..... Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid  
at Detroit, Michigan.

# Is China Preparing for 'Leap' or for War?

(Continued from Page 1)  
 the ideological conflict that had reached its climax in the 1963 challenge to Russia for leadership of the Communist world. By 1965 it wasn't only the Communist world Mao wished to head; he was busy plotting with Sukarno a new power axis with global aims. During all this time the "helmsman" was at the ship of state. The direction didn't change even when in October, 1965, the Djakarta-Peking axis collapsed under the impact of a grisly military coup in Indonesia.

And yet the sequence of events does more than place the Mao-Liu conflict in its proper world context. By eliminating the world-shaking events as cause for internal conflict, we can now pinpoint what did become the internal point of division. It is "the great proletarian cultural revolution," which then lacked the adjective, proletarian.

## POINT OF DIVISION

The Peking Review claims that the "cultural revolution" had originated in September, 1965. It is obvious, however, that this is not what is going on now. Then, it was limited to a mild purge in the opera, theatre and literary and art fields, and was played in so low a key that the outside world barely heard of it. The point is that in October (November?) this is what Mao proposed to change.

Despite the new anti-Russian stance which meant that the fight against "revisionism" was placed parallel to the fight against U.S. imperialism at the very time when the Vietnam war called for united action, and despite the Indonesian coup, Mao was proposing an extension of the so-called cultural revolution into all walks of life. The Politburo (or whatever section of the Maoist bureaucracy makes all the decisions) balked at the proposal for Maoisation of the whole national life in circumstances when they thought it imperative to build up the economy and were preparing, finally, to initiate the third Five Year Plan. A peaceful co-existence with its own masses, if possible, was preferred to new purges.

Liu Shao-chi, since 1959 Chairman of the People's Republic of China, who is now played up as "the person in authority taking the capitalist road," could not have been alone in his views on State planning. A majority must have resisted Mao's idea of "revolution," that is to say, purge. Judging by the fact that Chou En-lai is still trying to keep the so-called Red Guards away from production, he too must have resisted Mao's "solution" to the deepening world crisis. And, judging by the conflicting posters on his status, Chou may very well be next singled out for purge after he has served as the buffer between. But the power struggle within the Communist Party hierarchy is not what is important if it is only a power struggle.

What is important is the objective point of division: the attitude toward labor and production. There is no point of division between the Communist bureaucrats on the fact that labor must work "and work harder." The new in Mao's brand of counter-revolution is that he is trying to fashion an instrument, other than the Communist Party, to drive the masses as they had been driven during the primitive accumulation of capital. He knows moreover, that he has not the advantage of Stalin who still could transform the world's Communist Parties into mere outposts for defense of "socialism in one country." The impulse to Mao's "madness" is that he has lost all confidence in the world proletariat.

## THE NEW IN MAO'S STATE-CAPITALISM:

1) The Institutionalization of the Red Guards  
 Contrary to the bourgeois press, it isn't nostalgia of an aging rev-

olutionary for "pure" revolution. Like every other fundamental mental attitude, Mao's voluntarism has an objective base, or, perhaps, we should say is produced by lack of a material base that is human. That is to say, the masses are not with Mao, not because he is out for "pure" revolution, but because he is under the delusion that, once "armed with Mao's Thought," the masses will accept regimentation and militarisation as "socialism." Therefore Mao must create shock troops under the further delusion that thereby "20 years equal 1 day" and China becomes the dominant world power.

Contrary to the Mao apologists, revolutions cannot be made from above. They either well up from below in spontaneous outburst, or they are the palace kind that affect no one but "power holders." Hence, the workers didn't rush to join the "Red Guards" and give that bastard creation proletarian legitimacy. Hence, the peasants didn't take the shock troops into their midst and thus create a genuine mass base for state-capitalist purposes.

Nothing, however, stops Mao from reaching for "the Absolute like a shot out of a pistol," to use a Hegelian phrase. Or, to translate it into pure Maoism, basing himself totally on the concept, "Power comes out of the barrel of a gun." Hence, he disbanded the National Trade Unions, though they had little enough independence in the "old" state-capitalist regime of the Communist Party. Hence, the discontinuance of the Young Communist League, or any youth not anointed by him. Hence, the move to institutionalize the "Red Guards" who are totally rootless, know no world beyond China, and owe loyalty to none but Mao.

Mao thinks that thereby he assures their culture to be neither Confucian nor Communist, but "purely"—without any mediation—and totally Maoist. No more Chou Yangs who, though he was Mao's chief propagandist for 20 years, nevertheless knew Russian literature and had even translated Tolstoy, which, no doubt, led him to use only 70 tons of paper for Mao's works while 7,500 tons were used to reprint ancient Chinese classics. With 30 million copies of "Mao's Thought" being brandished by "Red Guards," Mao bargains, not merely to "assure" himself "immortality," but to lay the new foundations for a society in which people are born, live and die by "Mao's Thought," fearing no nuclear holocaust.

The August rhetoric of the Plenum statement—"to dare to break paths unexplored by people before, and scale unclimbed heights"—is being dismantled by the stark winter acts of institutionalizing the shock treatment of the "Red Guards." "Red Rebels" will replace trade unions. All other organizations—from the youth to women and from the

peasantry to the arts—will undergo the same "reorganization," perhaps ending in some sort of national congress either to replace the Communist Party itself, or as parallel to it. Through such shock treatment the Chinese masses are supposed "to learn how to make revolution by making it," not, however, without the Army standing by and ready to complete the job of stifling all opposition. And instead of calling this by its rightful name of counter-revolution, they dare call this "pure revolution"!

## 2) War — With Whom?

Presently, it is claimed (in a New Year's editorial published simultaneously in the People's Daily, and the Red Flag) that not only had "persons in authority" opposed the creation of the Red Guards but had "clamped down on different views . . . practiced white terror." Moreover, according to the "red" terror posters, this didn't start in 1965, but dates back to 1959 when Mao was "forced" to step down from the presidency of the republic.

That, again, is a verifiable date that not only marks the period when Liu Shao-chi became Chairman of the People's Republic of China, but, what is far more important, marks the official retreat from the disastrous "Great Leap Forward" which Mao had initiated in 1958. And it is also the beginning of the break with Russia as well as the first reorganization of the People's Liberation Army. This ended in the removal of its head, P'eng Te-huai, who was supposed to have leaned toward Russia. Lin Piao took his place and has so reorganized the army that now every one else is supposed to learn from his great achievements in infusing it with "Mao's Thought." The slogan now is: "Everyman a soldier." In a word, labor and production bend to militarisation. Obviously, Mao has never considered his "Great Leap Forward" a mistake and is ready to embark on another one.

Or is Mao readying the country for war? And if so, with whom?

There is no doubt whatever that fighting a war is Mao's outstanding achievement. Not only does he know the problem a great deal more thoroughly, theoretically and practically, than ever he knew Marxism. But on guerilla warfare he is a true "original", a genius. The trouble is that the problem he has set for himself presently is not that of a guerilla war against an obvious enemy—a corrupt ruling class, an imperialist occupying power—but China's Communist counterpart, Soviet Russia.

Toward that end it is not beneath him to engage in little provocations to try to cause a break on an even purely diplomatic level, with Russia. For weeks now, a marathon demonstration around the Soviet Embassy in Peking has been in progress over an alleged scuffle in Moscow between Chi-

(Continued on Page 8)

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,  
 Author of Marxism and Freedom

## Youth, Philosophy and Revolution

Ed. Note: This review was written for and appeared in the Fall 1966 issue of *The Activist*, student journal published at Oberlin College.

\* \* \*

The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943, Edited by Milroad M. Drachkovitch, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford, Calif. \$6.95.

The sin of sins, in the eyes of the editor of the volume under review, is to be young. It seems that to be young—whether you are a socialist or not, but "especially Socialist youth"—is almost a sure guarantee that you will take the primrose path leading straight to Bolshevism.

All this, and more, the reader will learn from Professor Milroad M. Drachkovitch, who, this time as author, (in collaboration with Branco Lazitch) assures him that the world enthusiasm generated by the birth of the Communist International in 1919 was all "a historical misunderstanding," based on "emotional rather than ideological grounds." (p.161) These emotions made non-Communists "oblivious of the fact that . . . civil war and revolutionary warfare were integral parts of Bolshevik strategy." (p.162) Which is, no doubt, why they were "drawn to Bolshevism by the prestige of the only successful revolution." (p.161)

(Dear readers, disregard any contradictions; better is yet to come.) We are informed that, where these non-Communists—from pacifists to anarchists and from syndicalists to socialists as well as some real innocents—weren't "ignorant," or didn't come either from "backward countries" or "the most backward parts" or "politically underdeveloped regions" of a country, yet nevertheless showed their "political immaturity" (p.163) by succumbing to "the fascination of revolutionary power." (p.160) To emphasize just how "attractive" had been "the Bolsheviks' activism" ("especially true of Socialist youth" p.162), the authors conclude ponderously and, though with hindsight, use the tone of prophecy: "It was no accident that the overwhelming majority of Communist leaders in the period between 1919 and 1921 were under thirty years of age, and many of them under twenty-five."

\* \* \*

LEST ANY readers despair that, being younger than even 25, they are beyond redemption, let me hasten to inform them that the venerable Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, is all too eager to save "both the layman and the professional historian." In the Preface, the editor assured us that the aim in presenting these papers from a conference on the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the First International was to introduce one and all "to new facets of an extremely complex phenomenon." So there is nothing to fear. Just how comparative these "comparative historic studies" are can be gleaned from the insensitive dragging in of a tragedy of historic proportion just to get a whack at Lenin: "With respect to the German Communists whose leaders opposed the creation of the Third International as premature, Lenin enjoyed a great stroke of political good luck (!) in the assassination by a 'class enemy' (1) in 1919 of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches." (p.161)

Having taken up five and one-half pages for this type of mood setting, the reader has a right to expect that Professors Drachkovitch and Lazitch should be ready to get down to the facts of the case. It turns out, however, that the section, "The Shaping of the Comintern," begins, not with a discussion either of the first Congress of the Comintern, or the Russian Revolution which created its foundation, but by a return back to 1902: "The events of October 1917 in Russia," they write as if they had just finished interviewing Lenin, "confirmed Lenin in the correctness of his 1902 view, set forth in *What Is To Be Done?*, that spontaneity was the main enemy of the working-class movement . . ." (p.164)

\* \* \*

IT WOULD be hard to find anywhere more errors compressed into one-half of one sentence. (2) First of all, Lenin had never said, written, or thought that "spontaneity was the main enemy of the working-class movement"—not in 1902, not in 1905, not in 1917, not in 1919, and not when he died in January, 1924. The spontaneity, or rather lack of it, that Lenin deplored in 1902, was the alleged fact that the workers couldn't "spontaneously" come to Marxism; that "professional revolutionaries" had "to bring" socialism to them. The 1905 Revolution, however, led Lenin to enthuse: "The working-class is instinctively, spontaneously, Social-Democratic." Far from 1917 having confirmed Lenin's alleged position that "spontaneity was the main enemy of the working-class movement," Lenin was so thoroughly disgusted with the leadership of his "vanguard party" that was supposed to bring socialism to the masses—and precisely for not understanding the directions of the spontaneous actions of the workers—that he wrote it: "I am compelled to tender my resignation to the Central Committee . . ." and threatened, instead, to go directly "to the sailors." (3)

Now then—and for the purpose of the subject at hand, the second point is more important than the first—why did Professors Drachkovitch and Lazitch drag 1902 into a discussion of 1919? The reader is compelled to plod through 30 more pages of this type of rewriting of history before there is another reference to What

(Continued on Page 6)

(1) That a historian, in 1966, should use quotation marks around the words, class enemy, in a reference to the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches is, in itself, a condemnation of the study under review. For the most objective study of that year, 1919, in Germany, see Rosa Luxemburg by J. P. Nettle (Oxford University Press).

(2) The second half of that sentence reads "and that the victory of the revolution could be secured only by 'the centralization of the most secret functions in an organization of professional revolutionaries.'" It is characteristic of the sloppiness of the work of these authors that all their references fail to specify which edition of the works of Lenin they are citing—and, for their information, there are many editions. In any case, it is in none of the editions, either English or Russian or French of the Selected Works, Vol. 1, pp.338-9. Indeed, that volume does not contain *What Is To Be Done?* Very obviously, "the centralization of the most secret functions in an organization of professional revolutionaries"—whatever it meant for 1902—fell through in 1917 as Zinoviev and Kamenev published the date of insurrection. However, Kerensky, even as the Tsar, could not possibly stop "secret functions" when they were being executed by the spontaneity of the masses.

(3) Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. VI, p. 232, Am. ed. 1943. (International Publishers)

## Can there be War between Russia and China?

READ "THE CHALLENGE OF MAO TSE-TUNG"

in

## MARXISM AND FREEDOM

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Special paperback edition, only \$1.98. (Hard cover, \$6.) Available also in Italian and Japanese translations.  
 Order from: NEWS & LETTERS, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich., 48204

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# YOUTH

## NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

### Reagan Threat Begins With Student Assault

Within days of assuming the governor's chair, Ronald Reagan began a campaign to remold the state of California, whose Berkeley campus recently produced a student strike.

The new governor's budget proposal for the university amounted to a 31% cut in the state appropriation for the 1967-1968 budget request. At the same time, he asked for the inauguration of a \$400-per-year student tuition fee at the university. Similar budget cuts and tuition fees were proposed for the state colleges.

The students, faculty and administrators of the nine university campuses and the state college campuses throughout the state reacted through a series of rallies and resolutions protesting these actions. First to be affected by the proposed budget cut were the newly entering students—the university and the state college froze admissions until the budget is finalized. Recruitment of new faculty—hundreds are needed for the various campuses—was halted.

#### ECONOMY NOT THE OBJECT

In the past few weeks Reagan and his finance director, as well as the higher education administrators, have given a series of new figures, newer figures, new interpretations of those figures and newer interpretations. We shall not follow this shell game, for, as we shall see, economy and balancing the budget were not Reagan's objectives.

Reagan's proposal for tuition, a plan which would provide only a small fraction of the university's finances while depriving a high fraction of students from low income families the opportunity to attend the university, was aimed at a specific element. As Reagan put it at one of his press conferences, perhaps some of the agitators will think twice before spending \$400 a year for the right to picket.

There are those who say that Reagan has made a mistake and will correct himself. The university is a big business, they say, and the business community will put pressure on him not to destroy it. There is no doubt that the university IS a big business, which gives the California economy a very good return on its investment, but this is not the point.

#### ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

Reagan is not interested in destroying the university as a business (before the budget is passed it may undergo substantial upward compromises). He is interested in creating an attitude. The attitude, reactionism, anti-intellectualism will govern his actions, not whether or not the state's budget is balanced.

Reagan's actions have made clear his intentions though he has been in office less than a month. At the University he wishes all the students to conform to administration-set rules. Those with differing political attitudes,

with sandals and beards, with differing ideas of how to live one's life will not be welcome.

To minorities and the poor his intentions have been manifested by the appointment of the president of the California Real Estate Association, a strong foe of the Rumford Fair Housing Act, as real estate commissioner for the state, as well as the closing of a series of Community Service Centers in poorer neighborhoods.

The farm workers, Mexican-American, Negro and white, who have just begun a fight for unionism see Reagan's appointment of a right-to-work advocate as head of the State Board of Agriculture.

In short, all segments of society are seeing the first appearance of the new atmosphere Reaganism represents.

The move against the university came because it was the students, first during the FSM, then during the student strike, who challenged the attitude that Reagan is determined to create.

In fact, Reagan was protecting the university as a big business. It was after all, the students who protested that the university was big business, trying to put all students into a single mold, instead of being an arena for open inquiry and an instrument of social change.

Despite the uproar which followed the budget cut and tuition proposals Reagan was not through. At the first meeting of the Regents of the University of California (the governing body of the university) that Reagan attended, he succeeded in getting the university's President Clark Kerr fired.

#### A SOFT KERR?

There is no doubt that many of the Regents had been dissatisfied with Kerr since the Free Speech Movement, when somehow it was thought that he was "soft" on the students. (He opposed the bringing in of police during the sit-in that resulted in the arrest of 800 students, but was quite willing to have them descend upon students during the first confrontation around a police car before persuaded by faculty mediators not to do so.) However, what is important to grasp is that now that Reagan is in, the Regents, with Reagan's vote among them, caught the spirit and fired Kerr.

There was reaction on campus to the firing of Kerr. The faculty of all the campuses condemned the firing and demanded to participate in the hiring of a new president. The students at all campuses held rallies protesting Kerr's firing and demanded no budget cut and no tuition.

At UCLA over 6,000 turned out for the rally. Unfortunately some of the protests are in the hands of student government officials. The students' concern is very great but the leaders are confining it to mourning for Kerr and asking for no tuition or budget cuts.

#### THE REAL ISSUE

Meanwhile the activists from

the FSM and the Vietnam protest seem to be taking little part. The activists may have, with good reason, not liked Kerr, and thus felt no remorse for his leaving, but this is not the question. The question is: are we going to continue to let non-educators decide the important issues of the university or can the students together with the faculty play a part in the planning of the university and their lives in it.

The Student-government leaders are not interested in this; the activists are and should be in the fore front. That the students are interested in these questions can be shown at some of the meetings held, such as a meeting of graduate students at UCLA, where a large number of students spoke out not so much about tuition but about the anti-intellectual attitudes of Reaganism, comparing it to McCarthyism.

The attitude that Reagan is promoting has even caught on among the supposed pro-university, anti-Reagan forces. Thus one of the faculty members who addressed the UCLA rally blamed the election of Reagan and his current attack on the university on the activists like FSM who "disrupted" the campus and want to "take over" whatever that means. The chancellor of UCLA who may have designs on the presidency of the university, had the same thoughts when he spoke. The students were not taken in as they booed the chancellor for his statements.

### Unity of Race, Class and Youth Is Needed

(Continued from Page 3)

workers, are from minority groups, so production grievances often have racial overtones. But what is significant is that rank-and-file whites often support these movements, because class and shop issues are involved.

The real split in labor is not racial, but between rank-and-file production workers and the union bureaucrats. The bureaucrats have accepted Automation, which hurts the production worker the most through speedup and layoffs, just as they have long accepted Jim Crow departments and locals.

In contrast, the rank-and-file of production, Negro and white, know that there is no hope for them short of a revival of true unionism and class solidarity.

#### THE UNORGANIZED

The union bureaucrats have shown even less interest in the struggle of the unorganized workers of America. For years they ran from any serious attempt to organize the farm workers. But when the California farm workers organized their own independent union in the grapes, the AFL-CIO staff suddenly took an active interest in the organization. The price of their support was affiliation of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) with the AFL-CIO, not as an independent union, but as an organizing committee under the direct control of the Executive Committee bureaucrats in Washington.

In Baltimore, the Jim-Crow locals running the Central

#### Two Worlds

### Youth, Philosophy and Revolution

(Continued from Page 5)

is to be Done. He is told that what really dominated Lenin's revolutionary thought from 1902 until the founding of the Third International was "obsession with power." (p.194) Moreover, he developed all these ideas which brought about "the isolation of Russia in order to (sic!) prevent its contamination by infidels—these were Lenin's legacy to the Comintern. Stalin simply exploited the full potential for evil of practices that were well-established in Lenin's lifetime." (p.194; emphasis added).

STALINIST totalitarian practices thus emerge "naturally" out of Lenin's theoretical preoccupation, nay, veritable obsession with power. Note also that: (1) Once you have claimed that Stalinism is the outgrowth of Leninism, you need not reveal that Lenin left a Will which called Stalin "rude and disloyal" and asked the Party "to remove him." (2) Thus, it is as nothing to fail to deal with the period from Lenin's death in January, 1924, to Trotsky's expulsion in November, 1927, as a Great Divide between the early years of the Comintern that inspired revolutionary world response, and the Stalinism which was soon to generate a counter-revolution. Instead, you can call the period, simply, "Interregnum," and statistically reel off those years as if no fundamental changes occurred within the International as a result of objective developments outside it. (3) Above all you need pay no attention to the overriding economic and political changes which transformed the early worker's state into its opposite, a state-capitalist society and therefore transformed the Comintern into nothing but an outpost of state-capitalism, dubbed "socialism in one country." It is so much easier to state that "personal (sic!) differences" between Lenin and Stalin notwithstanding, Stalin carried out Lenin's line, making the CI into the tool of one man.

With all those burdens out of the way, you have but one question left to answer: was the Third International "the only legitimate heir of the First, and the redeemer of the sins of the Second?" (p.198) Here our authors at first begin modestly: "The problem is of course complex, but it can be reduced to a relatively simple proposition." Then our specialists in reducing complex questions to non-existent ones continue: "Inasmuch as Marxism in theory and practice was both deterministic and voluntarist, revolutionary and reformist . . . (and) Marx himself was . . . a Blanquist and an anti-Blanquist, a supporter of the bourgeois republic in France and the inflamed avenger of the Paris Commune . . ." (p.199)

ALL THAT is needed is a label: Marx's "dual nature" (p.200). "Dual Nature" speaks for itself, and it takes in Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Now this is indeed a magical feat that far surpasses the story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde who were such absolute opposites that, though they were one person, the author still had some explanations to make.

(Concluded next month)

Labor Council couldn't have cared less about the unorganized Negro workers in their city, some of whom made 35c an hour. Yet when the Maryland Freedom Union was formed to organize the ghetto workers, the Council's response was to call them "black nationalists," "communists," and "dualists."

So far from the interests of the unorganized has the bureaucracy gone, that the Mississippi, Tennessee and Maryland Freedom Unions all grew as part of the Civil Rights movement. The 20-year-old promise of an "Operation Dixie" to organize the South has, of course, never been kept. When the Freedom unions got help from labor, it was the rank-and-file that gave it, not the leadership.

#### FROM BELOW

Just to raise the issues of rank-and-file vs. bureaucracy and of organizing the unorganized shows the relationship between race and class. Organizing the unorganized means organizing the Negro in the South and the urban ghetto. Fighting the bureaucracy means fighting Jim Crow officials and lily-white departments and unions.

Such struggles could end all

the talk about separatism, and produce an alliance, from below, on the basis of common class interests, between the Negro masses and the rank-and-file of labor.

#### RACE, YOUTH, CLASS

The first thing the movement's intellectuals must look at is the objective split, in both labor and Civil Rights, between leadership and ranks—and find out where they stand.

The deep-rooted racism, the alienation, the constant wars and the exploitation of capitalist society will only disappear when that society disappears: they are only superficially "single" issues. All are rooted in the basic CLASS division which is endemic to all capitalist societies, East or West.

The first step will be to identify the enemy and not pretend we never heard the word "capitalism," while accepting every form of tokenism and reformism from every kind of leadership. The second will be to unite the three phases of the movement—labor, the radical youth, and the Negro struggle; not on some abstract basis or just for the sake of unity but on the basis of mass action for common interests, on class issues.

The latest actions of LBJ and Rusk make it clear that they have no intentions of allowing peace in Vietnam. It becomes more imperative than ever to

**SUPPORT THE ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS APRIL 8-15**

FOR MEETINGS OF  
L.A. NEWS & LETTERS  
COMMITTEE WRITE:  
P.O. BOX 27022  
LOS ANGELES, CAL.  
90027

The student journal of political affairs

## THE ACTIVIST

A provocative journal of controversy, scholarship, inquiry and dissent—for those who are still attracted to the creative and cantankerous, the imaginative and radical.

One year's subscription—\$2  
5 issues, occasional pamphlets

Send orders to The Activist, 27½ W. College,  
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

# Unionization Is Best Defense Against 'Right to Work' Laws

Los Angeles, Calif. — The relationship between labor and Civil Rights is now at such a stage that Johnson may be beginning to use it for his own benefit.

With the defeat of the attempt to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act in Congress, the unions will now be starting a round of fighting against the so-called "Right to Work Laws" presently on the books in 19 states. At the same time, advocates of the "Right to Work Laws," stimulated by the failure of 14-B repeal, are reviving their campaigns to pass "Right to Work Laws" in other states.

## ORGANIZING IS KEY

These campaigns are expensive. An estimated one million dollars was spent by labor in fighting a "Right to Work" law in Oklahoma. If that million had been used to organize underpaid workers like hospital employees and agricultural workers (many of whom are minorities working for less than \$1 an hour), the defeat of "Right to Work" laws would be assured.

When the "Right to Work Law" was up in California, labor found its allies in the Civil Rights Movement, and the law was defeated. But how long can labor continue to count on the support of the Civil Rights Movement if unions like the construction unions will not let Negroes in?

In St. Louis, AFL-CIO Building Trades Union workers walked off the job because three non-AFL-CIO Union Negro plumbers

were used. The AFL-CIO says, that only its workers should be used. But it in turn discriminates by not letting skilled Negroes into the union, and the apprentice jobs are not given to minorities. Is it any wonder then, that many Negroes feel they do not have to fight for organization?

## LBJ'S SMOKE SCREEN

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, LBJ can hit at unions opposing his economic guidelines for wages. He is starting to investigate those unions under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because of discrimination against minorities and is using this smoke screen to attack labor. The construction unions are the first to feel this and they were the first to be specifically cited about wage guidelines.

Labor and the Civil Rights Movement have the same enemies. But the unions have not joined with the minorities. The AFL-CIO seems more concerned with the protection of better paid organized workers, instead of organizing the unorganized. That is where the only real protection against the "Right to Work" laws lies.

What is the guideline for 35c to \$1 an hour minority workers in hospital and agricultural work? But the AFL-CIO feels that this is unprofitable territory for them. They have been trying for 18 years to defeat the Taft-Hartley Law through parliamentarianism. Organizing the unorganized is the only real assurance of victory.

# Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

## Struggle at a Standstill

The struggle for freedom is at a standstill. Nothing has been said or done about the rights of colored people since the election. Even Dr. King is quiet.

So many different organizations have tried to lead the people in different ways. They all seem to want to go down in Negro history as the one who had to get Negroes back into action. That is what all the mess about "black power" seems to be about.

### RIGHTS FOR ALL

And that is just what's wrong today. Too many whites think that one race of people must rule the world until the end of time. That is why so many colored people feel it is wrong to want all-black power. In order to have peace in the world all people must be treated right and equal.

But you hear great hollering when a bill is passed in favor of the Negro, giving him a chance to do what whites can do. Some whites are sure to say the white citizens' rights are being taken away and the Negro is being put first.

They feel they must live in better houses and have bigger cars to ride in, that everything must be better for them. They think that the poor black people have to live in slums because they once were slaves.

### SLAVERY DEAD?

Some whites think that Negroes are still slaves. I had to tell one old white lady I know that all the slaves were dead, and all the slavedrivers were dead, too. I felt she ought to know that our children are not going to be slaves to her children.

I felt I also had to tell her that the big white leaders are making her life just as hard as ours. I asked her if she hadn't read the case in which some white officials tried to keep an Italian couple from adopting a little girl who had lived with them all her life, just because their hair was black and not as "pure" as her blond hair.

One can't help but feel sad about people who don't know their own worth and don't feel right unless they can look down on other people.

*Hope*  
the hills lift up their heads  
and from a thatch of trees the  
rocks  
shine out more bare  
like baldpates  
in highlight of evening sun  
now  
all the valleys  
effervesce  
in warm humanity  
spilled on the fervid  
air  
and when dark spreads they  
dream of the apocalypse  
in  
unison  
—Antoni Gronowicz

## Kaleidoscope

*Black Power — White Power*  
Ku Klux Klan  
The Birchers and the Smirchers  
The Churches and their ideologies  
Love and Hate  
A kaleidoscope of mixed emotion  
War and Peace the contested  
lotion  
Politics with their applied  
concoction  
Here is poor me—the target of  
it all  
Bull's eye — goal of concentration  
Oh Death, where is thy sting?  
The cockles of my heart they  
wring.  
C. J.

## More True Today Than Ever

(Ed. Note: This year marks the 100th anniversary of the publication of Karl Marx's greatest work, *Capital*. The profundity of his analysis of capitalism is apparent from this and other excerpts from his monumental work we will publish, clearly showing that his words are more true today than ever. All excerpts are from the Kerr edition.)

In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. The General Congress of Labour at Baltimore (August 16th, 1866) declared: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labour of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working-day in all States of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained." At the same time, the Congress of the International Working Men's Association at Geneva, on the proposition of the London General Council, resolved that "the limitation of the working-day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation

must prove abortive . . . the Congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working day."

For "protection" against "the serpent of their agonies," the labourers must put their heads together, and, as a class, compel the passing of a law, an all-powerful social barrier that shall prevent the very workers from selling, by voluntary contract with capital, themselves and their families into slavery and death. In place of the pompous catalogue of the "inalienable rights of man" comes the modest Magna Charta of a legally limited working-day, which shall make clear "when the time which the worker sells is ended, and when his own begins."

## See Skilled vs. Production Row

Detroit, Mich. — The skilled divisions, management, and the retirees — they are all heaped on the backs of the production workers in the shops. And there's going to be trouble, because workers will take just so much and then, watch out.

The skilled workers are an old problem. But instead of trying to settle it once and for all, Reuther keeps wanting to sweep it under the rug. He just plain didn't have the nerve to tell the skilled workers to get off our backs. It's a far cry from the old days when everybody could see that the only way we would get anywhere was with industrial unions instead of the old craft unions.

Today the relationship that the union has to skilled and unskilled workers are two different things. The skilled worker gives \$5 into the union, and gets \$10 worth of value back out of it. The production worker pays his \$5, and gets nothing.

## Cost of Dying Spirals Upward

Much has been said about the high cost of living. There is also much to be said about the high cost of dying.

There is old saying that, "When you're dead, you're done." We will not go into the controversial issues of life in the hereafter. The fact remains that the person is gone from this life, and his life is done. But the bereaved family keeps on paying the bill after death. And this bill can run quite high.

### THE PITCH

The "private enterprise" in the form of the funeral director has his client in a most vulnerable position. Dear dad, mom, brother, sister, uncle or aunt were very good to you. You want to do your best by them, now that they are gone.

You needn't worry about that, for the funeral director is going to see that you do your best for them by showing you the trappings for his most expensive funerals only, those on which he can make up to 100% profit.

Most businesses don't make this much profit, but the undertaker does. His prices continue to spiral as prices go up on everything else. The rich can pay, but the poor keep on paying long after the loved one is gone.

### THE PRICE

At a funeral recently attended, I noted that the price of the funeral was the same as that of one attended at the same place three years ago. But, oh, how different was the setting. All of the equipment and facilities were of much cheaper quality than those of the funeral formerly attended. The bereaved family said the difference in quality was because of a 20% increase in the cost of funerals from this particular establishment in the three years' time.

This sounds quite morbid. But it does show that the society in which we live not only makes you pay with all your money and all your life while you are living, but it keeps you paying even after

## NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

- 1—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—  
By Raya Dunayevskaya, African Revolutions and Western Ideologies ..... 25c Per Copy
- 2—Workers Battle Automation—  
By Charles Denby, Editor of NEWS & LETTERS. Workers in auto, steel, coal and other industries tell their stories directly from the line ..... 25c Per Copy
- 3—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—  
By Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram, and others. An account by participants in the Freedom Rides to Mississippi ..... 25c Per Copy
- 4—Indignant Heart—  
By Matthew Ward. The autobiography of a Negro worker in the South and in the North ..... 25c Per Copy
- 5—The Young Marxist-Humanist—  
A search by today's youth to find a philosophy equal to the challenges facing America and the world. .... 25c Per Copy
- 6—American Civilization on Trial—  
Statement of the National Editorial Board that traces the roots of Marxist-Humanism from the Civil War to the modern day Abolitionists ..... 50c Per Copy
- 7—News & Letters  
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, edited by Charles Denby, Negro production worker, and published 10 times a year. National Editorial Board Chairman, \$1 Per Copy  
Raya Dunayevskaya, is author of Marxism and Freedom Sub
- 8—The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution —  
By Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and Raya Dunayevskaya ..... 50c Per Copy
- 9—Also available from News & Letters: Marxism and Freedom  
By Raya Dunayevskaya. New paperback edition contains added chapter 17, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." ..... \$1.98 Per Copy

### MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters,  
8751 Grand River,  
Detroit, Michigan 48204

Please enter my subscription to NEWS & LETTERS,  
12 issues for \$1

Enclosed please find \$..... for the following:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

NAME .....  
ADDRESS .....  
CITY ..... STATE .....

All News & Letters publications are also available at Kazoo (LA Free Press Book Store), 424 1/2 N. Fairfax, Los Angeles, Calif. 90036.

### A New Bulletin

"Where We Stand on the Negro Struggle" — a draft chapter by Charles Denery from our proposed pamphlet, "Who We Are and What We Stand For."

Price: 10c

Order from: News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave.  
Detroit, Michigan 48204

# Is China Preparing for 'A Great Leap' or for World War?

(Continued from Page 5)

nese students who wanted to lay a wreath at Lenin's tomb and the Russian police.

"Shoot Brezhnev! Burn Kossygin!" read the posters of some million Red Guards, backed up by the Army. It is all part of the process of "hardening" the Chinese people's attitude toward Russia. Mao doesn't think the price of some self-created havoc in China itself is too high as part of the preparation for a possible confrontation between these two Communist giants.

Where, in everyone else's mind, the real war is the one that is actually taking place in Vietnam, to Mao "the real enemy is Russian revisionism." Or, more truthfully put, the real enemy is Russian geography, its being there so close to China, with great chunks of it having once been part of Imperial China!

Where everyone, including the Communist Parties who lined up with him in the Sino-Soviet conflict when it was "ideological," is demanding unified action for the country under attack by U.S. imperialism, Mao not only makes "fighting Russian revisionism" a prerequisite to fighting United States imperialism, he considers the Vietnamese people themselves expendable. Far from concerning himself with the Vietnam war and how to help end American occupation of Vietnam, he is preoccupied with Russia.

## A "PREVENTIVE" CIVIL WAR?

As we see, Mao's impatience with State Plans, his voluntarism, is neither paranoiac, nor of merely passing interest. It is rooted in the non-viability of state-capitalism he calls communism.

No ruling class has ever voluntarily given up power just because it outlived its usefulness. Mao attempts to prolong his rule, first, by expanding beyond his borders, and then creating a new, an anti-Soviet international, to do for him what Stalin had the Comintern do for Russia — transform the world's Communist Parties into outposts for his foreign policy.

The theoretic substitute for the bankrupt policy of "socialism in one country" was the declaration that the new, third world had become "the real storm centers of world revolution", and that, therefore, all must be ready to sacrifice everything to realize this "new era of world revolution." The policy may have worked if Mao hadn't so early been called to practice what it preached.

Once U.S. imperialism chose to make its stand in Vietnam, Vietnam, rather than China, at once became the testing ground of all revolutionaries. Under those circumstances to refuse united action with Russia for Vietnam at once exposed China's national interests as the predominant ones.

Mao grew impatient also with the Chinese leaders for failing to recognize that the first necessity to prepare for a war outside was to cow the nation inside. In turn, he failed to recognize that their resistance to purges did, in fact, reflect the feeling of the Chinese people, rather than just themselves as "those in power taking the road to capitalism."

When the Sino-Soviet conflict was still conducted on an ideological plane, we already raised the question: "Can there be war between Russia and China, two states calling themselves Communist?"\* What sounded "wild"

in 1963 is being handled in 1967 as if it were already a fact. These commentators show they understand as little today as they did four years back when they disregarded our analysis. For Mao is not about to give up the pretense of proletarian revolution which brought him into power. As is clear from his latest (Feb. 2) accusations against the anti-Maoists — that behind them stands the "combined power of Russian-United States-Japanese imperialism" — Mao means to play the role of self-appointed "leader of the world revolution."

In the West, too, there are self-styled "revolutionaries" who are ready to forgive Mao every crime in the book (and leave a few blank pages for those he might invent) on the ground that, since U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of world revolution, "therefore" Mao must be supported at all costs; supposedly he alone will fight the main enemy "all the way." Their ignorance of the fundamental class divisions within each country, China included, is here matched by the violence in a logic which attempts to identify those opposites, war and revolution.

Even at this late stage in the disclosure of Mao's ideological nakedness, it naturally cannot be excluded that these Mao apologists will continue to genuflect before "Mao's Thought." Thereby they only reveal how very much a part of their own organism is the state-capitalist mentality that is constantly looking for solutions to capitalist crises everywhere except where alone they can be resolved, by proletarian revolution.

The concept of the backwardness of the proletariat is so deeply ingrained in them that they cannot conceive of the workers doing without a "Great Helmsman" like Mao, who is the very one who is pressing down upon the Chinese masses with all the power of the state, the military, and the suffocating deification of himself. Instead, they are ready to accept anything, anything at all, including what can only be called "preventive" civil war.

## BEGINNING OF THE END

In trying to stop the civil war before it ever started, Mao has, in fact, sealed his own fate. This has nothing whatever to do with whether he comes out loser or winner in the current struggle he himself unleashed. Once having done so, he has laid bare the divisions within the ruling state-capitalist bureaucracy and thereby created an opening toward genuine proletarian revolution.

It is but a faint glimmer, the mass resistance to Mao's "leaps" and war schemes, but it is there. The end of the opening is nowhere in sight. But it is the beginning of the end of Chinese state-capitalism. The Chinese masses, and they alone, can end the present tragic conditions in China, and open a road, not to war, but to revolution.

Naturally, the American press is delighted at the disastrous turn of events in China. Suddenly it has likewise become the source of a steady stream of rumours about possible peace in Vietnam. Like Mao and Chen Po-ta who heads his cultural revolution, so Rusk and McNamara who head "defense" think that they can now bear down even heavier on the Vietnamese people. It is now that these rulers must be watched like hawks and not permitted to occupy Vietnam, nor to saddle it with a native military junta. American presence is not needed. And neither is Chinese.

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## Strikes Sweep Fascist Spain

A wave of strikes and student demonstrations is sweeping Spain for the first time in a number of years. Angered by threats against student freedom, the students at Madrid University clashed with the police in a bloody free-for-all in which about 50 students and police were injured. For three days minor clashes took place as students sought to end government control of their affairs. On the third day the police broke into the University dining hall by using high pressure water hoses and drove the students into the streets, beating and arresting them.

In the Asturias coal fields, more than 7,000 miners are on strike demanding the release of 10 union leaders who started a 24-hour work stoppage.

At Barcelona, over 5,000 textile workers struck and 15,000 Madrid employees of

the American-controlled Standard Electric Co. walked off their jobs.

In the south at Seville, a protest demonstration of 1,000 metal workers was broken up by the police.

Late in 1965 the Franco dictatorship signed a law permitting strikes under very limited conditions for the first time since the civil war. On New Year's Eve, 3,000 telephone equipment workers took to the streets and marched toward the center of Madrid. The police arrested six of the leaders. A week later the workers staged a sit-down strike to protest the arrests and won the strike in five hours.

The government-controlled syndicates (unions) have raised the minimum wage only twice in the past 10 years — from 60 cents a day to \$1.40 per day. Fringe benefits like

family allowances may bring wages up to from \$4 to \$7 a day which is a far cry from industrial wages in any other part of the globe.

Even the government controlled National Transportation Syndicate, which runs the nation's railroads, is threatening a general stoppage unless their wage demands are met.

After 30 years the Spanish workers are beginning to move again, sure of the strength of their numbers, the justice of their cause, the weakness of the Fascist regime.

They are beginning to develop new methods of struggle and adapt those of other countries that have proven themselves in the fight, like the sit-down strike and the bus boycott. In one recent example, the workers refused to ride back to town in company buses and used the "walk-home" as a protest march.

## NICARAGUA

For over 35 years the Somoza family has run Nicaragua as if it were their private estate, with everyone in the country subject to their every whim. The dictatorship established by Somoza with the help of the U.S. Marines 35 years ago was carried on by his brother, and now Maj. Gen. Anastasio Somoza, Jr. seeks, through rigged elections, to keep the clan running the country.

Somoza's opponent, Aguero Rochas, is forced to hide in his home for fear of being killed. Last month the Somoza "National Guard" cleaned up the opposition through riots which killed four guardsmen and at least 28 of those demonstrating for free elections.

On the excuse of suppressing a "revolution," a large number of Somoza opponents were arrested, including Pedro Chamorro Cardenal, editor of the opposition newspaper La Prensa, which was closed Jan. 23. When the offices of the paper were re-opened it was found that \$14,000 had been stolen by Somoza's troops.

The election produced a two to one majority for the Somozas, with less than 50% of the eligible people voting, at a cost of \$3 a vote. Such are the "friends" of U.S. imperialism in Latin America.

This dictatorship is just one of the many supported by U.S. military supplies and help from the U.S. State Dept. in Latin America.

## JAPAN ELECTION

Premier Eisaku Sato won the recent election in Japan by winning 277 seats out of 486, only one less than he had when parliament was dissolved last month.

The Japanese Socialist Party, which failed to campaign on the national issues, chose instead to campaign on the basis of supporting Mao Tse-tung, which cost them four seats. They finished with 140 seats, while the Communists won five, a gain of one.

The Komeito, political arm of the Soka Gakkai Buddhist Sect which has been rising fast during the past few years,

elected 25 of the 32 candidates it put forward in its first try at public office.

Sato is a pro-American leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party which is expected to back up the unpopular U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty when it comes up for review in 1970.

## BAKER AFFAIR

I am not deeply concerned over the guilt or innocence of one Bobby Baker since he is one of the few crooks in government who were caught out the many who are still at large. The case raises interesting questions which his trial will not settle, such as: How come the West Coast Savings and Loan Assns. could put up \$100,000 to "bribe" him, without accounting for the money to their depositors? Who is investigating this aspect of the case? How come Senator Kerr had \$50,000 in cash in his safe? Was he hiding it from the tax collector? If Bobby Baker did not give the money to Senator Kerr then who did, the oil lobby? Why no investigation of the affairs of Senator Kerr?

I am sure that similar unanswered questions occur to the reader that will not be answered in the re-reading of the transcript of the Bobby Baker Case.

## VIETNAM DATA

To date, the U.S. has dropped 800,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam in comparison with: 700,000 tons during the three-and-a-half-year Korean War, 641,000 tons on Germany during World War II and 650,000 tons on Japan and all Pacific targets during the same war.

According to government statistics, there are alleged to be 284,000 "communists" fighting in South Vietnam. The bomb load delivered to date amounts to three tons per "communist" and they still survive. We have seen some of those captured — women, teen-age kids and old men — on our T.V. screen and wondered how they manage to survive bombing intensity greater than any other nation on earth has ever absorbed.

The American side is not without its losses in this fruitless war. There have been 1,750 American aircraft lost to date from all causes, and 630 helicopters lost since the U.S. entered the war five years ago.

The American military command calls the defense system set up by the Viet Cong, "the most sophisticated and probably the most effective we've ever come up against."

There have been 49,024 Americans killed, wounded or missing during this war to date. These casualties surpass the combined casualties of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Spanish American War.

Isn't it time to end this barbaric adventure?

## TAXES, TAXES

The Johnson national budget of \$174 billion for 1967 allocates only 11% for the entire cost of all non-military programs. The rest is to pay for the cost of this military establishment and the debt costs of past wars. In other words, 89% of the taxes, which are paid mainly by the workers in the U.S., are paying for present and past wars.

The taxes imposed by the Democrats are little different than those proposed by Republicans. Michigan's GOP Governor Romney, for example, proposes a straight across-the-board state income tax, with worker and millionaire paying the same base rate.

Actor Reagan, of California, proposed that his state's deficit be met by a 3c a pack cigarette tax and 50c tax on a bottle of booze. Is there any question about who is bearing the tax burden?

There are a lot of items that could stand some taxation to relieve the workers: tax-exempt "charity" organizations that are nothing but a tax dodge; tax-free church-owned property, which is not used for religious services but for industrial purposes; big department stores; real estate holdings, etc. Then there is the General Motors Corp., hiding its corporate structure in Delaware to avoid Michigan taxation, as do thousands of other corporations.

\*See "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in MARXISM AND FREEDOM p. 316.