

NEWS & LETTERS

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Workers Now Blast Vietnam War; See LBJ As Main Threat to Peace

Many workers are discussing the Vietnam War these days, saying that until a few months ago they felt that President Johnson was serious about wanting peace. Others said they thought that he really didn't want to be there. But now they feel sure that he does not want peace in Vietnam — unless it is on his terms. Even then, they say they believe it will continue until Red China gives Johnson some excuse to attack it. Almost all the workers I know say they believe that basically this is the reason for the escalation of the war.

One of the workers said, "Any Republican candidate who comes out against the war in '68 will win by a landslide. This is what Ike did to win during the Korean War. All they have to do is campaign on stopping the war and bringing the troops home, and Johnson and the Democrats are finished."

Everyone feels that the war is completely inhuman. Every day they show us on TV what is happening in Vietnam, and everyone knows that this is only a glimpse of what is really happening there.

INSANITY OF WAR REVEALED

One worker said he had heard General J. P. McConnell on TV the day before, talking about the killing of innocent women and children. "He sounded like a madman," he said. "All he kept yelling was that when we kill a 'few' civilians in Hanoi everybody yells about it, but when the Viet Cong shells a Danang air base killing 12 Americans and 25 civilians nobody says a word. He didn't really care a damn about the people being killed, by either side — just that we keep getting the blame in the eyes of the world."

Nobody felt that the Viet Cong was right when they killed and maimed, or destroyed villages. Nobody was excusing the violence and terror on either side. But everyone felt that it was primarily because the Americans were there that this was happening. "It was a civil war between the Viet Cong and the Saigon government," said one worker, "—until America went over there."

PRIVILEGES EVERYWHERE

The workers were discussing the report that Americans have been imprisoned for black market activities. It was reported that an American prisoner can get a Saigon lawyer through an American general and buy himself free—but the price is from \$2,000 to \$20,000, depending on what your parents are able to raise for your freedom. "But dig this," said one worker, "they make sure they are better off in even another country than the citizens of that country themselves. The American prisoners are in separate cells, the best cells on the top floor. And they get plenty of other special privileges. I guess some white men think they are the only thing alive that is human."

When General McConnell was talking about killing a "few civilians," he forgot to mention that the American army has destroyed whole villages, with women and children in them. When they haven't killed them outright, they have gathered up whole villages and just moved them out, destroying everything that is left behind, and for miles and miles around. Rice paddies are sprayed to kill the rice, and forests are set afire to be destroyed completely.

"If they do not feel that this is inhuman, they have no right to say that what Hitler did was inhuman," said one worker.

"I think it would be more correct to call it insane," said another. "This government can yell how they have to stop Communism from ruining South Vietnam, and how they have to keep on bombing and killing all these people to stop the Viet Cong. But they aren't stopping anything. All they are doing is killing and destroying all of Vietnam."

CAN'T STOP SOUTH-USA ATROCITIES

"They were able to stop Japan, and even Hitler," another said. "But isn't it strange how helpless they are when it comes to giving their own Negro citizens protection from the bombing and murdering of Negroes in our own South? Even after they catch the KKK murderers, and get them to admit their crimes, they are allowed to get a KKK lawyer, have a KKK jury and a KKK judge, and go free to repeat their crimes as often as they please."

There was not a single worker in the discussion that didn't feel there has got to be some change in this sort of government. These workers cannot believe that the whole world is insane, even if the leaders of the country seem to be. They are thirsty for war, and seem to be unmoved by how many lives they take, how much blood they spill either here or abroad, immune to the misery and suffering they bestow on other human beings. If humanity is to survive, it is the sane people of the world who must take over its direction, and guarantee that the common people of the world create human relations with each other at last.

Anti-War Protests Demand End to LBJ's Destruction of ALL Vietnam

By Eugene Walker

Scoring "another notch"—an expression of our barbarian rulers—the Administration has brought "the dirty little war" in Vietnam closer to World War III by striking for the first time against the chief industrial complex in North Vietnam, the Thain-guyen steel plant. This is but the latest in a series of new escalations which began with the mining of rivers and may go on to the airfields around Hanoi, or the docks around Haiphong. About all these acts, the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense dared say they were not "escalation" but merely "supplementary" to the war.

PEACE FEELERS



After the most hypocritical pretense of "trying everything" — that is, talking about "trying everything"—to bring about peace talks in Vietnam, the Administration ended the "extended truce" in less than 48 hours with the most vicious resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam. Even that 48 hours "extension" was only because of the most intense pressures—from the people all over the world to the Pope himself—pressures that Secretary of State Dean Rusk had dared to call a "campaign by the Communists."

Not only were the bombings resumed, but a new twist was added: the shelling of North Vietnam by firing artillery from South Vietnam over the demilitarized zone. For good measure, the bombardment of South Vietnam by U.S. naval vessels, and the mining of North Vietnam rivers was added.

When you add to these criminal acts the almost total devastation of South Vietnam by B-52 raids, chemical defoliation of the countryside, and the presence of half a million American troops, it becomes clear that the only "concession" President Johnson will consider suitable for a peace settlement is total surrender.

The hardening of the U.S. attitude is paralleled by the almost total suppression of any opposition in South Vietnam, which is not part of the guerrilla force in the field.

KY'S OPPRESSION

Where less than a year ago the Buddhists, with the support of the labor unions and the students, were marching with such force as to almost topple the government, today we are witness to the spectacle of all opposition being faced with the choice of silence or joining the National Liberation Front in the field.

Only the massive desertion rate from the South Vietnamese army remains as the silent proof of the lack of support which the government of South Vietnam has among its people. So great is the lack of support, in fact, that in order to stage a recent "pro-war" rally in Saigon, Ky had to pay the demonstrators \$1.70 and release prisoners from jail on stipulation that they join the march.

The opposition has been so stifled, that Prime Minister Ky can play the "democrat" by proposing that the constitution be enacted and elections be held several months earlier than originally planned.

The opposition in America to the war meanwhile is growing louder every day the barbarism continues. The new demonstrations, marches and protests within the past month seem to guarantee that the April 15 demon-

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EDITORIAL

The White Congressional Line Shows Up As Cowardly Yellow

The righteous indignation of the U.S. Congress against Rep. Adam Clayton Powell might have sat better with the public if the cowardice of the Northern Congressmen hadn't shown itself quite so quickly in their total capitulation to Southern racist demands for the Negro Congressman's scalp. After but one see-saw vote to approve a motion of their own bi-partisan committee, headed by Rep. Celler of New York, these Northern Congressmen rushed to expel the duly-elected Congressman from Harlem.

This lynching, Northern style, was led by that infamous Southern racist, Rep. Albert W. Watson, Republican, of South Carolina. In answer to the plea of one Congressman that, to vote to strip Powell of 22 years seniority and impose a \$40,000 fine as well as censure, was humiliation enough, the self-styled moralist from the blighted South exclaimed: "So far as I know, he's down in Bimini with a glass in one hand and a woman in the other."

WHY NO CONCERN FOR THE ALCOHOLIC, RIVERS?

What Rep. Watson failed to explain was why he has no such moral concern for the alcoholic state of his Democratic colleague, Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, who heads nothing less "security conscious," as the saying goes, than the House Armed Services Committee, and is thus automatically privy to every defense secret.

Whether or not, along with the glass of Bourbon, Rep. Rivers can also hold a woman in his hand, is not known. What, however, is beyond the peradventure of a doubt is that when he is drunk, which is his usual state, he babbles on and on, remembering not a word of what he said or to whom he said it. Yet when Columnist Drew Pearson revealed these sterling facts, this same Rep. Watson led a standing ovation for Rep. Rivers for his "dedication to duty."

It doesn't matter whether a standing ovation is held for an
(Continued on page 2)

Editorial

The White Congressional Line Shows Up As Cowardly Yellow

(Continued from page 1)

alcoholic colleague, or a tepid investigation is conducted for another like Senator Dodd who has, like Powell, used Congressional funds for his personal needs; the point is that it was so easy to unleash what Rep. Celler called "the blinding forces of hysteria" because the white backlash in white U.S.A. is in its Congress.

HANG THE CONSTITUTION, TOO

Rep. Celler was unable to stem that tide even when he reminded his colleagues that there had been only three expulsions from Congress, all for outright treason, all during the Civil War. So, if even the Constitution must be hung along with the Negro Congressman, so be it—as Congress, 248 to 176, sees it.

Only one more fact needs to be added. The "moderate forces" could say that none but for treason had ever been expelled from Congress, by a sheer technicality. Congressman Berger could not be "expelled" because he had never been admitted. But he too, if you turn your history pages back to World War I and the war hysteria against socialists who opposed the war, was refused a seat, although duly elected to serve in Congress. For white America outdoes itself when its imperialistic-capitalistic class consciousness is involved.

This is what is called "free enterprise democracy!"

Chance for Change in Mississippi Town

Sunflower, Miss. is one of the most important towns in the United States at this moment. It is situated in a county where 70 percent of the Negroes are unemployed, while most others either earn 30c per hour on plantation cotton fields or \$2.50 per day in the homes of whites.

Sunflower, population 650 and 70 percent Negro, has won from the U.S. courts a unique chance. For the first time since Reconstruction, its black registered majority have a chance to rule themselves.

ELECTION SET ASIDE

On March 11, 1966, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit handed down a decision of historic significance. The June 8, 1965, municipal elections in

Sunflower and five other towns were set aside and the lower U.S. District Court ordered to arrange and hold new elections.

The decision was based on a finding that a pattern of racial discrimination had been imposed on Sunflower voters by the county registrar.

The District Court, after a period of stalling, ruled that new elections for Sunflower and Moorhead towns are to be held May 2, 1967.

EXPECT REPRISALS

Negro candidates are planning to run in these two towns. They can expect to be fired from their jobs, and their homes, churches and children threatened. They can expect no help from their police or the press.

The Sunflower and Moorhead elections are the only elections which will take place in Missis-

issippi before the 1967 state-wide county elections. A victory for the Negro candidates will provide invaluable inspiration and incentive for the organizational efforts of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party throughout the state.

EASTLAND COUNTRY

Sunflower is crucial to the South for more than one reason. The county is the home of the 5,800-acre plantation owned by Senator James O. Eastland, head of the Internal Security Subcommittee and overseer of Justice Department business. It is no coincidence that Sunflower is the only county in its area never visited by federal registrars. Until Eastland's stranglehold is broken, this will continue to be the story.

The eyes of the nation must be focused on Sunflower throughout this election period. Funds are needed desperately for leadership training, communications and the complex problems of running an election.

The rights of these citizens to federal protection, registrars, examiners and election observers must be demanded from Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Our city councilmen, congressmen and other legislators and community leaders must be urged to go there as members of "watchdog" committees, so that Sunflower cannot be ignored.

For further information, write to:

National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower, 799 Broadway, Suite 412, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 674-6810.

Common Market Issue Paves Way for Solidarity Appeals

Glasgow, Scotland — Mr. Harold Wilson, Britain's Prime Minister, is no ordinary person. So sure is he of that that he expects the world to pay attention every time he speaks. He may contradict what he has said on an earlier occasion, as in the case of the Common Market, but his most recent utterance must always be re-

garded as conveying sincere conviction.

What he said at Strasbourg is far removed from what he said at Washington, but that will be ignored by the favor-seeking sycophants who surround him.

RESOUNDING FAKE

Harold Wilson took every possible step to ensure that his Strasbourg speech would be resounding. It was meant for the ears of Europe, and, for that reason, he was everything to all men. While appearing to face up to de Gaulle

he pandered to de Gaulle's anti-American sentiments. With his hand on his heart he expressed a readiness to sign the Treaty of Rome. But a close look at the speech shows that he wants concessions which are not provided for in the Treaty of Rome.

He was boastful. America's technological advance was due largely to British inventions. With Britain in the Common Market it would be possible for Europe to speak "from strength to our Atlantic partners." Wilson is going to lead Europe to greatness. Poor de Gaulle!

Something was said by Mr. Wilson about political unity. This, however, stands out in opposition to Britain's interests in regard to the Commonwealth, to say nothing of her intention to retain the sterling system and the advantages that spring from it.

DE GAULLE OPPOSES

It is already clear that de Gaulle is determined to continue his fight against Britain's entry into the Common Market. Wilson's oratory will have no effect on him.

Wilson has made a switch from one side to the other, but what has happened to Cousins and the others who were so strong in their opposition to the Common Market. Why are they silent now?

Recall how the Transport & General Workers' Union printed and distributed Gaitskell's famous speech against entering Europe. Is the conclusion that the policy of the Tories is all right if carried through by a Labour Government? This is a farcical position.

RAISE SOLIDARITY

At no time did we join in the campaign against the Common Market. The fight on this matter had no bearing on the real problems facing the workers. The fact that Russia opposed the Common Market had no influence on us. Britain wanted, and still wants, the advantages for trade that might come if permitted to join in.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Dying in Vietnam — and Down South

What is more true today than ever is that White America is trying to keep Negroes out of any government office. They must think the Negroes will know too much about how crooked the government has been run.

You can just look at the news and see how each Governor in the South is trying to hold on and keep the same unfair laws against the Negroes they have always had. It is impossible for them to accept that a Negro should have a place in the leadership of the United States.

MISSISSIPPI JUNGLE

Look at what happened in Mississippi when a Negro just got upgraded to a better job! The idea that a Negro like Wharlest Jackson should have a job that a white man used to have, filled somebody with such hate that he killed him for it. It is an evil world that produces that much hate in one race for another.

The Negro can never stop struggling for his freedom. The moment there is even a pause, the white man starts right back again, passing laws against the black man. You can't stand still. If you do, you find you're pushed right back where you started.

The Negro will never get an equal opportunity until he stops letting the whites offer him a few tokens in hopes he will stop fighting. That is how the whites have been holding the Negro back all the time.

At other times the whites will offer the Negroes a few things—but the first time a Negro tries to take them, see what happens. Some land in jail. Some die by a bomb.

NOTHING BUT TOKENISM

The Supreme Court said there should be no more segregation in public schools 13 years ago. But after all this time in the South there is still nothing but a

little "tokenism." And it is no better in the North. In fact, it is worse. In the cities nearly 90 percent of the Negro students are in all-Negro schools.

It is the same old thing: Negro, you stay over on your side, and let the white stay on his side. That's how much "equal opportunity" for the Negro means today.

Equal opportunity for the Negro doesn't mean a thing in America today. Look at the Adam Clayton Powell case. They are keeping him out of Congress because they say he used too much of the government money for his personal use. But who doesn't know that the whites have always done the same thing?

The only place the Negroes get more opportunity than the whites is in the Army. Dr. King says that "We are willing to make the Negro 100 percent of a citizen in warfare, but reduce him to 50 percent of a citizen on American soil. Half of all Negroes live in substandard housing, and he has half the income of whites. There is twice as much unemployment and infant mortality among Negroes. There were twice as many Negroes in combat in Vietnam at the beginning of 1967 and twice as many died in action in proportion to their numbers in the population as whites."

The Negro soldiers and the white soldiers are supposed to be dying to help keep America free. But the week that three Negro soldiers were sent home to be buried in Mississippi was the week that Wharlest Jackson was bombed in Natchez. Will the lucky ones who come back alive be looked upon like they are human beings?

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Why Should We Give Up Our Dues, the International Won't

DETROIT, Mich.—Usually workers like to help each other, especially workers who have been together for a long time. They have been through plenty of fights together, and there is just a natural feeling you get that you will help your union brother and your union brother will help you.

This is the way it ought to be, and it is the way it used to be. Between the men, and between the union and the men. But so much has happened since the days that the union and men were the same as one.

Take the situation we have here at Chrysler Highland Park and the move of our production plants to Perrysburg, Ohio. Now there's going to be a new local union organized there at Perrysburg, and there ought to be one.

But look at what happens, and look at the situation.

RICHEST DISTRICT

In this part of Ohio where the Perrysburg plant is located, you have the richest district there is in the United Auto Workers Union. The International union and local unions get their money from member dues. Every month an auto worker has \$5 deducted from his check for dues; \$3 goes to the International and \$2 stays at the local.

But with this move to Perrysburg, the International suddenly comes up with the bright idea

that we here at the Highland Park local union should give up dues of members transferred to Ohio to help pay expenses of getting organized in Perrysburg.

This is in keeping with the idea of workers helping workers, so there isn't anything wrong with it, is there? Well, the workers at the Chrysler Highland Park began to ask some questions, and decided that there was something wrong with it.

In the first place, we knew that the union District in northern Ohio wasn't exactly broke, and that the workers at Perrysburg were not in any danger of not being able to organize a local union. But what really got us was that the International was very willing to have our local give up our share of dues, but the International wasn't about to give up its share of the dues.

At our local union meeting this proposition of giving up our share of the dues came up. After the discussion, and there were plenty of hot workers who spoke out on this issue, the rank-and-file members voted against giving up its share of the dues unless the International did the same.

Sometimes at local union meetings you kind of wonder what's going on. But this time everybody knew just exactly what the vote was all about. It was against Walter Reuther and his International union. One thing came out real clear. The rank-and-file workers who spoke out sure didn't talk about the International like it was their union.

Company Exploits Students, Union

GREENPOINTE, Brooklyn N. Y. — Associated Transport, a trucking concern here, has devised a clever way to exploit its labor force to the fullest.

It is their policy to hire only full-time college students for their "shape" force. Obviously, students who are studying full-time can work only a few hours a week. Thus it is almost impossible for them to accumulate enough hours to qualify for the union. They must, however, according to company rules, work at least one shift a week to keep the job.

The company profits from this in several ways. They pay the students 50c an hour less than their union regulars, yet they still maintain a relatively stable work force.

Also because the students must work the late shifts, they frequently don't have any contact at all with the regular men and thus don't even know what the union work rules are. The foreman orders them to do things (and they do them) that a union man would know to be against the rules.

Thus, by dividing the student part-timers from the regular work-force, they reduce their costs, while maximizing production. They exploit the non-union labor, while weakening the force of the union.

On the Line

Law to Help Women Twisted By Company to Exploit Them

By John Allison

The new look in auto is the way the auto companies view their female workers regarding their work assignments. Before, both union and management used to respect the law on female employees. They were not expected to lift over 35 pounds and were not required to stand for eight hours without a rest. All parties understood this.

North American Shop Favoritism; More Hardship

LOS ANGELES, Cal. — There are many types of grievances in our aviation shop—some are over overtime, some over promotion. For the most part, the company disregards seniority, and the union tends to back up the company.

The company discriminates against almost everyone by race, creed and color. They choose whomever they want to choose, whenever they want to choose.

There is no set company policy. Each supervisor has the right to promote the people under him. If he has a buddy or relative, he promotes him over other deserving people. The one who paints the supervisor's house the best, or has a boat on which to take the supervisor on a trip, or can come across with another favor, gets the promotion, when other well-deserving people don't.

In specific areas minority group members are not promoted — Inspection, Machine Shop, Supervision, Payroll (they have one Negro there) — and other higher level jobs which are non-bargaining unit jobs. Members of minority groups are excluded from these.

In general, working conditions are about the best that can be expected in this electronic industry, I imagine. But there are some things that do puzzle me. For instance years ago, when I worked for Emerson Radio and TV, we had two 15-minute breaks, whereas now in North American we have only two 10-minute breaks; those days, we had a 45-minute lunch hour, here we have a 30-minute lunch hour; then the second shift received 10% bonus for working the night shift, and now it is only 12c an hour — which is quite a big difference; at Emerson lead men received a 10% bonus for leading their group, and now they get only 20c an hour more above the highest paid worker in their group.

All during World War II and even beyond it, the law was carried out for the most part. Now we are experiencing the Vietnam War. There is a shortage of young men for industry, and the civil rights movement has inspired a new fight on the treatment of women in the shop.

COMPANY ABUSES

This writer knows of many cases where men are working on jobs that are "women's" jobs. In all cases, these men have "codes"—that is, they have bad hearts, or some other sort of handicap. We also have many women with such "codes."

But what the company is trying to do is get the women to do work they don't have to do, because there are laws regulating how much the company can force them to do. But since the law has been passed saying that a woman can't be discriminated against in employment because of her sex, the company is trying to use this to say they also have to do a man's work.

The burning question has become whether there are enough strong and healthy men and women to man the lines to keep the production going. Production moves at such a pace that you would have to be a robot to stand the pace and keep your health.

The sad fact is that some women simply don't know how to straighten out some foremen who try to push illegal work on them. They know it's wrong, but they're not exactly sure how to unravel the twisted way the foreman tries to make excuses for it.

LAW IS CLEAR

It's a simple case of exploitation, because the laws regulating the work load and time of a woman have nothing whatsoever to do with sex discrimination in employment.

It does mean that it is illegal for the company to keep a woman out of a skilled job, or any other kind of a job, just because she's a woman. But it does not mean that a woman has to do a job lifting 50 pounds just because a man is doing it. The two are not the same at all.

WAR TAKES YOUNG MEN

We are at the crossroads in Vietnam. We are losing our young men, and in industry we are making it almost impossible for women to have children. Were do we go from here?

There are many cruel things being done to people just because they are asking for their rights. That much we already know. And that we also know we will have to change.

Notes on Hoffa, Hazard and Housing

It appears that Jimmy Hoffa, president of the giant Teamsters Union, will have to begin to serve the eight year sentence imposed on him by a Tennessee Court on a charge of jury tampering.

Many workers feel that Hoffa's troubles are the result of a frame-up arranged by Bobby Kennedy when he was U.S. Attorney General, through the use of wire-tapping, stool pigeons, etc. The question now is, will he maintain his power in the union while in jail? Hoffa main-

tains that he has a well-organized staff that will carry on in his absence.

The chief danger to the union may be raids from the A. F. of L. or by Reuther's U.A.W. If these rivals make deals with local union officials they could tear the mighty Teamsters Union apart. Hoffa will do everything in his power to prevent it, but it remains to be seen how much power he can exert from a prison cell.

Old Unionist
Detroit

It looks as though the union here is gone forever.

The Unemployed Fathers Program did bring a lot of the men out of the scab mines, though. They make much better at that than they do in the mines, and at least they aren't scabbing and they do have hospital and medical care for their families. That's something the scab-miners sure don't have.

Outside of that nothing has been started yet from all the money the government has put in here except to make the rich man richer and the poor man pushed further aside.

And now we hear that there is going to be a big drop in the Unemployed Fathers Program. So there will be lots of little children left to starve again.

Miner's Wife
Hazard, Kentucky
* * *

I've been working in the Tenants Campaign to save and strengthen Rent Control in New York City. Landlords here are spending millions of dollars on a campaign to end Rent Control so they can get even higher rents from New York's poor people.

Last week Channel 13 televised a debate between Landlord groups and Tenants' Council representatives — it almost turned into a riot.

Fur-clad ladies from the Landlords screamed at the Tenants' threatening a tax-strike if rent control continued. "Then there won't be any welfare money for you people," they yelled.

Anyone who saw that program and saw the class hatred—right out in the open—should have become a Marxist on the spot!

Tenant
New York

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EDITORIAL

CIA and the Reuther-Meany Split

On the occasion of the recent CIA scandalous interference in "education," Victor Reuther tried to gain attention for Walter Reuther's split with Meany by stating that this scandal is but a tiny fraction of the CIA dirty dealings in labor.

What Victor failed to add is that the true story of the degeneracy of the AFL-CIO top bureaucracy is that, ever since the Cold War started in the late 1940's, there was never a single word of opposition from him or his brother to collaborating with the CIA so long as Reuther was part of the decision-making machinery.

It is only when the most reactionary Jay Lovestone moved even to the right of the U.S. State Department and walked out of the meeting of the International Labor Organization, at the time a Polish Communist was duly elected head, that the Reuther brothers found their sense of righteous indignation and began openly to criticize the AFL-CIO's foreign interventions.

MEANY AND CIA ABROAD

Long before the recent CIA scandal, we pointed out that Meany, through Jay Lovestone, was working with the CIA in subverting unions around the world and transforming them into organs of U.S. foreign policy, at the expense of the workers abroad as well as at home.

It has now been revealed that the International Affairs Dept. of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers was actually run by two CIA agents with the knowledge of the union officials and that they organized strikes in British Guiana for the purpose of ousting the then Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan.

ON THE HOME FRONT

And what about the home front? What about the U.S. workers, especially the Negro workers who have yet to see any of the "progressive measures" either in upgrading, or civil rights, or housing that Reuther is talking about.

The split between Walter Reuther and the A.F. of L. may not be a bad thing if it serves in any way to regenerate the labor movement as a fighting force or to return control over union affairs to the workers in the shop, instead of the professional bureaucrats that run the unions today. From the way that the split is developing, it is, however, doubtful that anything will come of it.

MERGER REVEALED DELAY

The truth is that the very idea of merger of the AFL-CIO back on Dec. 5, 1955 was undertaken precisely because the CIO had died as a truly independent, militant, industrial union movement, a victim of the imperialist war.

In the period between 1937 and 1940 no union had made more real progress in organizing and advancing the interests of the workers than had the United Automobile Workers Union. The militant spirit of the union was brought to a halt in 1941 by the opening shots of World War II.

The former militant leaders then told the workers, "this is not the time to strike"; or told the Negroes, "this is not the time for upgrading." They were helped in their efforts by the Communist Party who had the same false line to sell.

It is only because the Communist Party was to the right of Reuther during the war years with their incentive schemes, no strike pledges, and anti-independent Negro action that Reuther, at the end of the war, could still put himself at the head of the auto workers who came out on general strike.

It was just the left coloring Reuther then needed in order, the following year, to play the role of non-Cold War warrior and expel from the union all "Communists," that is to say all genuine left-wingers who opposed him, and wanted to continue organizing the unorganized, fighting for the demand to have management open its books and expose their super-profits, and move into the field of organizing the South.

That was the true end of the UAW and the CIO and the move back into the fold of the AFL began after the Korean war. At the time the actual merger occurred—our first year of birth around the continuing struggle for rank and file rule and the struggle against Automation—we wrote: This is not a merger. This is the death of the CIO.

EMPTY PROMISES

We recall that at the time Meany promised to open the doors of the A.F. of L. to Negro members and job training program. After 11 years we are still waiting for that promise to be kept. Reuther promised that with "Unity" all would work together to organize the unorganized. After 11 years of Reuther's promises we fail to see any substantial results.

What is the most likely result of the Meany-Reuther split? It is doubtful if it will lead to any great organizing drive. Reuther could have done that years ago without Meany's blessing. It will probably mean that Reuther now can send his own delegates to international conferences, giving his own position, instead of Meany's, a chance to provide a "left face" for the State Department.

It will mean that Reuther will try to play a greater role in the Johnson administration, but here too signs are not too encouraging. When he went to present a plaque to Johnson at the White House, they told him to use the side door and no photographers were present. Meany had paid off by offering Johnson his endorsement 18 months in advance. Therein lies the real tragedy of American labor insofar as the leadership is concerned; both ends are tied to the Administration.

THE RANK AND FILE

UAW locals in Chicago voted to withdraw from the AFL-CIO. What did Emil Mazey come to tell them? At first he sounded as if he were seeing the light as the rank and file were seeing it. "We made a mistake when we merged with the AFL in 1955." But in the very next sentence he added that the leadership's determination "to play a different role in our whole society—a progressive role" need not mean pullout of the Federation. "Events will have to decide that for us." Which events? What the rank and file demands, or what the CIA, State Department, Jay Lovestone, Meany, and the Reuther brothers decide—perhaps upon advice of the Johnson Administration?

The rank and file of labor can take advantage of the differences in the leadership to present its own demands all along the line, both here and abroad. Its first chance will come next month at the conference to consider whether to pull out of the AFL-CIO. This, however, is sure to be stacked against the rank and file.

Therefore their first real chance is at the point of production where they have the real power. Contract deadline is Sept. 1, but no doubt long before then, negotiations will start. This is the time to speak up both on the question of working conditions and Negro upgrading as well as on organizing the unorganized and civil rights. Signs of dissatisfaction and new rank and file committees have been springing up and this is but the beginning.

CHINA'S TURMOIL

Dunayevskaya's analysis of the upheaval in China is an excellent piece of writing. Where China watchers are talking about everything from Mao's wish for a "true revolution" (a la the Paris Commune) to getting rid of the last influences of Confucianism, R.D.'s interpretation of it as a preventive civil war seems the most rational.

Otherwise how can one explain the total lack of a voice, both in publications and radio communications by the other side? It is in fact radio Peking, controlled by Mao, which announces any victories for the opponents of Mao.

And now, despite what is supposed to be a true "civil war" Mao can order the peasants and the Red Guards to prepare for Spring Planting.

Student UCLA

I agreed with the editorial lead on China, but why did you print it again? Didn't you have it last Fall?

The lead should be concerned with immediate problems more often.

Activist New York

I can never get over how your little paper comes out only once a month, and yet is more up-to-date than the daily papers with all their thousands of reporters and "experts" and their teletype and all the rest of it!

That article on China in the February issue, for example, is so advanced that the daily press won't catch up to that news for months!

Fan Cleveland

What's the good of having a "listening post" when all they listen to is Mao's side?

Housewife Detroit

I would like to translate your last issue's analysis of China as must reading for all those in East Europe.

Correspondent East Europe

Will you please explain to me how radicals can possibly consider the chaos in China as "revolution" just because it is supposed to be directed against the main imperialism, USA? It seems to me it is directed mainly against Russia.

Student Chicago

Though happenings in China are important, I think they are still too confused to provide

the basis for a really constructive analysis at this time. So much is happening in labor and politics here that I think this is what you should give more space to in the paper.

Student New York

Some guys in our shop used to all be for Mao. Now they see the strikes in China, and they are beginning to say that Mao is no different from management.

Worker Detroit

Between the daily press doing everything to confuse matters by acting as if all of China has gone "mad," and the so-called radical press apologizing for Mao as if such counter-revolutionary actions as his can be excused, it was impossible to make out what really was going on. You should be congratulated both for sticking to the facts and making an original analysis.

Observer San Francisco

WAR AND PEACE

A Negro production worker who was a civil rights worker was killed in Natchez. A Synagogue was set afire in Michigan. A Negro congressman was refused his seat in Washington. This was one week's news in America.

In Vietnam, American combat deaths were the highest since the beginning of the "technical-assistance aid program" in that country. McNamara gloated that the VC had lost 200 men during the same period. By the end of the week it was announced that a bombing "error" had killed 100 civilians along the Thailand border.

The more numerous and vociferous the objections become to the continued war in Vietnam, the more the Administration accelerates it. Poverty, unemployment, minority discrimination are overlooked in America—if not condoned—so American imperialism can prevail.

White Mother Detroit

Enclosed please find \$1 for a subscription. Please back-date it to the January issue.

Capitalism must not exist any longer than it has to. It must be cracked and uprooted before its continued absorbing of human labor power and individuality has led to a third disastrous World War, which only capitalists can appreciate.

The power to do this is the workers themselves who must

rise and obliterate the force of their chains from the face of the earth, lest there be no face of the earth left. Only socialism can supply the lever to move capitalism, and only the workers can work that lever. Best of luck!

New Subscriber, Beverly Hills, Cal.

In our shop the people feel our government is practicing genocide. They are in a concerted effort to kill off not only the Vietnamese, but the youth of our own country as well.

Worker Detroit

THE POWELL CASE

Riding on a bus the other day, I overheard an argument between a Negro man and a white man over Cassius Clay. The white man was putting Clay down for his outspokenness.

Finally the Negro man stood up and said: "The trouble with you people is that you don't like any black man who won't bend to your style. That's why you can't stand Clay or Adam Powell."

I think this man summed up Congress' ouster of Powell perfectly.

Member N. Y. Local

Congress wasn't just hitting at Powell as a man, they were hitting at the people who voted for him, when they refused to seat him. They nullified the votes of the people in Harlem just as much as if they had refused to let them vote in the first place. I personally don't give a darn about Powell, but the rights of Negro citizens in this country are important to me.

Working Mother Detroit

How can you relate the unseating of Adam Powell with the decision to let William Colmer assume his earned post as chairman of the Rules Committee? The congressman from Mississippi had committed no crime except to hold a political philosophy counter to yours. Mr. Colmer was not responsible for the Rules' former misruling chairman, Howard Smith. Chairmanship is awarded on the basis of seniority, not liberalism.

Chay Borsella Baltimore, Md.

There isn't a Negro in this country who wasn't filled with fury at what they did to Adam Powell. White folks just couldn't understand that.

But some of our Negro self-appointed leaders who thought that it meant we would follow them out on a "general strike" don't seem to understand much more about us than the white folks do.

They organize everything on the top, and we are supposed to do the footwork, but they never ask us what we think.

Production Worker Detroit

The thing I wonder about is why they can't get Powell to talk. He ought to have plenty to tell about the others. He could sure let a lot of cats out of his bag if he wanted to.

Ethel Dunbar Detroit

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor O. Domanski Managing Editor

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Views

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

I am very interested in the American Negro struggles. I got interested in the role of the Negro because it seems the "main contradiction" of the American Establishment — a matter not well enough known within the Italian working class.

We are especially interested in whether there is some sort of recess in the struggles now, and the actual state of the movement in the Northern towns like Los Angeles and Chicago. We read there was white and black violence during the latest snowfall in Chicago.

I have all your material on the question, your papers and your pamphlets, and would like the new bulletin you advertised in your February issue.

New Friend
Italy

Editor's Note: Our new bulletin, "Where We Stand on the Negro Struggle," from our projected pamphlet "Who We Are and What We Stand For" is available from News & Letters for 10 cents.

To me what hurt was that there was such a fuss made by our so-called "black-power" leaders here over a general strike for Powell—but not even a word, let alone a demonstration over the murder of Wharlest Jackson.

Disgusted
Detroit

Can it be that there have been so many murders, so many atrocities, so much violence that there is no longer even any horror when one more Negro man is blown to bits? Is racist America so well known by now that it is just one more "statistic" to show the world?

Negro Mother
Pittsburgh

I don't believe Jackson was killed because he was a civil rights worker. He was killed for a crime even worse than that—being upgraded to a "white man's job."

Negro Worker
Chicago

THANK-YOU NOTE

I never realized how much I appreciated News & Letters until I found how much I could use its information—the kind you just can't get anywhere else—in my classes at college. Thanks for helping me through Political Science with flying colors.

Student
Massachusetts

PRAISE AND PROTEST

I enjoyed the poem about the miners on the front page of your January issue, but I want to protest as strongly as I possibly can against the use of Judas as a term of slander in the poem called "Dictators" by Antoni Gronowicz.

Judas was not a traitor, as the entire story of Jesus is a myth, and if he ever lived he was the traitor to our nation and religion since he conformed to the Romans. I am getting tired of pagans who use the name Judas to slander someone.

I would appreciate it if you would publish this protest.

since you gave free expression to the Jew-and-Judas-hater.

M. E. Ben-Ami,
New York.

I am no "art-critic". I'm one of those "I just know what I like" people. But I do like the poems of Antoni Gronowicz that you have printed, very much. They seem to have a "message" but they don't hit you over the head with it. They make you think, but you can enjoy the artist's form and flow as "poetry" at the same time.

Technician,
Chicago.

REAGANISM

I question a formulation in the article by Eugene Walker in the February issue on Reaganism. It does not seem to me that Reagan is so much anti-intellectual as anti-radical. You can be as "intellectual" as you like, so long as you don't demonstrate.

Radical
Los Angeles

Reagan's anti-intellectualism goes even further than what Walker pointed out in his article last issue. Reagan is chopping off any desire for the intellectuals, that is the "best brains" in the country, to come to U. of C. That's how he may hope to win his goal of making sure the only education you get at Berkeley is a conservative one.

Worker
California

OBERLIN SIT-IN

We had an all-day sit-in on Feb. 13, surrounding the Air Force recruiters who had come to the campus to try to enlist young men. The Administration said they would expel us if we tried it again, so the next day we just lined up for interviews with the recruiters instead. About 150 others picketed outside.

It took all day for us to go in, one at a time, where we discussed what was going on in Vietnam with the Air Force people. I don't think they recruited anybody.

Student
Oberlin

The sit-in here in mid-February to protest Air Force recruitment on campus was the only big news in a long time.

As could be expected, a lot of the people here agreed with everything the protestors were saying, but got upset about "blocking the free speech rights of those who wanted to meet with the recruiters." I for one refuse to believe that the "rights" of the Air Force were significantly abused, and even if they were, that is OK too, if not even better.

In any case, the Navy and Dow (napalm) chemical cancelled their scheduled visits, so maybe the sit-ins did accomplish something.

Student
Oberlin

THE CIA

We used to joke that every organization from the Boy Scouts to the American Missionary Society must be on the subversive list. Now we find ourselves looking at every organization in the country and wondering if it's CIA sponsored! It is frightening, the atmosphere that has been created in this country.

Teacher
Chicago

I don't know if "old maids" still look under their beds at night to see if any men are lurking there—but I'll bet a lot of American citizens are looking to see if the FBI or CIA is! Orwell's 1984 gets closer and closer.

Student
Detroit

LEADERS AND RANKS

Nobody in our shop cares one way or the other about the Reuther-Meany spit. We never wanted to be in the AFL anyway.

Welder
Detroit

These "friends of labor" are all alike, if you watch them long enough. Our labor leaders used to tell us that Hubert Humphrey was the greatest friend the working man had in Washington. I wonder what Reuther did when Humphrey lined up with Meany against him? I can tell you what the workers did. We laughed like hell.

Production Worker
Detroit

FROM ITALY

I am translating Raya Dunayevskaya's "State-Capitalism and Marx's Humanism or Philosophy and Revolution" into Italian, since I do not believe there is such a translation yet, and I feel one is very important.

New Brother
Italy

We are looking forward to Raya Dunayevskaya's new book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, and hope to get a copy as soon as it is off the press. Her book, *Marxism and Freedom*, translated and printed here by La Nuova Italia, exercised a very considerable influence over many of our comrades, particularly me.

Unfortunately, the Gaetano Arfe Preface is deforming to the contents, and for many militants of the Italian unofficial Left, it was an obstacle to reading the book, and above all its diffusion in the Left.

G. D.
Italy

Editor's Note: *Philosophy and Revolution* is Raya Dunayevskaya's new work-in-progress. Her own Preface to the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, which was not printed by the Italian publisher is available from News & Letters (in English) for 25c, for those who would be interested in reading it.

NEWS & LETTERS is not only a unique combination of worker and intellectual in which each "speaks for himself." It is also a paper that belongs to its readers. We welcome letters and articles from new readers and new activists everywhere, because only in this EXCHANGE of ideas can the freedom movement develop, and the idea of freedom become real, at last. Send us YOUR questions, YOUR comments, YOUR story.

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Youth, Philosophy and Revolution

(Ed. Note: The following installment concludes the "Two Worlds" article begun in the last issue of NEWS & LETTERS, a review of "The Revolutionary Internationals," edited by Milroad M. Drachkovitch.)

Magical indeed is the rewriting of history. It is time to journey back to the beginning. Since 100 years stand between the 1960's and the 1860's, any analysis of the First International is bound to be more objective. Part I of the *Revolutionary Internationals* is more or less objectively written and has the further advantage of giving the reader a more rounded view of the historic period by including one essay of a hitherto unexplored aspect—"Secret Societies and the First International" by Boris L. Nicolaesky—as well as the most lively piece of writing in the volume—"The Anarchist Tradition" by Max Nomad. Unfortunately, the main burden of the section, of necessity, falls to the subject at issue, "Rise and Fall of the First International" by Jacques Freymond and Miklos Molnar. Despite the greater objectivity of approach and marshalling of facts, (as compared to the analyses of the Third International), the essay is hampered by its underlying philosophy—if so bland an attitude as theirs can be called a philosophy.

ONE WOULD never know, from reading this article, that the authors are dealing with that exciting decade, the 1860's, which, according to Marx, opened a new world epoch of struggles for freedom the moment John Brown made his attack on Harper's Ferry, comprised the Civil War in the United States which "sounded as the tocsin for the European working class" (4) and culminated in 1871 in the Paris Commune, the first workers' state in history. Where Karl Marx held these views, Messrs. Freymond and Molnar not only never mention John Brown, but hardly deign to speak of the Civil War, much less give credit to the IWA for having influenced its course toward the abolition of slavery. Instead, here is how they introduce the one phrase from Marx on the subject: "Marx went so far as to claim that the founding of the IWA was what decided Palmerston to avoid war with the United States." (p.26). It is not unusual for Europeans to discount the American roots of Marxism (5), but these writers stoop to psychology: "Marx hoped in 'compensation' for the 'ideological concessions' to reap the benefit of the new 'power' (Macht) that the IWA was beginning to be on the international scene." (p.26)

Despite the fact that these authors show that "throughout Europe and the United States, and during the large strikes of 1868 and 1870 and the Paris Commune of 1871, several hundred thousand workers proclaimed their allegiance to the IWA" (p.21), Professors Freymond and Molnar not only conclude that the IWA wasn't all that effective, but proceed to downgrade significance of the Commune, which, they tell us, "was not so much an insurrection provoked by general social unrest as an outgrowth of the frenzied state of a besieged and starving Paris." (p.31)

SO HERE we are, back at the old dogmatism—the backwardness of the proletariat—from which intellectuals find it very nearly impossible to break loose. What is paramount in the minds of the essayists is their opposition to the International's Resolution that the building of a proletarian political party would henceforth be considered "indispensable for assuring the triumph of the social revolution aiming ultimately at the abolition of all classes."

Whatever the reason they took such a roundabout way of stating their opposition, here is what the dialectic means to Professors Freymond and Molnar: First, they quote Engels' evaluation of the IWA: "The Commune was beyond doubt the intellectual child of the International . . . For ten years the International channeled European history in one direction—the direction of the future . . . I believe the next International . . . will re-establish our very principles, a truly common theoretical program," (Letter to Sorge, Sept. 12-17, 1874). They seem almost to agree with "the lucidness of this clear (sic!) application of historical materialism, calling it "the rough outline of a thesis." (p.23) Whereupon they are off in search of an "antithesis." (p.23) Naturally, it must be an objective, verifiable fact, reality itself. Although this turns out to be their subjective evaluation of the Paris Commune, they nevertheless accept it as objective. Not only that, the "antithesis" becomes, simultaneously, the "synthesis," not to mention that it was an *a priori* judgment in the first place: "his (Marx's) real adversary was not Bakunin or any other leader, but the nearly physical resistance of the environment." (p.30)

YET I DARE say that even Professors Freymond and Molnar were surprised to find to what uses Professors Possony and Niemeyer put the "dialectic" (6) in evaluating the Third and Second International, respectively.

Professor Gerhart Niemeyer, author of "The Second International: 1889-1914," builds up a straw man he calls the "Second Reality": "German Social Democracy—the very term indicates its character as a little world unto itself—formed 'a state within a state.'" (p.104) Having aroused the apparition of "a state within a state," and thrown in, for good measure, that, although with the expulsion of the Anarchists, the Second International thought they had exorcised "the ghost of revolutionary radicalism" but didn't, the lofty professor is ready for the broad jump that does violence to history, theory, and reality: "Without the International, European labor might have become an integrated part of the existing

(Continued on page 7)

FOOTNOTES

- (4) Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 14. (Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1932)
- (5) For the American roots of Marxism, both historically, and theoretically, see Chapter 5, *Marxism and Freedom*. (Twayne Publishers, N.Y., 1964) For the American roots in the Second International and the European attitude, see Chapter I, Vol. III, Part I, *The Second International* by G. D. H. Cole (London, 1963).
- (6) Professor Possony's venom against Bolshevism, for example, is of such a fantastic nature that it even includes Hegel whose alleged "laws of dialectics" Communism used. Thus: "But even the highly disciplined 'Bolshevized' Communist movement could not be switched as the laws of dialectics demands. It (Communist power) was all in line with the insight which Lenin drew from Hegel's philosophy of history 'Dialectics equals the destroying of oneself.'" (pp. 221-222) Which ignorance of the dialectic ought to make poor Hegel turn in his grave 133 years after his burial.

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

CIA Infiltration Reveals Scope of Secret State Power

The story of the Central Intelligence Agency's funding of private organizations becomes more far reaching everyday. To the subsidy of the National Student Association we can add the following sample: The Congress for Cultural Freedom which aided in the publication of *China Quarterly*, *Encounter* and *Soviet Survey* among others; publishing houses such as Frederick A. Praeger Co.; study centers such as M.I.T.'s Center for International Studies; the American labor movement for work in Latin American countries.

To this we can also add individual attempts to have anyone—from Fulbright scholars studying abroad to Peace Corps workers—become either information gatherers or in some other way aid CIA activities abroad.

VAST SPY EFFORT

This list is very small compared to what has already been revealed and no doubt a very small fraction of what remains under cover. But what becomes clear is that in literally dozens of areas of international relations—from student contacts, to labor contacts, to intellectual contacts, to "scholarly research"—the contact has been viewed by the American government as one big spy and propaganda effort.

It is the American government, and not just the "evil CIA", because the administrations of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson knew about all these activities.

This is not to say that all organizations and individuals participated knowingly; many did not. But many did so willingly. The details of the CIA relationship with the N.S.A. show that a large number of N.S.A. officials have gone on to make careers out of their CIA-N.S.A. student-spy relationship.

MONEY TALKED

The CIA appreciated that anti-communism could only be sold in newly developed and soon to be emerging countries if it were wrapped in liberal paper. And unfortunately, many liberals—intellectuals, labor officials and so forth—were willing to take money from any source to promote their own causes.

Some knew where the money was coming from and it did not make any difference. These aid recipients evidently felt that they could carry on their projects independently of the CIA. And some may have done so.

But what about the CIA? Was it a welfare agency handing out money to the needy? Obviously not. The CIA had its role of manipulation to play. Its role with the N.S.A. illustrates the full extent to which it could take over an organization. It not only chose the N.S.A. officers, but arranged an elaborate system to assure that CIA sympathetic men would always retain control of the organization.

FALSE INQUIRY

The current investigation, headed by a panel of three men including CIA Director Helms, will not serve any meaningful purpose, especially when it issues statements like the "CIA enabled many farsighted and courageous Americans to serve their country in times of challenge and danger

to the United States and the Free World."

The current crisis seems to point at the bankruptcy of thought so prevalent in the United States. Bankruptcy in the government whose use of anti-communism as a weapon against human beings seeking freedom from both West and East, is so naked that it must be clothed in some type of "liberal thought." Bankruptcy among the liberal community, who decry our government's brutal policy in Vietnam as well as its exploitative relations to underdeveloped countries the world over, but who seem in many instances to be willing to aid if their ideas can somehow be taken into the consensus.

Only thought based on the masses as reason, not on a government's power and money, can hold any hope for the future.

Youth Help Farm Workers Organize Unions in South

(Ed. Note: Student activity has been very important in the organizing of farm workers. Last summer, seven students of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) worked full time spreading the idea of organizing unions among migrant field workers throughout the East coast and the Great Lakes regions who would be returning to Florida in the fall. The following excerpt from "The New South Student", Box 6403 Nashville, Tenn., tells of what happened when they returned.

* * *

Belle Glade, Fla. — When 20 women walked out of a celery field in January, Tommy Martin, one of the student participants in the summer student-labor project, went immediately to Belle Glade to work with the protestors. In a confrontation, Martin was struck in the face by the labor contractor and subsequently pressed charges, which were rapidly dismissed by a Belle Glade judge.

Word of this incident spread rapidly through the migrant community and the strike in the field grew to involve more than 2,000 workers. It was known as a "general workers' holiday" and was planned as a brief strike in a show of unity and strength against the farmers.

STRIKE EFFECTIVE

According to the Belle Glade police chief, the strike was 90% effective and the growers suffered monetarily to some extent. After two days out of the fields, the strikers returned to work with the plan being to call a general strike within ten days if the farmers did not appear willing to negotiate.

At this point, the growers seem somewhat open to talking terms and the ten-day deadline has been extended. However, the possibility of a large strike within the next month is very likely.

More than 250,000 people have signed up with the union since the strike activity began and there is a mood of real militancy among the workers.

WORKERS' DEMANDS

The workers' demands center around shorter working hours, show-up pay, insurance coverage,

the point home by confronting the University President, Grayson Kirk, with the issue of how an institution of higher learning, like Columbia, could possibly sponsor the activities of a cloak-and-dagger outfit like the CIA, which had only recently taken the "virginity" of Michigan U. by using its overseas research as a "cover" for training Gestapo-type militias in Vietnam.

This time, however, the "creative dialogue" tactic backfired. President Kirk, instead of barricading himself in his office, simply came out to meet the students and blandly stated that it was not his place to make "value judgements" about the CIA or any other group. He said that anyone, including the CIA, had "free speech" on the campus and pleaded ignorance when asked if he knew the nature of the CIA's activities. (Mr. Kirk is a former political science professor). Thus the first round ended in a draw.

STUDENTS EMBARRASS CIA

A large and perhaps somewhat boisterous, group of students attempted to engage the above-mentioned representatives in a "creative dialogue" on subjects like why the CIA subverts and overthrows governments in Latin America, and what it was doing in the Congo. But these worthies, rather than staying to talk, chose to leave after consulting hurriedly with their superiors on the phone.

Flushed with victory, the students, lead by SDS, tried to drive

the second round bell sounded on the first day of the Spring semester when the University brought the CIA recruiters back. This appeared to be a clear case of provocation, where the administration committed as it was to "free speech" for the CIA and probably under pressure from high places, decided to lure SDS into some adventuristic act and then come down hard with discipline.

SDS was caught somewhat off guard and divided. While the majority simply picketed the CIA, a group of 16 sat in front of their door and successfully blocked the recruiters, who again retreated. (It should be noted that actual recruitment had already gone on privately, and that there was no need for this public interview.)

PROVOKE STUDENTS

The sit-in students were then charged with blocking a university function (sic), refusing to obey the deans, etc. The usual in camera disciplinary hearings were proposed, and the word "exclusion" was bandied about. This was on Feb. 8, and things looked bad for our side.

Then, mirabile dictu, the Ramparts magazine expose of the CIA prostitution of the National Student Association broke in the papers, and the situation changed overnight. SDS demands for open hearings, right to counsel and an impartial board of review for the sit-in students were partially met by the university.

Better still, under prodding from the students' lawyer, Presi-

dent Kirk's own review board ended up questioning its own credibility as university-CIA connections were brought out. However, the real trial, that of the CIA, never really developed as the hearings, which had been carried on in a desultory way for the first days, were suddenly concluded.

Although the findings have not yet been made public (this great "democratic" panel reports only to Kirk) it seems fairly clear that the penalties will be no more serious than the trial itself.

WHAT NEXT?

So that, kiddies, is how we got the CIA off our campus. The question is, "what next?" All this took place against the background of a campaign to end university cooperation with the draft by refusing to release class rank. First the faculty and then the students voted by an overwhelming majority not to release the ranks to draft boards, but administration, although rumored to be not unsympathetic ("We are a private institution responsible only to ourselves"—Jacques Barzun) seems to want to put the actual decision off to the Greek Kalends.

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Whatever the outcome (and here Columbia is typical of many other campuses) it is clear that the "student power" movement has made great strides in a year. Students have shown their capacity to unite, to organize themselves, and (with luck aiding) to win battles with the administration.

WORLD ISSUES REMAIN

The real problem is that these very victories have turned students away from the increasingly depressing but very real struggles in the real world of politics (racism, exploitation, the war) and back into a comfortable world where the student-administration "war" replaces the class war in the thoughts and actions of many of these New Left "revolutionaries."

There is obviously a great potential in this year's student radicals, but there is also the great risk that they will all graduate before they have made the transition from being students for a democratic campus to students for a democratic society.

Reaganism seems to be inspiring some of the intellectuals to recognize the value of unionization. At least, one of the academic groups I belong to has been discussing it. Some don't like to think of themselves as "employees" and some are still not for joining the union, but it was important to me that in the discussion almost everyone came to a realization that every economic issue is really a political one.

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Columbia Students Put CIA Off Campus

New York, N.Y. — The "New-Leftie" students at Columbia took on the CIA here in February and came away with a resounding victory. How much of this was due to their tactics and how much to lucky timing, however, remains in doubt.

The CIA-Off-The-Campus controversy began last Fall when students learned that CIA representatives, sponsored by the University's Placement Office, were recruiting employees on the campus.

STUDENTS EMBARRASS CIA

A large and perhaps somewhat boisterous, group of students attempted to engage the above-mentioned representatives in a "creative dialogue" on subjects like why the CIA subverts and overthrows governments in Latin America, and what it was doing in the Congo. But these worthies, rather than staying to talk, chose to leave after consulting hurriedly with their superiors on the phone.

Flushed with victory, the students, lead by SDS, tried to drive

the second round bell sounded on the first day of the Spring semester when the University brought the CIA recruiters back. This appeared to be a clear case of provocation, where the administration committed as it was to "free speech" for the CIA and probably under pressure from high places, decided to lure SDS into some adventuristic act and then come down hard with discipline.

SDS was caught somewhat off guard and divided. While the majority simply picketed the CIA, a group of 16 sat in front of their door and successfully blocked the recruiters, who again retreated. (It should be noted that actual recruitment had already gone on privately, and that there was no need for this public interview.)

PROVOKE STUDENTS

The sit-in students were then charged with blocking a university function (sic), refusing to obey the deans, etc. The usual in camera disciplinary hearings were proposed, and the word "exclusion" was bandied about. This was on Feb. 8, and things looked bad for our side.

Then, mirabile dictu, the Ramparts magazine expose of the CIA prostitution of the National Student Association broke in the papers, and the situation changed overnight. SDS demands for open hearings, right to counsel and an impartial board of review for the sit-in students were partially met by the university.

Better still, under prodding from the students' lawyer, Presi-

dent Kirk's own review board ended up questioning its own credibility as university-CIA connections were brought out. However, the real trial, that of the CIA, never really developed as the hearings, which had been carried on in a desultory way for the first days, were suddenly concluded.

Although the findings have not yet been made public (this great "democratic" panel reports only to Kirk) it seems fairly clear that the penalties will be no more serious than the trial itself.

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Two Worlds

Youth, Philosophy and Revolution

(Continued from page 5)

society . . . The revolutionary and utopian ideology, however, stood in the way of this development. It created fears and counter-fears, and these helped to nourish the fascist and Nazi movements as much as they nourished the Communist movement." (p.126)

McCarthy couldn't have done better, and he wasn't even a professor. Professor Possony, however, does him one better in the climactic final article of the whole volume, entitled "The Comintern as an Instrument of Soviet Strategy." There he not only reiterates the same thematic slander—upon the authority of a Nazi—that "the Communist movement provided a model for the National Socialist struggle" (p.212), but he rolls this history back from the Stalin to the Lenin period: "The cooperation between Communists and German nationalists had a long history dating from Imperial Germany's aid to Lenin during World War I." (p.211) Nor does the Director of the International Political Studies program of the Hoover Institution stop there. He returns to the period prior to the Nazi victory: "Naturally the Communists did not help the Nazis merely because they wanted Hitler to win." (p.218)

PARDON ME, dear reader, if I stop here. Not being as adept as the professors in this symposium at seeing Machiavellian schemes everywhere, this type of tailoring of history to suit one's prejudices makes me gag. For those of us who fought Stalinism from its birth, and broke also from Trotsky when he called for the defense of Russia, the totalitarian pattern of the rewriting of history and amalgam-building is all too familiar. Frankly, the hatchet job under review merits no review. I did it for only one reason—the complete confidence I have in the New Left youth not to submit to brainwashing, either via the tomes issued by the multiversities or to the courses these institutions of "higher learning" offer on "Marxism-Leninism." Instead, if I may, I should like to direct their attention to an international symposium by writers from both the East and the West on Socialist Humanism, edited by Erich Fromm. In my contribution to that symposium I dealt with precisely the type of writing Professor Drachkovitch wrote and edited: "Let us not debase freedom of thought to the point where it is no more than the other side of the coin of thought control. One look at our institutionalized studies of 'Marxism-Leninism' as the 'know your enemy' type of course will show that, in methodology, they are not different from what is being taught under established Communism . . . (7) The espousal of partynost (party principle) as a philosophic principle is another manifestation of the dogma of 'the backwardness of the masses.' . . . This is not an academic question for either the East or the West. Marxism is either a theory of liberation or it is nothing. In thought, as in life, it lays the basis for achieving a new human dimension, without which no society is truly viable."

Because it is the new human dimension today's youth are striving for, and because they are creative in bucking the multi-versity's attempted stranglehold on them, I do not doubt that they will yet reverse the tendency of academia to assist the bourgeoisie in its descent into the total bankruptcy of thought.

(7) See especially Princeton University's Graduate Program (Spring Term, 1962-63) for "Marxism and Communist Ideologies" where the only biographer of Marx is the slanderous C. Spriggs; the only book by Trotsky is "Terrorism and Communism." The "standard" work seems to be that erudite work by the professor who teaches the course and who has authored a work that considers the class struggle a "myth" which Marx propagated so he could glorify the proletariat but that in fact it was only "the end product of his philosophy of alienation." (Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx by Robert Tucker, Cambridge University Press, 1961). No wonder the European Marxist George Lichtheim, though he too is anti-Bolshevik, considered such American analysis "a sort of intellectual counterpart to the late Mr. Dulles' weekly sermon on the evils of Communism." (Survey, No. 50, January, 1964).

Schurmann on Mao's China: A Fantasy

(Ed. Note: THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS published a special supplement on China, authored by University of California, Berkeley, Prof. Franz Schurmann. The following critique of that supplement was sent to editors of the REVIEW, who have not as yet printed it.)

In contrast to the informative special supplements on America's barbaric war in Vietnam, The Review's special on China (10/20) takes us on a fairytale journey not only on the question of "the greatly improved chances for peace in Vietnam" (allegedly created by the so-called cultural revolution in China), but also in the matter of rewriting the history of Stalin's Russia during the 1930's.

This period, according to Professor Franz Schurmann who authored "What Is Happening in China?", is supposed to have "brought the sons of workers into cadre positions at all levels of the organizational system." So that is what Russia's establishment of forced labor camps was all about as the decade of the 1930's reached its climax, internally, in the infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trials that eliminated the general staff of the Revolution, and, externally, in the Hitler-Stalin Pact!

Perhaps I should have been prepared for Prof. Schurmann's nightmarish presentation of counter-revolution as revolution by his fantastic statement that "A close analogy to what has happened in China may be found in the Jacobin appeal to the people of Paris." I admit I was not. It is true that the whitewashing of Mao's (and/or Lin's) self-created turmoil in China is not as typical of Professor Schurmann's writings that are a strange admixture of erudition and Maoist apologetics, but I did not think he would write that unabashedly about Russian history, singling out the very period in which the workers' state had

been transformed into its opposite, a state-capitalist society. SCHURMANN'S DOUBLE VISION ON CHINA

Evidently, nothing, including his own writings, stops Prof. Schurmann from his unfounded assumptions and overconfident conclusions regarding either Russia or China. Thus, he modestly introduces his major work, Ideology and Organization in Communist China, with these words: "The writing of this book has been, like the Chinese Revolution, a long process climaxed by an act." This, despite the fact that a few pages later, he will have to confess that, seven years of research (1957-65) in Chinese, Japanese and Malayan languages notwithstanding, it was only "After I had completed this book, I realized that I had omitted an important area of organization: the army." (p. 12)

This did not, however stop him, the following year, from beginning his article on "China's Power Structure" (The Diplomat, Sept. 1966) with what should have been just as self-evident in 1965: "China is today ruled by a trinity of organized power party, government and army." The only trouble is that by then a new, extra-legal force appeared, seemingly out of nowhere, and yet fully organized as well as "armed with Mao's Thought," imprinted on millions of leaflets, pamphlets, posters and photographs: the so-called Red Guards.

Far from being dismayed by this unprecedented phenomenon, Professor Schurmann, who could conclude nearly 600 pages of text on Chinese Communist organization by leaving the Army out of consideration, appeared all too ready (NYR, 10/20) to testify to the spontaneity of the new "mass movement," ("thousands of young students swarmed into the streets and formed the red defense guards." — my emphasis) that arose just in time so that "When Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao felt that they had not completely carried the day at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, they were called on to spearhead the campaign against Party oppositionists . . . The use of these teen-

age red defense (sic!) guards, with the army in the background, thus avoids the appearance of military power emerging as the leading organizing force of the country."

AND ON VIETNAM

Now, whether, in the turmoil in China, we are allegedly participating in a "school of revolution," or are witnessing a new form of Bonapartism, the point is that what is immediately at stake are the lives of the Vietnamese people.

Since Prof. Schurmann is also moved by this crucial factor in Chinese foreign policy, we should be able to find an area of agreement. Unfortunately, he is by now spinning new fairy tales that, "just as in Russia," in the 1930's, "so now in China, opponents to the 'left' and 'right' were eliminated . . . sons and daughters of the poor are coming into leadership positions in China."

No one need, however, hold his breath too long; it turns out that the one who is really the golden mean is none other than Mao himself. We are told to act at once lest any further escalation of the Vietnam war "will arouse the voices of preventive action in China." The proof of Mao's opposition to "left adventurism?" "We might note," states Prof. Schurmann, "Lin Piao's strong advocacy of united front tactics in his article on people's war."

What Prof. Schurmann doesn't tell us is the reason why he must quote a statement by Lin instead of the official communique of the recently-concluded plenum of the CCP. Yet the reason is simple enough; the communique states the exact opposite in most unequivocal terms: "It is impossible to have 'united action' with them." (Russian Communists).

Moreover, as Prof. Schurmann knows very well even if he is silent on the question, this rejection of united action to aid Vietnam which is under U.S. imperialist bombardment is not only rejection of united action with "revisionists," but with any who do not unquestioningly follow the Chinese Communist line. As Fidel Castro put it when Cuba had to break relations with China: "Our country had liberated itself from the imperialism 90 miles from our shores and it was not willing to permit another powerful state to come 20,000 kilometers to impose similar practices on us."

For a whole generation now the Vietnamese people have known nothing but war. And, because of their country's geographic position in the fight between military giants out for world domination, their lives are still being put to the stake. Under these circumstances, is it too much to ask that we stop apologetics for Mao's China long enough to work out anti-war action in favor of self-determination for the Vietnamese that would, while fighting U.S. imperialism, be independent of Communist Chinese interpretation of Vietnam, Chinese and world events?

Raya Dunayevskaya
Oct. 23, 1966



"NUCLEAR MOTHER" — painting by Canadian artist Helen Andersen of Vancouver, B.C., reprinted by request from our April 1965 issue.

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Anti-War Protests Demand End to LBJ's Destruction

(Continued from page 1)

strations when giant marches are planned both in New York and San Francisco will be the largest yet seen, as the American people try to force their government to listen to them.

HUGE PENTAGON PICKET

Two days after the bombing of North Vietnam resumed, over 2,500 women staged the largest demonstration ever held at the Pentagon. Though called by Women Strike for Peace as a silent picket to condemn U.S. war policy, the women began to chant protest slogans, and as the chanting grew louder began to surge toward the building itself.

Those in front then attempted to enter, but the doors were quickly locked, while the women banged with fists and shoes demanding to see Defense Secretary McNamara, who finally was forced to allow a delegation of six in to talk to his assistant.

One demonstrator was quoted as saying they felt they had to "somehow reach these people and touch them with the enormity of the crimes they were committing."

SCIENTISTS PROTEST

Over 5,000 scientists, in a petition delivered to the White House the day before, had called for a halt to the "use of anti-personnel and anti-crop chemical weapons in Vietnam." They included 127 members of the National Academy of Sciences and 17 Nobel Prize winners. Soon after, another nation-wide organization of 2,000 scientists and engineers, the Federation of American Scientists, also called for a stop to the bombing.

In California an all-day conference drew an overflow crowd to hear a discussion on U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Four Senators, Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, George McGovern of South Dakota, Ernest Gruening of Alaska, and Mark Hatfield of Oregon took part, but the main address was given by Dr. Martin Luther King, who said that "the promises of the Great Society have been shot down on the battlefield of Vietnam."

It has become more and more clear that those paying for the war, both with their lives and their welfare, are the poor, and especially the Negro poor.

NEGRO VICTIMS

Rep. Kastenmeier has just revealed statistics that show that while the Administration insists the percentage of Negroes drafted equals their percentage in the population, 30.8 percent of whites found acceptable for induction are drafted, while 61.9 percent of Negroes acceptable for induction are drafted.

The civil rights movement has become increasingly active in the anti-war demonstrations and it is significant that James Bevel of the SCLC will head the April 15 New York March.

There is, in fact, not a single element within the population that is not against the war.

So repugnant is the American involvement in Vietnam to American college youth that when a high government official speaks on a college campus in defense of our involvement, there is always a massive turnout in opposition.

HUMPHREY JEERED

Thus, when Vice President Hubert Humphrey spoke at Stanford University in California, recently, hundreds walked out and hundreds more escorted him off the campus with cries of "Shame." The protests, far from being confined to the "radicals" of California, cover the campuses of the whole country.

At the University of Wisconsin recently the campus was in an uproar for three days when university administrators tried to prevent students from demonstrating against Dow Chemical interviewers, and found 500 more students sitting-in against them, as well.

And at Oberlin, students not only successfully prevented the Air Force from recruiting students on the campus, but discouraged Dow Chemical and the Navy from even trying to recruit. (See RV's, page 5.)

No war in recent history has generated such an anti-war sentiment both in the world community and within the United States itself, and it has been the youth, by their stopping of troop trains picketing of napalm manufacturing plants, sit-ins at military bases, as well as teach-ins and peace marches, who most openly manifested their opposition to the war.

ROOTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

The opposition to the war among the youth is a development from their freedom activities with the civil rights movement. It was the Negro's fight for freedom which freed at least a portion of white society from the fear of McCarthyism.

The new, radical, humanistic attitudes they developed, inspired by the Negro Revolution, meant that self-determination — the right to have a voice in the decisions that control your life — assumed central importance.

This attitude is also central to any viable anti-war movement. But when it comes to disentangling the web of countries and movements within Vietnam, too many fundamental questions have not yet been asked by the movement. Until they are, the strong anti-war attitude of the whole American people cannot become a strong anti-war movement.

The crucial question is not only that we oppose U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but what we are for. If self-determination for the Vietnamese people—North and South—is what we are for, then all elements of the war must be measured against this universal of self-determination.

CHINESE NON-HELP

The current chaos in China, for example, is certainly not helping Vietnam — but the truth of the matter is that China is not really interested in helping Vietnam.

What is more important, however, is that the Johnson Administration and the warhawks in Congress are losing no time and no opportunity to take advantage of the chaos in China — not to end the war, but to prolong it, and to keep that foothold in Southeast Asia for whenever it may please the Pentagon to unleash World War III.

The history of Vietnam shows the entire Vietnamese people have been in a continuous battle for freedom for 25 years — from one oppressor after another. It is obvious that today neither Russia, nor China, nor the U.S. are willing to allow true self-determination in their own countries, let alone abroad.

While the chief slogans of the April 15 demonstrations here must concentrate against U.S. imperialism, this should be but the beginning of a new stage in the anti-war struggles that would make clear, once and for all, what the movement is for.

A banner independent of all powers, except the power of human beings to be free, is the only one that can transform the anti-war feelings throughout the world into a powerful anti-war movement.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Legacy of Terror Left by U.S. in Dominica

The real view of U.S. imperialism was demonstrated brutally and clearly enough by its invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. What has happened there since is not often in the headlines, but should be.

At the beginning of this year Norman Gall, correspondent for the Toronto Star, summed it all up in the New Leader. This report makes clear that President Joaquin Balaguer leans heavily on two equally reactionary forces, the U.S. military, and the Dominican military that plots to replace him altogether through yet one more bloody coup.

As Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, General Secretary of Bosch's Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD) puts it: "It (Balaguer's regime) is a constitutional government because it is the product of elections. But by its actions, by the impunity with which the terrorists act, by the absence of impartial justice and by the ease with which it surrenders to foreign masters, this is a de facto

government."

Balaguer has surrounded himself with old Trujillo hands. Dominican Army chief, notorious General Osiris Perdomo, is part of General Umberto Barreras entourage that is preparing for the coup. Another holder of cabinet posts under Trujillo, Jaime Guerrero Avila, administers patronage under Balaguer. The same is true of the Finance Minister, legal counsel, and so on down the line.

The result is that assassination, disappearances, beatings, and illegal searches continue in Dominica. As even the conservative El Caribe phrased it: "1966 has been a very tragic year, with much fear, much terror, many dead and much grief."

Terrorist murders are committed by "unknown" assailants. They are never known; but soon they are promoted in that cancer of military rule, the army.

The courts are hardly any better than the military. On the contrary, they have gone so far in whitewashing "illicit en-

richment" and returning the millions to the old Trujillo gang, including even Trujillo's brother-in-law, that even President Balaguer has spoken of "the need" to reform the judiciary.

No wonder that the anti-Yankee feelings have increased since the departure of U.S. troops, and a section of the June 14th movement has moved away to join the Maoist Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD).

As for the United States, it is busy building up an "Elite" army "trained in riot control and counter-insurgency techniques." The people of the Dominican Republic have yet to see any part of the \$40 million that is supposed to be committed to public works, agricultural development, and housing in the most dilapidated slums outside of Haiti. On the other hand, the U.S. has spent no less than \$1.3 billion to train and equip Latin American armies for the past 15 years. This goes under the name of spreading "democracy" in the "Hemisphere."

O.A.S. VOTES NO

There is so much opposition against the U.S. in Latin America that even its satellite, the OAS, isn't altogether sure it can arrange a "summit" conference for President Johnson to address next month in Punta del Este, Uruguay. Already the OAS has voted "No" to still one more attempted form of militarization.

An attempt on the part of Argentina at the recent meetings of the Organization of American States to formalize the Inter-American Defense Board as part of the O.A.S. ran into stiff opposition and was defeated by a vote of 11 to six, with three abstentions.

The U.S. Delegate, Edwin M. Martin, announced his support of the Argentinian proposal, which would provide military forces for the O.A.S.

The Chilean delegate Alejandro Magnet, agreed that while there might be a Communist threat in Latin America, that the threat was internal rather than external, "derived from economic, social and political contradictions which affect our societies, from the misery of millions and millions of men without bread and without hope."

The Columbian delegate stated, "The real aggression is in the retardation of the hemisphere economic and social structures."

The countries which supported the military move

were, Brazil, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Paraguay, with Bolivia, Panama and the United States demonstrating their support of the measure by abstaining.

ELECTIONS IN INDIA

The old men who have ruled the Indian Congress Party and the country from the birth of its independence, have been swept out of office and the power they have held for so long. While the Congress party still maintains a slim majority (275 out of 520 seats) in parliament, the party has lost control of eight of the 16 state governments.

The people of India have revolted at the ballot box against age, corruption, starvation and food shortages, nepotism and mismanagement. Millions who went to the polls could not read or write; the majority of them were women, many voting by symbols which they understood and against a life that had become intolerable to them.

In Madras, a 26 year old student defeated the President of the Congress party; in Bombay, a pro-Communist labor leader defeated the city boss S. K. Patil, who has ruled the city for 30 years; Kerala State was lost to the Communists who have a clear majority; Madras State was lost to the Tamil Party and the state of Orissa was won by the Swatantra (freedom) Party. Over 70 ministers, cabinet

members and deputies of the Congress party were defeated by younger men from opposition parties. But Krishna Menon, former Defense Minister, who ran against the Congress Party, was defeated.

India's troubles are long standing ones, stemming from religious customs that divide and impoverish the people, frequent droughts, a caste system that still exists in practice and the extreme contrast between the wealth of upper classes and the poverty of the poor. The Congress party has done little to change the condition of the people as British Imperialism left them.

The Indian upper classes consider it poor taste to cast a ballot in an election. The President, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, did not vote, nor did many editors, civil servants and intellectuals, who consider it a high status symbol not to vote.

JAMAICA

Donald B. Sangster has been elected as Prime Minister of Jamaica. He succeeds Sir Alexander Bustamante, 83, who was forced into retirement by old age and blindness.

Bustamante first appointed Sangster two years ago as acting Prime Minister. The Labor Party which they head, received only 1% more than the socialist Peoples Party in the popular vote.

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