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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Tensions Reach Explosion Point

The tension and crisis in this country is so severe today that it seems to have affected every teen-age and adult human being in it. The whole atmosphere is filled with the tension. It is so thick it seems as though you can touch it. It seems to have been set in motion by the struggle for Negro rights in the early 1960's, which split the minds and thoughts of many people in this country. The KKK and the racists stood on one side with their brutality and murderous tactics. The Negroes and white liberals stood on the other side. Then came the involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War. As it was escalated, the confusion and split in the "American mind" grew.

HIGH TENSION IN THE SHOPS

Nowhere in this country is the tension more clearly seen than in the auto shops. The relations between foremen and workers has never been more tense. In the past several weeks there have been several foremen beaten by workers, and every day we hear of some serious threat made by a worker against a foreman.

You hear a worker saying, "All the misery and tension I have to go through on the outside is bad enough, without having to come in here and be humiliated all day by some foreman. The automated machines work us to death all by themselves. The foremen don't have to say a word to us."

You hear another worker say, "Man, when I looked at my check for six days work last week, and found \$50 deducted from it for taxes and all those other things, and realized that this was two whole days work, I got so mad I felt I could have blown up the whole world."

The racist white foreman, at the same time, seem determined to get Negro workers fired. Last week at the Dodge plant of Chrysler Corporation, a Negro worker with 19 years service was sitting talking to a white woman who also had 19 years service. His foreman came up and yelled at him to get the hell back where he worked. When the Negro told him he was not a child and did not like to be yelled at like that, the foreman told him he was fired.

The white woman was taken to the superintendent's office and interrogated for an hour. They tried to force her to say that the Negro had asked her for a date. She stuck to the truth about what they had said to each other, even though they threatened to lay her off. The company reported they both were fired.

WAR RESENTMENT GROWS

Meanwhile the resentment against the Vietnam war grows every day. The war-mongers, or so-called hawks, and the racists are yelling louder and stronger every day in support of the killing and bombing. No one can deny that Johnson is carrying out the same Goldwater line that he attacked during the last election campaign. Not only is he carrying it out, he is escalating it. No wonder the Republican right-wing extremists are yelling for the support of Johnson's policies.

Goldwater attacks the anti-war demonstrators at the Pentagon as a "lousy, ratty, little bunch of people who do not represent America." Reagan, who hopes to be the next President, suggests that the U.S. should use wartime rules to punish the "violent" anti-war demonstrators, even though the country is not formally at war.

This man disregards all and any constitutional rights of people who are opposed to his thinking. When he says people should be punished for treason if they demonstrate against the war, workers believe he is actually saying that people who oppose the war should be shot to death.

'CONSTRUCTIVE' DISSENT

The so-called daddy of the Republican Party, Everett Dirksen, says that constructive dissent is not too bad. In other words, you can be against the war, but don't speak out openly against it. Auto workers can tell you all about this "constructive criticism." After Reuther got control of the UAW, he embarked on an all-out red-baiting campaign. Any worker who opposed his policies was a Communist. After completing his sweep of these supposed Communists out of the union, and letting the companies raise production double what it had been in previous years, workers began to criticize him again. Then he started a new campaign against the workers. When they raised a question about their rights as members, Reuther said they could criticize, so long as it was constructive criticism. All that meant was that so long as workers did not say anything against the policies or actions of Reuther, he would accept their complaints and call it "progressive criticism."

The crisis of the war is not because some Republicans are for it and some Democrats are for it, but because people of all different political and religious beliefs are against it. As one minister I recently heard put it: How can people living in a supposedly Christian and civilized world sit and look at a TV set, and watch all the bombing and destroying of villages, all the murdering of women and small children and not be opposed to this war? Something is badly wrong their way of thinking if they can accept what they see. There are some badly warped minds supporting the war.

This is the "way of life" that Johnson wants the American people to line up behind. It is no wonder that the tensions in this country have reached a point where people are ready to explode.

Youth and Internationalism Add New Strength to Anti-War Demonstrations

By Eugene Walker

Tens of thousands of us confronted the United States government on Oct. 21 at the symbol of its world-wide aggression—the Defense Department's Pentagon. We were young—the youth who are being asked to go to Vietnam. Our mass involvement was signaled in the new tone of the demonstrations—from dissent to resistance. At the Pentagon we marched right past the speakers stand, bypassing the rally to mass in front of the Pentagon.

I saw dozens rush for the Pentagon doors while hundreds more massed in an "off-limits" area after breaking through the military police lines.

Rifle butts, billy clubs and tear gas were used to "protect" the Pentagon. Officials denied using tear gas. If they can lie about what thousands witnessed just outside our nation's capital, what must they do in telling us about reality in a small country half-way around the world?

GO SOFTLY

The fact that there was not more brutality than there was, that the sentences of those arrested were suspended with the payment of small fines, is testimony to the totality of opposition to the war. With the eyes of the whole world on us and many people high in government opposed to the war, the government could not put down the demonstration as brutally as they crush the Vietnamese civil war or the black mass revolts in our cities.

A week of protests had preceded the march to the Pentagon and they have not stopped with the march. Thousands are involved in everything from open resistance to the draft to opposing secret military research on campus.

At Brooklyn College, N.Y. police invaded the campus to break up a protest demonstration against a Navy recruiting table on campus. The next day 80% of the campus' 10,000 students went on strike, transforming the anti-war activity to a questioning of "the whole way they are running this school". Students at Columbia, Queens College and Hunters College had demonstrations in support of students at Brooklyn.

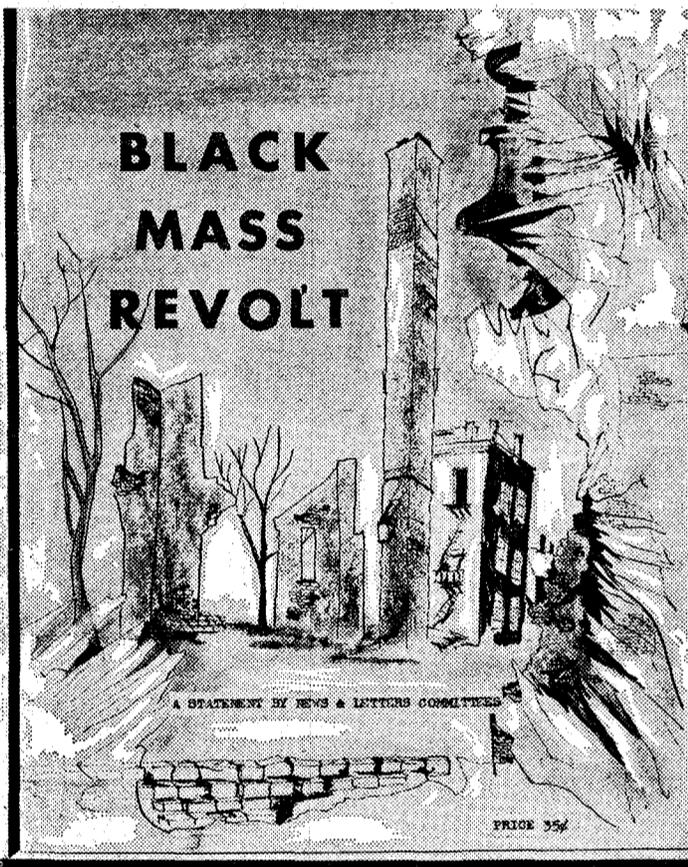
In Oakland, Calif., in the course of one week, the demonstrations at the Army induction center moved from protest to active resistance. In city upon city throughout the country there were demonstrations ranging from turning in draft cards to protests against the Dow Chemical company, manufacturer of napalm. (See articles, page 6.)

Since Oct. 21, students at Harvard and the universities of Minnesota, Buffalo and Illinois have demonstrated against Dow Chemical recruiters; at Williams College in Mass. against CIA interviewers; at Princeton against an Institute for Defense analysis.

Oberlin students demonstrated to prevent a Navy recruiter on campus, U. of Michigan students against involvement in Thailand (See Our Life & Times p. 8)

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST
The new intensity of the movement could be seen throughout the world. In Japan, India, Australia and throughout all of Europe massive demonstrations supported ours at the Pentagon.

In Japan, police estimated 205,000 persons demonstrated in 367 localities throughout the nation. Tens of thousands of Japanese had also marched against Prime Minister Sato's trip to other Asian countries including South Vietnam. It was the largest demonstration in Japan since those of 1960 against the visit of
(Continued on Page 8)



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- III—A New Stage of Race Consciousness: Class Awareness
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(See page 5 for excerpts from this last chapter)

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Law Repeal Hits Working Women

There is an old law on the books of Michigan limiting the hours of work for women to a maximum of 54 hours a week. Many states have similar laws to protect women from over-exploitation.

This law has been repealed in Michigan, with the excuse that it "discriminated against women," by the same legislature that has failed to support an open occupancy law. The vote was unanimous in both houses of the legislature.

Myra Wolfgang, head of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 705, led a protest delegation of union workers to the office of Governor Romney, who, as usual, was out of the state on a campaign trip. Her group talked with the Lt. Gov. Milliken who promised that a commission would look into the matter.

Most damning, however, was Walter Reuther's UAW women's representative, who actually supported the bill. It is incredible that any union spokesman whatsoever, let alone a woman's representa-

tive, could support such potentially exploitative legislation.

Mrs. Wolfgang, one of the very few militant labor leaders left in the community, protested, "One of the things I resent most deeply is that neither the Senate nor the House Labor committees held public hearings, although they did hear from the business and professional women."

The women protested that while some female workers are protected by trade unions in their hours and working conditions, the majority of female workers are not and must depend on state laws to prevent unreasonable exploitation.

Mrs. Wolfgang emphasized that she had no objection to writing the law in such a manner that those who wished to, could work overtime if they consented, but objected to removing all restrictions on working women 60 to 70 hours a week at straight time, as could occur in employment unprotected by union agreements.

Hush up Munion Workers' Strike for Pay, Conditions

Scranton, Pa.—A two week strike took place here in early October. Although this strike was of great significance to the course of the War in Vietnam, it was all but "blacked out" by the press. Having talked to many workers on the picket lines, I would like to tell the readers of *News and Letters* their story.

The strike was by Local 847 of the International Association of Machinists against the Chamberlain Corp. of Scranton — a company which has a \$40 million contract from the Government to produce 105mm, 155mm, and 185mm shells for the howitzers used in Vietnam.

For two weeks, the place was deserted, and there were no trucks or railroad cars to be seen because the Teamsters and railroad unions honored the picket lines.

When asked how they felt about striking a war plant, the workers replied, "Sure, we know they need the shells. We don't want to strike, but you have to blame the company and the government as much as us! They didn't offer us anything."

LOW WAGES

Wages at the plant were about \$1.95 per hour for laborers and about \$2.75 per hour for machinists. The company was offering a three year contract with a 16c per hour raise, while the union was asking a two year contract with 40c in raises.

The workers had many stories to tell about the "hellish" working conditions. One man said that in "production" there is a steam driven conveyor system which has leaky pipes and valves. The machines are old - W.W. II vintage models and they usually leak too. Thus, the workers in "production" often have to work with two to four inches of water and oil on the floor because the company will not provide drains.

Another worker told a story of

Miners' Appeal

Hazard, Ky.—Four former coal miners have asked the U.S. Court to suspend prison terms given them as a result of a picket movement in the mountains four years ago.

The men have a total of 28 children, of whom 23 live at home. Two of the children and the mother-in-law of one of the men need constant care as a result of illnesses.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently refused to review their case. A hearing on their plea for mercy has been set for November 24 in U.S. Court at Lexington, Ky.

The men were found guilty of conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge in Glomawr Hollow in June, 1963. The bridge was not blown up and is still standing.

Sentences of four, five, and six years in prison were upheld last February by the U.S. Court of Appeals at Cincinnati. However, the judges said:

"From the beginning this court has been aware that this was no ordinary criminal trial and that these men are no ordinary criminals. They were pictured as driven to desperation by the harsh facts of the declining coal industry and by abandonment of their own union."

Jobless coal miners began picketing mines in the mountains in 1962 after the United Mine Workers cancelled cards under which the men and their families received hospital and medical care. This resulted when the mine owners refused to continue payments to the union welfare fund.

Smash Office of Anti-War Group

Detroit, Mich.—At about 4 a.m. Sunday, Oct. 29, the offices of The Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam were forcibly entered. Pamphlets, leaflets, mailing lists, files, antiwar books and periodicals were strewn on the floor and burned.

Furniture, file cabinets, two typewriters and the floor were smashed. The Detroit Fire Department arrived in time to prevent the fire from spreading to the basement, surrounding buildings, or residential apartments above the offices.

It is clear that this type of action is the right wing's response to the massive Oct. 21 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. The opponents of democratic rights attempt to meet the growing self-confidence of a movement that is reaching larger numbers of Americans all the time, with the violence of a minority which has lost hope in their own ability to persuade through reason.

The Detroit antiwar center at 1101 W. Warren is not the only place to suffer recent political harassment of criminal nature. In addition, the offices of the Detroit Journal, the Fifth Estate, the Highland Park Draft Resistance Center and Merit Book Center, owned by Samuel D'Angelo, have been viciously attacked in one way or another.

We call upon all those who stand for the right of the people to assemble, to form and express their own opinions, to join with us now in an expression of solidarity with all the victimized groups. An attack on one is an attack on all!

We demand that the city undertake a thorough investigation of all rabid right-wing groups in the Detroit area and initiate prosecution of those responsible for the terroristic acts.—D.C.E.W.V.

3 Important Court Victories

Ky. Sedition Case

Lexington, Ky.—A special U.S. court has killed the Kentucky sedition law in a historic case involving five civil-rights and poverty workers. The judges on the court held, 2 to 1, that the law violates the U.S. Constitution.

The court ordered the release of Carl and Anne Braden from the jail at Pikesville, Ky. The Bradens are executive directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). The ruling also stopped further prosecution of the Bradens; Alan and Margaret McSurley, mountain organizers for SCEF, and Joseph Mulloy, an organizer for the Appalachian Volunteers.

INDICTED FOR SEDITION

The five had been indicted for sedition after Thomas Ratliff, the state's attorney in Pikesville, accused them of "trying to overthrow the government of Pike County." Ratliff is candidate for lieutenant governor of Kentucky on the Republican ticket.

The law had been declared invalid in 1956 after the Bradens were arrested under it. At that time they were accused of trying to overthrow the government by selling a house in an all-white neighborhood to a black family.

Braden served eight months of a 15-year prison sentence.

In the latest case, Ratliff accused them and the others of trying to overthrow the government by organizing what he called "our poor."

Louisville, Ky. — Another section of the Kentucky law against criminal syndicalism and sedition has been killed by a special U.S. court. The ruling grew out of marches for open housing which shook Louisville last spring.

A three-judge federal court voted 2 to 1 that the law on criminal syndicalism is so vague and broad that it violates the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This amendment protects freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly and petition.

The judges also killed Louisville's city ordinances against parading without a permit, disorderly conduct, and loitering. They likewise voided Kentucky laws against vagrancy and banding together for unlawful purpose. Almost 1,000 arrests had been made under the various laws and ordinances.

Meantime, Louisville police began arresting people for breach of the peace instead of disorderly conduct, loitering, and vagrancy. Attorneys said the breach-of-peace law is as vague as the others.

La. Illegal Seizure

Washington, D.C. — The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered Julien G. Sourwine, chief attorney for the Eastland Committee, to pay \$772 in court costs to the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

This is believed to be the first time that an official of one of the investigating committees has had to pay such costs to a civil-rights organization.

SCEF sued Eastland and Sourwine for \$250,000 each as a result of raids on offices and homes of its officers in New Orleans, La., in October, 1963. Two SCEF officers were arrested.

The U.S. Supreme Court killed all charges resulting from the raids and arrests, and ordered return of the records. The court later ruled that Eastland could not be sued for his actions but that Sourwine could. Last week the court ruled that Sourwine would have to pay SCEF for court fees and the cost of printing the record in the case. Hearing of the \$250,000 suit is due to start soon.

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Hospital Workers Organizing in New York

New York, N.Y.—“Don’t brainwash us, recognize us” and “Workers want union now!” were the slogans of the month for N.Y. hospital workers, at the Einstein Complex in the Bronx, at Harlem Hospital, and at St. Luke’s Hospital in Manhattan.

As one kitchen worker put it, “we’ve got them on the run all over the city; when everyone is finally getting a union, then we got to win too.”

This summer, over 90% of the

workers at Harlem Hospital voted for Local 1199 to represent them, but Columbia University, which runs the hospital, came to the bargaining table without an offer. They said, “It’s alright with us if you want a union, but we can’t offer you anything because you’re already making as much as we can give.”

The next day, the Columbia bosses were very upset when the entire work force went “out to lunch” at noon and forgot to come back for the rest of the day. Finally, at 11 p.m. on the night

before the strike, Columbia found that it had the money after all.

Over in the Bronx, where I work, 1,000 Einstein Complex workers were finally recognized by their gracious employer, Yeshiva University. Recognition came only after a six-month campaign.

On one occasion a girl in my department was told that if she signed a union card she would never get a promotion. She answered, “That’s the same promotion you’ve been promising me for three years. I’m not that dumb.”

One division supervisor promised pay raises all around if the workers would dump the union, and then gave pay cuts instead when they refused.

One of the big issues for all of us at Einstein is health benefits. We work at hospitals, but we have not one health benefit unless we pay for it ourselves. And since hospitals are “non-profit,” we don’t even get workmen’s or unemployment compensation.

On election day, Oct. 16, Yeshiva predicted that workers would “reject this union business.” We won, 619-193.

Near Columbia University, St. Luke’s Hospital workers won the right to an election this month. St. Luke’s is closely connected with Columbia (if not actually owned by them), and workers there had lost one battle for recognition in 1963.

This time a lab technician went to Local 1199 and asked for help in organizing. They said, “Here’s fifty cards, go and sign them up and we’ll see.” The next day he brought them back signed.

Workers at St. Luke’s contacted members of News and Letters to get student support for picket lines at the hospital. A leaflet was published, telling students what was happening only two blocks away and asking them to join the picket line.

The first picket was held in a pouring rain. Only eight students showed up. When asked, one student said, “I didn’t know workers picketed in the rain.” The next time over 200 picketed, and the student support was substantial.

St. Luke’s has just set a date for the election, and the workers feel sure that they’ll win. “Hospital sweatshops are going to end in N.Y.C.,” said a St. Luke’s worker, “because we just won’t act like House slaves anymore.”

N.J. Teachers Rallying to Gain Unionization Rights

Asbury Park, N.J.—Some 7,000 Jersey teachers gathered here Oct. 22 in a militant rally for “Teachers’ Rights,” sponsored by the N.J. Education Association (NJEA).

This was the first rally of this kind ever held and marks a new mood among the members of the traditionally passive and “professionalistic” Association.

SHOW SOLIDARITY

The idea for the rally grew out of a solidarity rally of about 300 teachers held last June in Union Beach, N.J., when Harry Haller, president of the local association, was fired from his job, and 30 of the 50 teachers in the system quit in protest.

Such solidarity is a new feature for teachers. The Union Beach Board of Ed. had refused to bargain with Haller, got court injunctions against him, and then fired him. He was a main speaker at this rally and received a standing ovation.

RIGHTS DEMANDED

The crowd cheered when he declared that teachers would no longer knuckle under to Birchite boards, reactionary judges, and an indifferent state legislature. Although the language used was that of “professionalism,” all the

On the Line

Big Table May Be Settled, But Little Table Is Vital

By John Allison

We started out negotiations with Chrysler with two tables, the Big Table and the Small Table. The Big Table is the one that contains national issues. The Little Table contains local issues.

What is new this time is that we are working with the old contract except that Chrysler will not check off union dues.

It seems we are forced to forget what was a rule in the old days: No Contract, No Work. Ford was on strike, and yet the Canadian plants were working and some workers were called back to make parts for American Motors.

YES OR NO

The facts we have to face are these: Big Table vs. Little Table. Ford was on strike, but not on strike. We are at war in Vietnam, but we are not at war. Everything seems as if it may be yes, and then again, it may be no.

You can well see how hard it is for the workers to follow the leadership of the UAW. The same kind of thing goes on at the local level.

Ford has already settled the “bread and butter” issues. We are told there is no more money to be had at Chrysler. The only remaining fight that is left for the rank and file, from which they can gain anything is around local issues at the Little Table.

“NITTY-GRITTY”

We are now bargaining to get down to the real “nitty-gritty” of collective bargaining. Need I tell you the International Reps are looking over our shoulders? They’re trying their best to hurry things up so they can get off the hook.

They say Wednesday, Nov. 3, is the day we shall have a contract, or Thursday is the day we will start walking. We are not sure at this point whether to say we will be striking Chrysler as in the old days, or whether to say we will be teasing Chrysler come Thursday.

Working conditions in the plant are far more important to the worker, who is working a seven day week in most of the Chrysler plants.

MAIN ISSUES

Break time, food, protective

clothing, cleanliness, safety, oil, smoke and fumes—these are the issues we are dealing with at the Local Table. All these things should be easy to settle. But production is King and as long as the King lives, his Subjects will have to wait for better conditions.

Down with the King.
Long live the workers.

Mahwah Ford Workers Hit Contract Deal

Mahwah, N.J.—“This contract stinks.” “We’ve been had.” “We lost money.” “It’s a sellout.” These words were on the lips of hundreds of Ford workers as they showed up at the Local #906 UAW Union Hall on Oct. 26 to ratify the national and local contracts.

Most of the workers were either openly angry or just not talking. Many stayed home because they felt there was no point in voting at all.

NO BETTER OFF

They were disappointed in the national contract which provided only 20c an hour increase for the first year and about 12c for the next two years for production workers. With a rising cost of living, and a \$2 dues increase pushed through by Reuther during the strike, they are no better off than they were before.

They were also surprised and angry to learn that the new Guaranteed Annual Wage provisions Reuther made so much of don’t go into force until December 1968.

Worst of all, the issue of working conditions and on-the-job grievances, which meant the most to the workers, were once again entirely left out.

THE LOCAL CONTRACT

The issues on the local contract—excessive heat, work standards (speedup), and subcontracting of work out of the UAW shop—were the ones that had really interested these workers during the strike. Yet none of the workers and even the committeemen knew what was in the local contract they had been voting on since early in the day. Finally, the voting had to be stopped and a meeting called.

After the vote one worker said: “Most of the stuff we asked for we didn’t get, and what we did get was nothing but vague promises that we’ll have to fight to get enforced.”

On the issue of heat, what people wanted was either a shorter workday or air-conditioning. What they got was four blowers to be installed next May. Four blowers won’t do much about the 112° temperatures that have been reported in the shop.

Another thing they wanted was more drinking fountains. The contract now says that the company “intends” to install them. It doesn’t say when. The workers feel they will have to fight for them by strike or slow-down—as they have fought for eleven years over heat—before anything will be done.

Guimarra Grape Growers Are Now Target of Farm Workers

New York, N.Y.—Huelga! Strike! The struggle of Delano farmworkers for a union continues; this time on the pavements of cities throughout the country.

Small groups of Delano workers are now working in all major cities to effect a national boycott of Guimarra grapes, the largest un-unionized fruit producer in California.

BUY-OFF FAILS

During the Farm Worker’s unionization struggle at Schenley and Di Giorgio, Guimarra, in order to block union activity among its workers, tried to buy them off by raising their wages

(from \$1.20 per hour to \$1.50 per hour, and then to \$1.70).

Their tactic failed, however, and on July 23, over 1,000 Guimarra workers voted unanimously to strike for union recognition. The union is demanding \$1.90 per hour minimum wage throughout the year, (up to now wages have varied with the season), job security and sick benefit guarantees, and improved working conditions, perhaps the most crucial issue.

So far the workers have been unable to successfully close down Guimarra’s operations in Delano because the company has brought in scab workers, some illegally from Mexico, others on seasonal time work (Greencarders), and all under armed guard.

NO MASS PICKETS

They have also succeeded in getting an injunction against mass picketing. Pickets must stand 50 feet apart. As a result of these tactics Guimarra has been able to harvest at least 55% of its grapes.

These they are shipping out under other companies’ labels, making detection very difficult. Because these grapes are getting out, workers are now in the cities organizing retail and consumer boycotts of all the brand labels known to be used by Guimarra.

On Sept. 3, six Delano workers (three Mexican-Americans and three Filipino-Americans) arrived in N. Y. They spent the first week walking the streets, stopping at every grocery and supermarket to ask the owners not to buy any of the scab brands. A few stores agreed to cooperate; most didn’t.

As it would have been impossible for six workers to set up picket lines at 600 stores, they directed their attack, instead, upon the two major fruit distribution points in the City; the Fruit Auction at Pier 28 (Canal St.), and the Hunts Point market in the Bronx.

Since Sept. 7, the six workers, joined by sympathetic taxicab drivers, teachers, hospital workers, garment workers and N&L members, have picketed the pier and market, but with little success.

Although the workers are negotiating with teamster locals in the city, they have not yet ordered their men to respect the line; and there are not enough people on the picket lines to forcibly keep the trucks from picking up scab grapes.

NEED HELP

The workers are convinced that their strike absolutely cannot win without a successful boycott in New York and other cities; to have a successful boycott they must have help, especially on the picket lines.

The Delano workers are carrying the Guimarra struggle to 34 cities in the U.S. and Canada. They are badly in need of help. Readers may get information about UFW activity in their areas by writing to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Box 130, Delano, Calif.

Contract Expires, Production Rises

Detroit, Mich.—Right after they cancelled the contracts they started to speed up production at Chrysler. Production standards are generally set at the beginning of the model, so the standards had already been established.

One young fellow was doing 620 pieces. They raised his production to 820. We had no contract and he objected very stenuously.

KANGAROO COURT

When they got him into their kangaroo court, they called the committeeman in and the worker really performed in front of the court. They took him over to labor relations in the main building, and they argued the production question.

They were saying that they didn’t raise production. The 820 pieces was what they always wanted, it was always on the books.

The man said, “Well alright, I will give you 620 good pieces and the rest in scrap.” (They had an awful lot of scrap coming off that line). He said, “You won’t get 820 good pieces.”

EXCITEMENT

If there was ever a Black Power advocate he was one, because he got very violent and got everybody excited. He threatened to hit one man in the head.

He told the man, “If you are not satisfied with what I am doing, you fire me. Fire me right now; give me the slip right now!” The man said, “You can’t tell me how to fire you!”

The supervisor told the foreman, “If you are going to fire him, you are going to do it the way I want you to—for insubordination.” So the man went on his way, back to the shop.

PRODUCTION

The committeeman spent a lot of time processing his grievance. They got a little excited when they saw it. They said, “You know this man is a black power advocate, don’t you? You know why he raised cain here.”

He said, “I understand all that, but the production question still stands. It makes no difference what one is, the production question still stands.”

Editorial

Che Guevara, Revolutionary

Che Guevara has joined the ranks of immortal martyrs. What makes his martyrdom unique is that he chose not to remain part of the new state power, although he had been a leader of the successful revolution in Cuba. He gave up his post as head of the economic ministry and embarked anew on the hardships of guerrilla fighting in still another country, Bolivia.

Che's death in Bolivia at the hands of U.S.-trained-and-led Bolivian Rangers was a case of outright murder. He had been wounded and surrounded by a force of 180, armed with automatic rifles. He was alive. From Quebrada del Yuro, where he had been overwhelmed, he was carried five miles on a stretcher to the town of Higuera. There the Bolivian army junta was asked what to do with him. Assured of American support, they ordered him shot.

Although Bolivia has no official death penalty, Che was executed within two hours of arrival in Higuera. Seven bullet holes were clearly visible, including one through the heart, administered AFTER he became a prisoner. His fingers were then cut off to identify his fingerprints, obligingly sent the Bolivian military by the Argentinian junta. His body, strapped to a helicopter, was then flown to Valle Grande and taken to a Catholic hospital where the body was put on public exhibition.

So afraid was the Bolivian military of even the dead Guevara that, though it is against all custom in Catholic Bolivia, his body was nevertheless cremated. Even that didn't end the macabre ritual. As if that would stop Che from becoming a beacon for all Latin Americans struggling for freedom from their own oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, they then scattered his ashes to the wind.

WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE

In vain are all these frantic efforts to erase the memory of the revolutionary martyr. Pure delusion is the thought that, with his death, the revolt against the exploitative regime has ended. Bolivia has more than doubled its military budget during the Barrientos tyranny. In view of the fact that Bolivia is at war with no one—that is, no outside enemy, large or small—it is clear that the 17 per cent of the national budget spent on "defense" is spent on arms to fight its own masses. When the time is ripe, the cold-blooded murder of Che will be avenged by the Bolivian masses who will put an end to this oligarchical regime.

The Bolivian masses had once before succeeded in ridding themselves of a military junta soon after the end of the world war. But they found that it is insufficient to succeed "at home" unless they also overthrow U.S. imperialism's iron grip on the country's economy. It is this which Che's fight has highlighted.

To prepare themselves for the uphill struggle on two fronts it becomes necessary to also have a clear head, that is to say, a revolutionary theory, fully integrated with the self-activity of the masses. It is for this reason that we must not blind ourselves to the double tragedy of Guevara's death. Bravely he lived and bravely he died, but he did not do in Bolivia what he had done in Cuba: relate himself to the masses.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND GUERRILLA WAR

Guevara's isolation from the mass movement arose from a certain concept of guerrilla warfare as a substitute for social revolution. The impatience with the masses who do not rise at the call of the guerrilla leaders, the disdain for the city, which Castro had called "a cemetery of revolutionaries and resources," the scorn for theory—all added up to isolating Guevara from the Bolivian masses at the moment he decided the time was ripe. His tragic death makes it imperative that these facts become widespread because there is no other way to uproot oppression once and for all.

Che himself had admitted, in tracing the development of the Cuban revolution, that "The men who arrived in Havana after two years of arduous struggle in the mountains and plains . . . are not the same men, ideologically, that landed on the beaches of Las Coloradas . . . Their distrust of the campesino has been converted into affection and respect for his virtues; their total ignorance of life in the country has been converted into a knowledge of the needs of our guajiros: their flirtations with statistics and with theory have been fixed by the cement which is practice."

However, the theory and practice of guerrilla warfare as if that were the only road to revolution led Guevara to disdain other forms of class struggles—from a minor strike to a general strike, from political struggles to theoretical development, including the separation of true Marxism from Communist perversions.

Because Guevara could not separate the one from the other, he became impatient and looked for shortcuts to revolution. Yet he himself did, at certain critical periods, understand that only when the working class and the peasants are united, "the first step toward definite liberation is taken".

SPONTANEITY AND THEORY

This is what the guerrilla fighter forgets when he becomes impatient and wishes to substitute himself for the masses. At those moments, Guevara argued against the statement of Lenin: "Without a revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary movement". Instead he held that "even if theory is not known, the revolution can succeed if historic reality is interpreted correctly and if the forces involved in it are utilized correctly."

But it is not a question of "utilizing" the forces. A revolutionary who appreciates the elemental surge of the masses learns from them because he then sees them as reason, not only as mass force and energy. The fatal flaw in the concept of guerrilla war, whether that be the concept of Guevara or Mao or Giap, is that it is taken to be the equivalent of social revolution.

It is impossible, however, to create revolutions from above. They arise from the spontaneous, creative self-activity of the masses. The theoretician who learns this prepares himself for the revolution.

To work out a new relationship of guerrilla fighting to social revolution, of theory to practice, of the class struggles of the factory workers and those of agricultural labors remains the task. In this way alone can the death of Che Guevara become a movement toward so total a revolution that it will abolish decadent capitalism and create a totally new, humanist foundation for life and labor and thought—a new society.

Readers'

PROTESTS AGAINST THE WAR

At a recent CORE meeting, one of our members told us that his brother had just been killed in Vietnam. "He wasn't killed by the war," he said. "He was killed by the system."

"He was in the Army several years ago. He got out and tried to get a job. But he was black, and he couldn't get a job. So he enlisted again. If he had been able to find a job, he'd be alive right now."

"That's why I say he wasn't a war casualty. He was a casualty of the system."

CORE Member
Detroit

The only division I noticed among the people I work with over the anti-war demonstrations was this: the older ones seem to be opposed to this war; the younger ones are opposed to all wars. As for me, I'm with the youth.

Hospital Worker
Detroit

A history teacher at my Junior High School went to the Washington March October 21. He heard and saw many interesting things there that he reported to our class the next Monday.

A Negro girl demonstrator walked up to a Negro soldier guarding the Pentagon. She started talking to him and telling him off because he was a soldier.

After a while he couldn't take it anymore so he laid down his helmet and rifle and joined the demonstrators. A few minutes later he was arrested by M.P.s.

There was also a group of protesters who walked in front of a line of soldiers while humming taps.

I think the March served the purpose of showing the world what the American people think of the war in Vietnam. The March was a protest against Administration policy, and a vote for peace.

Ninth Grader
Detroit

You know what story sold the most papers at the Washington March? The report from Milwaukee. Everybody wanted to know what was going on there. And nobody else had the story.

Committee Member
Detroit

A positive fact of the Washington March to me was the negation of Black Nationalist practice of separating black and white. Despite the pleas of Black Nationalist leaders over the PA system for all black people at the march to march separately, many black people marched and protested

together with the white demonstrators.

I cannot believe that black people will separate their goals of freedom from the goals of other freedom fighters. It is black and white together that will overcome.

Detroit
Marcher

Did you hear about the Indians on a Reservation in the Northwest who were recently polled on their attitudes toward the war, and whether they thought the U.S. should be in Vietnam?

About 80% of those polled said the U.S. should get out of Vietnam. The rest said the U.S. should get out of America.

Reader
Detroit

I've been boycotting Saran Wrap for some time as a protest against Dow Chemical Corp., but recently visited a relative who was still using it. Every time she put a piece over a dish of food and I saw how it would cling to whatever it touched, I had visions of how the Napalm clings to the skin it touches. It made my flesh crawl so much that she promised to begin boycotting it, too.

Secretary
Ohio

Reagan came out with some pretty totalitarian suggestions for ending the anti-war demonstrations right after the Washington March. He must really admire General Ky (who "really admires" Hitler), for the efficient way the student demonstrations were ended in Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese police simply smashed into a student anti-government news conference, grabbed the three leaders and put them in the army. One of them was the head of the Saigon University Students Association, which represents more than 20,000 students.

Most of the students arrested after other demonstrations have also been drafted.

Secretary
Detroit

My baby-sitter is an elderly woman who doesn't usually say much about world politics, or anything else, for that matter. But she makes more sense when she does, than all the glib politicians put together.

She was watching the TV coverage of the way that the Washington demonstrations were handled, and put it this way: "It's bad enough that they have our soldiers fighting the people over there. Now they're fighting them over here, too. What this world needs is peace."

Period.
Negro Mother
Detroit

The trouble is that the great leaders can always use "law and order" on the poor whites and the Negroes, even if they are fighting for justice for all the people. Why, when there is a march for freedom, do the police have to go in hitting people over the head and throwing them in jail — just for marching?

These big white leaders must realize that the time is changing in every way. Why should anyone try to kill people just in order to hold onto some law that the leaders don't even want themselves?

This country would be in good shape if it wasn't always going into other people's countries, trying to rule the whole world, and killing all the poor and Negro people who stand in their way. When they do that, they think they have everything their way. But the truth is that the world is growing wiser, and nobody can tell others what they must do any longer.

Ethel Dunbar
Detroit

THE BLACK REVOLT

Goldwater would try Carmichael for treason and if convicted execute him, thus, wrongly or rightly, bringing death to one more of many Black men, killed in this country.

James Baldwin somewhere points out that loyalty is a two way street — he was ready enough to be loyal to this country, but it was only too ready to be disloyal to Black people. Doesn't he have a point?

Morally, not legalistically, if a country treats almost any foreigner better than it does you, a "citizen", how much loyalty do you owe it? Could as many foreign tourists be murdered (almost without publicity or ceremony) as happens to Black people in the U.S.?

Let's not forget, either, how heavily white violent racists voted to make Barry president. They were among the "26 million" he bragged about.

White Reader
Florida

It would seem that there has been a change in the basic philosophy of the OEO. Two people on the Job Corps Staff training staff were suspended unofficially for taking part in the Black Power movement.

Phil Carter, who has been in the Civil Rights movement since '61 and one of those who formed the Black Youth Convention in Newark, and Wendell Maynard, who also has been in the civil rights movement and is white, were barred from doing their jobs (training Job Corps staff people; unofficial suspension) without being told why, and have been threatened with suspension.

They were suspended on Sept. 22 after two actions took place:

(1) The Police Chief of Huntington, W. Va. wrote a letter to Senator Byrd of W. Va. stating that Carter and others believed to be on the OEO staff, some of them white, were spreading rumors and trying to start riots in the Black community.

He asked that Byrd look into the matter and, if they were in OEO, to see what he could do. (The letter appeared in the Congressional Record - Senate of Oct. 3 page 14109).

(2) Maynard defended a Black worker on the OEO

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

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Views

staff who had been fired for dating a white girl.

It seems that Mr. Carter and Mr. Maynard are just the first of a number of people to be intimidated in this way. In July, an official of the Poverty Program said they would get rid of all the "trouble makers" in the OEO involved in the Black Power Movement or other movements.

Those involved have formed a committee to fight the suspension of anyone who is involved in either the Black Power movement or others. Anyone who would like to help them can get more information from Phillip Carter, care of Liburd, 627 E. 9th St. Apt. 7, New York, N.Y. 10009.

BYC Member
California

TEACHER STRIKES

The voices of many minority groups in this country have spoken out in an effort to grasp their right to live unhindered in this hypocritical society. It is high time that the teachers have united in an effort to escape the tyranny of the school administration.

To teachers, freedom of speech is an empty phrase. If a teacher voices any opinion in class, he is liable to lose his job and be disgraced publicly. Teachers in some states are required to sign loyalty oaths to the states in which they teach.

As a result of such restrictions on their rights, promising students refuse to enter teaching as a career.

Teacher strikes have shown the administrators that teachers no longer will remain apathetic. Teachers as well as students must be given the right to decide course content and relevancy, not a bunch of bureaucrats who grow rich on deals with textbook manufacturers.

The actions in Detroit and New York have signalled a new day in the position of the teacher toward his necessary rights.

Education Student
Louisiana

FINISHED PRODUCT?

A neighbor who works as a machinist in one of the local steel factories here in Chicago came home swearing that he would not go back to work at the factory.

He makes \$100 per week at his job. The other day a Negro worker got a 5 cent "incentive" at his job at stacking material in the warehouse of the factory.

My friend was angry and said that if the Negro could get a raise, why wouldn't the company give him one too. He said that if the Negro could he should, and he would be more interested in getting a five cent raise in recognition of his effort than he would in a uniform 20 cent raise.

It struck me that he saw personal meaning in his job, but it became insignificant in the face of the total lack of interest on the part of the company.

I told him about how the capitalists have always tried to divide the labor forces along racial lines into two antagonistic camps, but I am afraid it is far too late for him to change his mind. I think that he is the finished product of this same process.

Student
Chicago

News & Letters Committees not only publishes this monthly newspaper and the provocative pamphlets you will find listed on page 2, but is an organization whose members, workers and intellectuals, Negro and white, are active in all areas of freedom struggle. We invite you not only to write us your comments and share your experiences with our readers—but to come and meet us and browse in our library, as well. In Detroit, the office at 415 Brainard St., (corner of Cass) is open Monday through Friday from 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. and Thursday evenings from 7:30 to 9:30.

INTERNATIONAL MAILBAG

What we are trying to do is to reach people — young people, Leftists, workers, radical humanists — and in Israel there is sometimes no dividing line between them, which could be called one of Israel's many unique faces, with its bad as well as good levels.

We want to put out a newspaper in English, publish ourselves, well-known Israeli radicals, Raya Dunayevskaya's Letter on the Arab-Israeli conflict, plus translate articles from the Israeli newspapers.

There are also plans to instigate a teach-in at the Tel Aviv university and there is an opportunity to help in making a movie about the anti-Vietnam war movement in Israel for educational purposes here.

Israel is a very politically conscious state with many political parties and factions. This is like a lid on the box we want to throw open. The threat of absorption from the established coalition Left is a challenge, but there is a chance for independent radical elements who have been dissenting within their party to come over to us. Such is the split between the old and the youth in Israel's political framework today.

Israel needs an existential and political confrontation with itself. There are great hurdles to overcome, but the big thing is to gather together those like ourselves who have just arrived in Israel or have been in isolation. That's what we are trying to do.

R.T.
Israel

We have read the unpublished Preface to the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, written by Raya Dunayevskaya, and can now understand why the publishers preferred to print one by Arfe instead of hers.

Her analysis of the class-struggle during the 1920's, fascism, communist policy, popular front, the Partisan movement, etc., is very exact. But what vexed the publishers?

1—The theory of capitalism as a class society in which intellectual and manual labor are separated, and "dead labor" or capital dominates "living labor" or the worker.

2—the theory of state-capitalism as a class-society.

3—the theory of the USSR as state-capitalism, in which the communist bureaucrats exploit the workers just as the private bureaucrats do in the western state-capitalist countries.

4—the rediscovery of revolutionary traditions, both Italian and international.

All these things vex the Italian "Left" (above all the Communist Party), and also the Italian bourgeois movements who need the Italian Left parties for the establish-

ment of modern state-capitalism in Italy.

Therefore, the Arfe preface was preferable to Raya Dunayevskaya's.

G.D.
Italy

The situation in South Arabia has caused quite a surprise here. Britain will be out before the appointed date which was to be next January.

We must welcome the collapse of the Federal Government set up by Britain. Whatever the outcome Britain must get out.

At the moment, it looks as if Nassar's F.L.O.S.Y. has lost but the trade union seems to be still supporting this body.

It is good that Britain should be left without an excuse to remain, but, as we know, "liberation" does not necessarily mean freedom for the people. It does not mean that the N.L.F. will not be in trouble with the Nasser-sponsored elements.

Observer,
Scotland

It is interesting that in Spanish the meaning of "reform" is quite a bit different from its meaning in English. The Spanish "reform" is possible after revolutionary direct action, not before. That is the reason why the state-capitalist Partido Revolucionario Institution tries to maintain the fiction that it is a revolutionary party under revolutionary leadership.

The rural campesinos are not fooled and are just as likely to take over a town or section when their rights are taken away. Recently, when the President heched on land distribution he had symbolically made on Constitution Day, Feb. 17, the people who had received that land as well as others without land, settled on the land anyway.

When local politicians attempted to convince the people to leave, the people captured the politicians and held them as hostages. As far as I know, since the press hasn't mentioned any more about it, the people are still living on the land, and have organized themselves for its defense.

Student
Mexico

During the first six months of this year, over 294 miners have lost their lives in underground mining accidents extracting the gold, diamonds and minerals which make the white community of South Africa a rich nation. The miners who lost their lives carry a black skin and the profiteers are white.

During 1966, 767 black Africans lost their lives to extract gold and diamonds from the earth of Africa for the profit and pleasure of the rich white men throughout the world.

Student
Africa

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

Black Mass Revolt: Where to Now?

Because of the importance of BLACK MASS REVOLT, which has just been published by News & Letters Committees, I am turning over my column-space this issue to reprint excerpts from the last chapter, "Where to Now?"—Raya Dunayevskaya.

The whole point against whitey is to get rid of the power structure, that is to say, the capitalist class system. Without tearing that out by its roots, no freedom is possible. Tokenism will not do. That must go. Far from creating jobs for the masses, or ridding the slums of rats, much less ridding them of the tenements themselves, or sending the poor black man's children to the universities from which one may reach Congress, the Senate and now even the Supreme Court, tokenism props up the status quo, "the system".

Too many of the leaders who talk about black power mean only electoral power as if that would change the system. They talk about being the majority, or promise they "soon will be", in the cities. But the masses down South, where they are the majority, know that voting doesn't change anything very much. It isn't only that whitey cheats them out of their majority—that they do expertly even when the blacks do come and vote. But the greater truth still is this: so long as the "boss and black" relationship remains, no vote can change their conditions of life.

SO OVERPOWERING is that relationship of "boss to black" that when the New Deal first came South, even the federal power had to bow to it. And it is even more true now that "neutral" mechanization—Automation—has taken over. Just consider the single fact that even in the state of Mississippi in the 17 counties where most of the cotton is grown, no less than 75 per cent of all cotton picking is done, not by human labor, but by machine. It is in the heart of the South, in the places where the Negro is still the majority, where there is actual starvation, actual infant mortality that compares with what it is in the most technologically underdeveloped countries like India—where the actual health conditions of the adult population in any village are comparable to those in Lowndes County, Alabama, or the Mississippi Delta.

It drives the masses from the farms to the cities, in the South as well as the North. But, though there is 65 per cent urbanization among Negroes, this too solves no problems as unemployment follows the Negro wherever he goes. Of course, they have certain power, as the revolts in the cities have shown. But, unless one is strategically placed in industry, one cannot stop its wheels from turning and thus stop capitalism in its tracks.

TO GIVE ANY other impression by claiming that the organization of the ghettos is equivalent to the organization in the factories is only to sow disastrous illusions. The masses are right to reject these illusions, and, instead, try to find some solidarity with white labor—the white rank and file workers who do oppose management. Not only are they involved throughout the country in big strikes together, but the black workers are right to use this as the reason for not isolating themselves from the white workers by lumping them in the same category as the whitey who is boss.

Nor are they about to accept a Sunday sermon as a "philosophy of history". Just as black nationalism didn't change its class nature by moving from Elijah Muhammad's "Nation of Islam" to the Christianity of a Black Jesus and a Black Madonna, so black power, exhilarating as that naturally is, will not mean tearing the system up by its roots unless it means mass power, working class power. This is what a black worker meant when he said, "I like to listen to Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. I like to hear them lay it on the line to whitey. They talk it up good. But that doesn't mean I'll follow them. I have to see things change right here, first", and he pointed to the production line.

IT WILL NOT do to speak of a "philosophy of history" as if that, to use an expression of Marx's, is nothing more than "the evacuating motion" of the intellectual's own head. Unless the philosophy arises out of a historic movement of masses struggling for total freedom, and the whole world is its stage, it can neither answer the urgency of our life and times, nor bear the seeds of the future forward movement of humanity. Because the Carmichaels understand this (but only in part), they are trying to associate "black power" with the struggles of the "third world". The advantage there is that this means the mellowing of the blackness, since there are many oppressed whites, yellows, and whatever other color the human is.

The trouble is that this "third world" that is being associated with "black power" seems to be only that part of it which follows the "Communist line"—and that only at the moment when it is not revolutionary, but more racist than either nationalist or internationalist. At the same time, Carmichael is so preoccupied with "shortcuts to revolution" (guerrilla warfare) that he doesn't even realize that, instead of a shortcut, he is holding on to a short circuit. But the revolution in America is not about to short circuit itself before it has ever gained sufficient momentum to achieve the goal of total freedom.

THE ADVANTAGE of all the talk of black power is its own dynamism, the fact that it is altogether too late now to turn it back to a talk among "leaders". What some call the civil rights doldrums, and others call the fatal division within the black nationalist movement, we, of News & Letters Committees, see as the organization of mass thought by the masses themselves. There is no substitute for this self-organization of thought, any more than there is a substitute for the self-emancipation of the masses. The task is too large, too vital, to be left to intellectuals, or even to a "cadre organization". It has to be a mass activity.

But no Great Walls separate spontaneity from organization. They, too, are related—as is thought to action. Any separation of one from the other would be fatal. The unifying cement for the two is the type of organization which includes the organization of one's thought. That task, too, cannot be achieved without you. We invite you to join with us on the hard road to total freedom.

—News & Letters Committees

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

(I turn my column over this month to B. Wendell, a 10th grade student whose evaluation of education and miseducation will be recognized by students everywhere. — E.W.)

School vs. Education

The saying, "I don't let school interfere with my education," is really no paradox. School as it exists is the exact opposite of education.

School is essentially an industrial training system, a component part of the capitalist system; but besides trying to turn out obedient workers, it also attempts to produce docile citizens and terror-stricken conformists, and reproduce this society's values, greed and love of consumption.

It is a passive, hammer-forced process, in which the student is compelled to digest the information and values that will allow him to carry out his particular social function efficiently and accept the existing society.

EDUCATION IS ACTIVE

Education, on the other hand, is an active, questioning process, in which the individual develops his ideas about himself, about life in general, and about his society in particular. Accumulation of information is entirely subordinate to the development of knowledge and understanding.

School, therefore, is a very safe thing; education is dangerous, and potentially highly subversive to the existing society, for it leads beyond accumulation of information and pure thought. It compels action; it is the unity of theory and practice.

It includes what Marx called "practical-critical" activity: coming to your conclusions about society and then acting on them. The very thought of a generation

of student activists is enough to chill the defenders of this crazy society.

The three key, intertwining elements of school are discipline, memorization, and grades.

● **DISCIPLINE**, externally imposed, is the key to obedience; therefore, the student must be disciplined. The student lives in an unfree world; therefore, he must be disciplined to accept it. He must become so used to being ordered about that the very idea of independence seems contrary to human nature.

Youthful idealism (a feature of human nature held in great disdain by all apologists) must be either totally suppressed, or so perverted that it can fit into the framework of this society.

Meaningless requirements and meaningless assignments are incidental: they teach obedience in general rather than obedience to anything in particular (except perhaps to the symbol of authority, the teacher).

● **MEMORIZATION** is both a form of discipline and an independent category in that the student acquires the information that will enable him to carry out his simple social function. Memorization teaches acceptance, for the material assigned is to be memorized without question.

Material is memorized for a test; most of it is quickly forgotten. Memorization is not only a bore, it is also an inefficient waste. But it is the only way that students can be fed at least part of what this society wants them fed: their own interests are largely ignored.

● **GRADES** are the byword of school, the ultimate weapon to keep dissenters in line, to keep the students on the treadmill, and to buy off those more adept at memorization and acceptance.

Grades are an external, impersonal standard arbitrarily applied to individuals with different capacities and interests. Grades are an introduction to the society as a whole: they correspond to school as the money scale corresponds to capitalism.

EDUCATION IS INDEPENDENT

Education, therefore, must be largely pursued independently of school, except to the degree that realizing what school is and fighting against it provides some understanding of what this society is really like at an early age. (Also, of course, some useful information is probably accumulated).

An attack on the school system alone is not enough: it acquires its full meaning only when within the context of an attack on this society, and only in the destruction of this society and the construction of a new society can the contradiction between school and education be resolved.

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Oakland, Calif.

Oakland, Cal.—The week of demonstrations here went brilliantly—many thousands participated, everyone learned a great deal as the week went on, and the spirit the last day was exhilarating. That was when we barricaded most of the streets in that section of Oakland and beat the police tactically the whole day—they were bringing in the National Guard when we dispersed.

BEST OF all, these were demonstrations of solidarity with the draftees—and a good dozen of them over the week gave us the "V" sign as they got off the buses. That was very moving, and it made it all worthwhile; many people wept.

In the end, more than 300 persons had been arrested, and probably 100 more clubbed, others kicked, dragged and gassed.

The Oakland police were at their worst, which is usual. Most of the state police were reluctant participants, or at least it seemed that way. We could make contact with them.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Cal. — The End the Draft Week started with a rally in front of the new Federal Building here. It was attended by some 400 people. About 150, including some Vietnam veterans, turned in their draft cards and about ten others burned theirs.

After some speeches all 150 tried to carry their papers in to an official but the officials had ordered the doors locked. When they couldn't get in, the protestors said no one would get in, and the 400 staged a sit-in before the doors.

The officials then said they would agree to let in two people with all the cards and papers.

ON THE next day, a picket line was put up in front of the only induction center in Southern California and a few blocked the entrance. The cops quickly arrested those in front of the door and separated the line in two parts, one on each side of the entrance. After this the center was opened for business as usual.

On Wednesday, a draft holiday which was called, in which students were asked to stay out of school (college and high school), businessmen to close their stores and plants and people to leave their jobs, but it was a flop.

ON THURSDAY some local boards were picketed. On Friday the homes and business of local board members were picketed.

The following week Dean Rusk spoke at the Century Plaza, the scene of the June 23 anti-war demonstration which was viciously broken up by the cops. About 400-500 showed up for that, even though no one knew Rusk would be there until late Sunday night, and even though it was during the day between 1 and 2 p.m. This time the cops were peaceful and no one was hurt.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Milwaukee, Wis. — The march on Washington to end the war in Viet Nam seemed at first to be very disappointing. We had marched the route, attended the rallies, climbed over fences and scrambled up the inclines to reach the great lawn of the Pentagon, and many people had stormed the steps—but all these things were done in relative silence, with only an occasional "Hell no, we won't go!"

A college youth got himself into a strategic position with a



—News & Letters Photo

ANTI-WAR MARCHERS massed in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 21 to move on to protest at Pentagon Building, symbol of U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

microphone, reporting to us, who were standing on the lawn, what was happening on the steps — and when we heard him saying that people would now undress and demonstrate in the nude, it seemed that he had hit the final lick to crown my disappointment.

WE WERE there for some very serious things, namely to protest the slaughter of uncounted human beings, and all these things seemed to give our efforts an air of superficiality, as if we didn't really mean it at all, but had just come here to have a good time.

My disappointment had been hasty. On the following Tuesday I met another marcher who had stayed on the steps of the Pentagon throughout the night, freezing and shivering with cold, determined to stand up for his beliefs, to confront the military establishment of his country, to go to jail if need be.

HE TOLD me that throughout the night and into the early hours of a frosty morning a spirit had developed which was in perfect agreement to our aims. They had chanted and sung between serious periods of discussion among themselves and also with the troops that were confronted.

Let me say that I stand corrected: In the final analysis our demonstration was not superficial at all, but really showed our true feelings about the horrendous policies of the U.S. government.

Detroit, Mich.

Detroit, Mich.—The demonstration I participated in at the Pentagon was different from just a march. There was a feeling of being ineffectual in marching. One thing that you depend upon when you march is the number of people.

If two million people, or maybe more, marched then perhaps Johnson and capitalism would stop the war in Vietnam. But they ignore the protest marchers now and they would probably just ignore marches then.

SO A feeling of more resistance has developed. It is a defiance as well as resistance. It is active protest. There was a feeling that we had a right to be at the Pentagon, even if the government had not given permission. That we had a right to stop the war; to stop the Pentagon.

That is why when a group broke through the line of MPs to the upper mall, it seemed like a victory. Or when the soldier joined us or when some demonstrators burned their draft cards. It all said: you cannot control us. This is true individually, but the system still remains and the war still continues.

The anti-war movement has become more than just against

war; it is against the system. But this means there has to be workers, not just the youth and the middle class involved in the movement. It is at the point of production that the system can be destroyed. That would mean a social revolution.

I WAS told once that all that mattered for a person to join the anti-war movement was that he be against the war. It is true you have to be against the war, but I am in the movement for more than that. I am not only fighting for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, but for my freedom as well.

New York, N.Y.

New York, N.Y. — The unanimous verdict of press and government officials is that "peaceful democratic protests" are being spoiled by "extremists engaging in ugly violence." Obviously, they wish everyone would go back to parading, psalm-singing and sitting.

The official slogans of the Washington demonstration were "From Protest to Resistance" and "Confront the Warmakers." Since President Johnson has so successfully ignored public opinion and orderly petition, people in the peace movement have decided to change their tactics.

In Washington, I saw all kinds of people battling with the police and guards—professors, students, even middle-aged and middle-class types—people who would normally have "abhorred" violence but who were frustrated enough to get in it. All the wishful talk about "a few extremists" won't change that.

BUT WILL this new tactic change things? I doubt it. The "resistance" being practiced is largely symbolic: holding up a troop bus for a few hours or blocking the Pentagon door for a few seconds. Like tax-withholding and draft-card burning, it is merely a more physical and active form of moral protest.

The "really militant" activists are for Japanese-style snake dances or blocking off whole streets, but this is really more of the same.

But what of real resistance? Resistance that actually — not symbolically — brings the wheels of the capitalist war machine grinding to a halt?

Resistance that is genuine has two qualities missing from our peace actions: an actual (not symbolic) goal and mass organization in the place where it hurts the enemy (as in strikes or ghetto riots).

YET THE factories and the ghettos are the places where peace activists aren't, for the most part. The students stay on the campus or go to the Pentagon, a symbolic goal if ever there was one.

Why not at least march where people live and work, as the Milwaukee marchers do? Moreover, just going to the factory or the ghetto isn't enough. Until you organize around class issues and unite resistance to oppression in Vietnam with resistance to oppression at home, the movement will remain what it is now: white, student, symbolic, and impotent.

We have shown we can move 100,000 bodies to Washington and even place a lot of them in the path of billyclubs. Perhaps it is time to use our heads for some serious thinking, as well.

DETROIT READERS:

HEAR PETER MALLORY ON
"RUSSIA, 1917 — HUNGARY, 1956 —
TWO UNFULFILLED REVOLUTIONS"

THURSDAY, NOV. 16, 7:30 P.M.
NEWS & LETTERS, 415 BRAINARD

Parents Battle Daily for L.A. High School Control

Los Angeles, Calif.—Since Sept. 11, the first day of school, a picket line has continually appeared at Manual Arts High School. The picket line was manned by parents and community people.

The protest was against the conditions at this predominately Negro School: 1. Poor facilities—the cafeteria and library are inadequate. 2. Failure of the school board and administration to listen to parental and community desires in the running of the school—the PTA is not allowed to meet at night when working parents could attend. Complaints on various issues from parents and community groups have been ignored. 3. The running of the school in a punitive and authoritarian manner—there is an emphasis on discipline and security measures rather than on education.

ORDER INJUNCTION

An injunction against picketing of the school has been ordered following the arrest of one of the picketers at a teachers meeting on Oct. 19, followed by a protest by students and others of the presence of police in the high school.

More than anything else the parents, community people and the students who joined in the demonstrations were protesting

the attitude of the school board, the administration and some of the teachers.

It is the attitude of boss and black. It says that the parents should not have a say about what is taught at the school, about the way the school is run; that what the students need is not a better library, classes on their own history or more counseling facilities, but more security officers in the hall to watch over them, and less recreation activities like dances since the students "don't behave."

WANT VOICE

The parents have asked for a voice in determining what goes on in their school. At this point they have asked for the dismissal of the principal and the girls' vice-principal. Both are white. But the parents are not demanding a black principal, only one that will listen to their ideas. They have no objection against the boys' vice-principal, who is white.

What is occurring at Manuel is not an isolated dispute. It is the same situation in other schools in Los Angeles, in Detroit, New York and a dozen other cities.

As one teacher in another predominately Negro high school put it: What is happening at Manuel, the facilities, the police-like manner is happening where I teach. The response at our school was to get three more security guards. Why not three more community people?

63rd March? More Like 1st

(Editor's Note: The NAACP Youth Council in Milwaukee has continued, without a pause, the daily marches for open-housing that began on Aug. 28, in which thousands of blacks and whites have marched with Father Groppi and The Commandos. They are now also boycotting all Milwaukee beer, including Schlitz, Pabst, Miller's and Blatz, as well as Clark gasoline, in an attempt to bring the city to reason. The author of the Diary we printed last issue continues his report of the Milwaukee movement.)

Milwaukee, Wis.—Yesterday, Oct. 29, we started marching through a bleak and chilly day with occasional rain-drops. If we didn't have a thousand people marching, I'll eat my turn-up shoes.

Today, Oct. 30, the rain is coming down in torrents, cold and chilly. When I went to the rally this evening, I thought that I would be the only one marching, besides our Commandos. But presently more people gathered and filled a small section of the church.

Vel Phillips, our Alderman, arrived and told us that the common council had postponed a decision on the open-housing bill for two more weeks. No doubt, they are stalling for time, thinking that we will get tired of playing the game.

This beautiful little woman begged us to keep the faith, as she had kept it up to now, even though it was very hard at times. She was unable to hold back her tears. She handed the microphone to one of the Commandos and walked quickly away.

Father Groppi addressed our little group. He said that the delay in the common council was criminal, that it was, in fact, an act of violence. Then one of

the Commandos told us that this, our 63rd march, was going to be different.

In order to avoid the long trek across viaducts, we boarded an old beaten school-bus. We drove over to the south-side, looked for a likely spot, and spilled through the door onto the sidewalk like eager children going to a picnic in summer-time.

Our march was only about half a block long, but we never ceased chanting and singing, "Hey!" and "Ho!" "Freedom!" and "Sock it, sock it to me: Black Power!"

We drove back and forth over the viaduct, down Wisconsin Avenue, over to the east side, and believe it or not, some people ran for cover when they saw us coming. All the windows were open and we gave Milwaukee the benefit of some very beautiful sounds.

Finally we were back at our church, and there stood all the Commandos in one great crowd, all over the intersection, with unbelievable spirit yelling and dancing and singing "Way up yonder!" while we made our way through them, chanting all the way down into the basement of the church.

Did I say that this was the 63rd march today? I must be mistaken. It seemed like the first.

to a negro girl

this night's blind shame defames our earth to the lost core of beauty the wild gales tune their murderous blades with howl insane and are our national night-ingales deceit and conscience make one chord whereto the creaking crucifixes sway and i even from love's deep prayer can take no word to ask forgiveness of you sister!

silent the minutes flow into the year splashed with the blood our brothers shed their chains are tight about my throat shame is too hoarse of voice to pray but you though you too gaze through tears let your heart comfort me

"work dawn will break differently" yet must i die of this day's shame oh, for our fatherland's free joy who knows if ever it will hum green summer in our ears

from my brow will fade these burning sears for it is long justice forgot to blossom on our ways

only life's curdled mire is left in which we sink lost in the whirlpool of a bloody lake

yet still you look above enchanted by blue eyes and azure space dear girl think now is not the time for love

Antoni Gronowicz

An Excerpt from a Work on U.S. Socialist Labor History

Editor's Note: We print below excerpts from an important study of the early days of the Socialist Party, by a New Left student from Berkeley, Charlie Leinenweber. These excerpts are from the section on "Industrial Socialism."

It would be a mistake to attribute the syndicalism of the left wing to purely "foreign" influences. It was a native syndicalism, in its formative years a product of conditions in the Western United States, especially the mining communities. The most cursory reading of Bill Haywood's memoirs shows that.

Haywood describes the rootlessness of the Western miners—he had been one from the age of 15—their violent lives, the oppressive and dangerous work conditions, the spontaneous acts of sabotage, the indifference of the AFL, and most important, the nakedness and the conflict between miners and operators, and between workers and bourgeoisie. For many years, class conflict was settled mostly by spontaneous "mass action" by both sides—the workers using strikes, boycotts and sabotage, and the bourgeoisie using murderous vigilance committees and the blacklist to suppress these.

SOMEWHAT later, when the energies of the syndicalists were focused in the East, the conflict

still retained many of the same aspects. Once again, work conditions were oppressive and dangerous, and the AFL was indifferent—this time to unskilled, immigrant workers.

There was certainly much more law than in the West, yet the immigrants couldn't make much use of it—they were the day-to-day victims of it. There were citizens' committees—brutal, but not so much as in the West—that made the exclusion of the immigrant workers from bourgeois society final. These are the American conditions that nourished syndicalism, and fed the Left wing's distrust of political action . . .

ONE REASON the industrial socialists were so hostile toward the AFL is that they wanted to unify the working class. They were determined to erase lines of division and sectional interests within the working class. One such line was craft.

Another very important one was nationality. Their appeal had to transcend nationality, and it did. If the immigrant workers couldn't be a part of American society, they could be a part of something greater: the international working class.

The industrial socialists entered the field with a broad, internationalist perspective. They saw

the working class as world-wide, and their brotherly contact with so many different nationalities reinforced this belief.

TO THE industrial socialists there were, as Bill Haywood put it, "no foreigners in the working class." They saw the restriction policies of the AFL as an attempt to bolster the privileged position of craft unions, and thus strengthen the aristocracy of labor and working class divisions. The industrial socialists reaffirmed proletarian internationalism by demanding that the gates be kept open.

Furthermore, they were interested solely in the working class. In contrast to the municipal socialists, they felt no need to include others—such as professionals and small businessmen—in their program, and it remained undiluted.

THEIR organizations, too, developed responsibilities to the working class alone. For example, the I.W.W. organized mine and factory workers rather than an electorate, and were responsible to no one else. Meanwhile, the municipal socialists were increasingly responsible to a broad electorate.

The workers who interested the industrial socialists most were unskilled and unorganized. This meant that they were overwhelmingly new immigrants, and so the

industrial socialists became linked to them. The link was usually forged in the following way: Unskilled immigrant workers would strike spontaneously, without leadership or organization.

The only experienced, militant organizers who were willing to work with them were the industrial socialists—especially the I.W.W.—and so the immigrant workers would invite them to lead the strike. The biggest I.W.W. victories in the East followed this pattern.

IN THE big strikes, the politics and actions of the immigrant workers coincided with those of the industrial socialists, bringing them ever more close together. The immigrants were very hostile toward the AFL, which ignored and even scabbed on them. They were engaged in a naked struggle—the local law and citizenry were always against them; they were not voters.

The immigrant workers fought courageously and with deep solidarity. Their entire communities threw themselves into the battles. It is no wonder that the industrial socialists felt so close to them, no wonder that they wanted no restrictions on immigration.

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—News & Letters Photo

BANNER of News & Letters Committees prominently displayed at anti-war demonstration held in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 21 proclaimed: "Self Determination in Vietnam Through Social Revolution in America." It is a task remaining to be done.

Youth and Internationalism Add to Anti-War Movement

(Continued from Page 1)
President Eisenhower.

In Great Britain the Wilson government is under increasing pressure to condemn and disassociate itself from the United States government's Vietnam policies. In West Berlin 10,000 marched. In Paris 35,000.

It was the youthfulness and the internationalism that reached new heights this time.

The Administration has also injected something new into the controversy—rather something old brought forth again—the "yellow peril." Secretary Rusk said: "Within the next decade or two, there will be a billion Chinese on the mainland, armed with nuclear weapons, with no certainty about what their attitude toward the rest of Asia will be . . ."

The vice-president followed this by raising the spectre of a China ready to overrun Southeast Asia and thereby destroy the entire power structure of the world.

The confrontation at the Pentagon showed that opposition was not just against a single man in the White House, but against the whole military complex which continues, President after President.

But for anyone to sow illusions that we could somehow "take the Pentagon" is ludicrous. A sit-in which would "take control" of the Pentagon is on a very different level than a sit-in at the administration building of a university.

NEW THOUGHT

The massive infusion of youth into the anti-war movement may give an opportunity for new thought on how to oppose the war. We are against the horror of war in the way that the older generations are. But I believe there is a new quality in our opposition, for it is our right to decide how to live which is at stake.

The government wants to send us off to Vietnam to kill and be killed. The anti-war struggle is a real part of our lives because the protest for us is very much a demand for self-determination—our own as well as those of the Vietnamese.

There are a lot of us who are not just against the war but against the whole system. Maybe this is why the government keeps trying to talk about "irresponsible dissent vs. responsible dissent." Changing the whole system is "irresponsible."

Perhaps this is also why we lost a few people before this march. They did not want to join us if that meant working towards changing the system.

MORE OPPOSE

Despite the "drop-outs", the opposition to the war continues to grow. The latest Gallup Poll shows 50% are opposed to the war. Even in Congress, where they certainly do not want to change the system, it is obvious that they know that the tens of thousands of us who marched represented millions more.

Since we have demonstrated, still more congressmen have called for peace and for the resignation of Secretary Rusk. Democratic Sen. McCarty has called for an opposition candidate to Democratic President Johnson. The divisions are not between parties as much as within parties.

NOT MANY NEGROES

What the anti-war movement must answer is why the masses of workers and Negroes who oppose the war have shied away from the organized movement?

There were not large numbers of Negroes participating in the march. Some said it is a racist war and while they oppose blacks being drafted, they say they will march and fight separately.

A Negro auto worker told me about a conversation that occurred in his plant after Rusk's "yellow peril" report in the paper. He and others were discussing its origin and what it meant. One guy really brought it home when he said, if they are talking this way about the Chinese, they will definitely be using it against the Negro here.

I feel racism is part of the whole system we are fighting. We need the help of blacks to do it, just as I feel they need our help. Otherwise we will both go under.

I like the way Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer put it: "I think the war is wrong, whether you're white or Chinese or whatever you are. It's just wrong for any person to have to go and engage in a war fighting for what he really doesn't know is happening over there."

More important for us to grapple with is what a worker told me his friends say about stopping the war. "They seem to think that many who call for ending the war are really just calling for the defeat of America. They are not for that. They hear the propagandizers say that if we stop the war now, it will just mean we will have to fight again in a few years, only this time at home."

"I tell them that to me it isn't a question of defeat — it is a question of how to get peace and end the war for everyone. They're for that."

What we have to show is that we are not for China or Russia dominating Vietnam or the world any more than we are for domination by the United States.

FOR NEW SOCIETY

I think more people will join us when they see us posing the question as it should be — not victory or defeat for one power block or another — but a movement for a whole new world.

What must distinguish us is not what we are against, but what we are for. To the barbarism of the war we have to pose a whole new society. The name of our movement is freedom — for ourselves, as well as the Vietnamese.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Big U.S. Capitalism Gets Bigger

As if we didn't have enough abuse of "Five Year Plans," Time (9-8-67) reports that the board chairman and president of the ITT, Harold Sydney Geneen, spelled out what such a plan should mean: double the profits every five years. Not only that, he did it.

Capitalism has changed from being super monopolies to being "conglomerates," that is to say, buying up companies that have nothing whatever to do with what the parent company is supposed to be producing. One reason for this is to avoid anti-trust legislation. (As if the U.S. government ever really made them give up their holdings!)

So now the ITT is not only a telephone and telegraph corporation, but does everything from creating DEW (Distant Early Warning) to running a

Job Corps project in New Jersey.

Consider this: the capital amalgam circles 57 countries around the world. The men who head it are opposed to the "one-industry mentality" of even such huge combines as US Steel, which only swallows up "related" industries like bridge building and selling cement.

The "conglomerate" spends no less than \$220 million annually in research and development. They leave no details untouched.

These new empire builders are hated by the competing capitalists, including state-capitalism. The later, for example, may control the national pattern but, compared to the new empire builders, they still do not have the capital for world competition.

Consider, for example, what each country has to face in

competing with American "private enterprise".

U.S. annual output is \$740 billion compared with the output of the rest of the world combined (including the U.S.S.R.) which produces \$1,525 billion. The state of California alone outproduces all of China, \$84 billion to \$80 billion. All of Africa produces little more than the state of Illinois, \$50 billion to \$48 billion. Eleven northern states produce \$350.1 billion in comparison with \$350 billion for the Soviet Union.

The management of U.S. capital is falling into ever fewer hands, as Marx predicted it would. The exploitation remains the same, be it a single individual, a conglomerate corporation, or exploitation by the state itself as in Russia and Red China.

The name likewise remains the same, state capitalism.

LATIN AMERICA ARMS

The news that the administration has lifted the ban on selling the Northrup F-5 supersonic jet fighter plane to Latin American countries at \$1 million a copy, reopens the arms race between nations that have no use for such arms.

The U.S. is now selling \$900 million a year in arms to the smaller nations of the world which should be using the money for schools and the improvement of living conditions within their countries.

DeGaulle is deeply involved in trying to sell French military equipment in Latin America. Peru has been negotiating for 12 French Mirage jet fighters at \$1.8 million each. Latin American countries spend \$2 billion each year on their military establishments and the U.S. adds 7 per cent of its budget for military assistance abroad in Latin America.

It is time to put an end to this useless military spending and divert the funds to the improvement of the lives of the people of the area.

PEKING IN AFRICA

Throughout Africa the agents of Mao Tse-tung have been generally discredited and are playing an ever smaller role in African affairs. In an effort to enhance their prestige in Africa, the Peking government has signed an agreement to build a railroad from the East African port of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania to landlocked Zambia.

Signing an agreement is a long way from completion, however. The Peking government has pledged \$300 million. The survey of the road will start next year and take two years to complete and the construction will take another five years.

The project, if it becomes a reality, will require the services of thousands of engineers, geologists and construction experts along with massive construction equipment which is in short supply in China. It is doubtful if Mao's China can make good on such a project.

The railroad, which would bring Zambian copper to Tanzania for shipment by sea and

return coal and oil for Zambian industry, has been a dream for over 20 years. The project has been termed unfeasible by British, American and German engineers. Zambia has appealed to American, West German, British, Japanese and Russian firms for assistance with the project and has been turned down.

The Chinese have not been noted for the condition of their own railroad system. A recently completed rail line required 40,000 workers to keep it in repair during the first five months of its operation. But the Chinese Communists do appreciate the value of saying they will help Africa develop its resources.

U. of M. IN THAILAND

When you support a budget for "education" you expect it will be devoted to educating the young. You hardly expect that it will be spent on hunting out "Communist" guerrillas in Thailand. Yet such seems to be the case with the University of Michigan.

The university student paper, the Michigan Daily, has charged that the U.S. Defense Dept. has funneled \$21.5 million in "secret defense funds" to the university for research work which includes, among other projects which cannot stand the light of public scrutiny, the project for seeking out guerrillas in Thailand by means of infra-red devices flown in a C-47 plane provided by the Army.

It is easy to see how \$21 million can influence university officials to suppress student demonstrations. It is hardly a mess of pottage.

PHONY FORD OFFER

To answer the unemployment problem among the inner-city, permanently unemployed, Negro population of Detroit, the Ford Motor Co. offered 6,500 jobs without, they claimed, the usual red tape connected with jobs at Ford.

The Negro population of Detroit jumped at the opportunity to get secure employment, contrary to the slander of the racist whites that "Negroes would rather be on relief." Some slept on the steps all

night, waiting for the doors to open.

Thousands of Negroes applied the first day, only to find that a mere 100 applicants were being processed each day. Over half the applicants were women, but there were no jobs for women at all.

While it was promised that no written questionnaire would be filled out, the applicants found that each would have to be interviewed by the "poverty program" and be registered there, then take a physical examination and THEN, before being employed, fill out all the stupid papers that everyone over the years has had to fill out before them.

Anti-poverty officials had the gall to describe the crowds as "mobs," and complained that the jobs were supposed to be for the "hard core unemployed" from the inner city — not the merely poor who came flocking from all areas of the city, looking for work.

RIOTS IN RUSSIA

Police brutality is not confined to the U.S. In Kazakhstan, Russia, a city of 200,000 people, riots are reported of such serious proportions that the courts sentenced three people to death. Hundreds of others were tried in the courts.

It seems the taxi drivers had a grievance against their employers, presumably the Soviet state, who refused to negotiate. The police used force to break up the strike of the workers and the general population joined in to support the workers' strike, just as they do in the U.S.

The state capitalist cops of the Soviet Union, just as the capitalist cops of the U.S. would do, went in and clobbered them, arrested thousands, executed three and held many for further trials.

The rioting began after the local cops arrested a taxi driver for a traffic violation, and the taxi driver mysteriously died. When the townspeople led a demonstration against police brutality, rioting began which led the cops to arrest and execute the so-called "ring-leaders."

For scholars who demand references, they are as follows: Kazakhstan Pravda, Kazakh Supreme Court, Chimkent, and the burned out police stations.