

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Lowndes Co. Makes Voting History

The daily press has been calling the May 3 Democratic primaries in Alabama "historic." But it was not the fact that Negroes were voting in mass numbers for the first time since Reconstruction that was historic about the election. It was the fact with their vote they decisively defeated two of the most hated white racists in Alabama, Al Lingo and Jim Clark. No matter what bag of tricks or treachery Clark may try to use to squirm out of that defeat, his thrashing at the polls by the Negroes is now a fact of history.

The whites, on the other hand, exposed just how deep-seated is their race-hatred by their landslide vote for that reactionary segregationist, Wallace. The Northern press seems to be so ashamed of that, that they have actually been trying to blame the white "block vote" for segregation on Martin Luther King, because he had asked the Negroes to vote against Wallace!

Hardly a word, however, was reported anywhere about the event that was the most important and historic one of all—the mass meeting on May 3 (primary day), in Hayneville, county seat of Lowndes County, where over 1000 Negroes met to cast their ballots for their own candidates to run in the election this fall as an independent party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. They were not permitted to meet opposite the courthouse, as they were supposed to, but met instead in a nearby church, where they cast their ballots in a cardboard box for the seven candidates they will run. It was in this independent activity that any new beginnings for the South have been laid.

PUTTING THE FACTS STRAIGHT

One of the founders of the Lowndes County, Alabama, Christian Movement for Human Rights, Mrs. Lillian McGill, recently visited Detroit. She felt that the news media, with the aid of some Negro politicians and leaders, has been distorting the true situation, and her aim was to put the facts straight.

There has been a great deal of discussion over why the Negroes in Lowndes County said they would "boycott" the Democratic Party primaries. "It was impossible to run candidates on the Democratic Party ticket," said Mrs. McGill. "For one thing, as soon as the Negroes started to register, the fee for filing was raised 900%. For us to file 12 candidates would cost us \$3,800. To gain control of some of the offices in our county, it was absolutely necessary for us to form our own organization."

The Lowndes County Freedom Organization, whose symbol is a Black Panther, is not yet a party. It will not be recognized as a party and put on the ballot for the fall elections until it can prove that it has 20% of the voters in that county. "That is one of the most important reasons we cannot vote in the Democratic primaries," she said. "If a Negro votes in the Democratic primary, he can be prevented from voting in the 'primaries' that our own organization intends to hold to choose our own candidates and get on the ballot."

BLACK PANTHER SYMBOL

This is something that the news media has never made clear. Instead, they have played up the Black Panther symbol. "They are trying to imply that we are black nationalists. We are not. We would have been glad to listen to any whites that cared to come and work with us. None did. That is why all our candidates are black. We have asked many whites in the county, poor working class whites to join in with us, to join our party, and to help bring about a complete change in the policies of our land."

"Many of us are just beginning to see how really dirty is this game of politics," she added. "There is one factory in the county, for instance, which was recently completed. They have been made tax free for 30 years. If some Negroes had been in office in this county, there is no doubt that this factory owner would have been made to pay his taxes like everyone else. Can you imagine how many schools, how many roads, how many parks, how many playgrounds those taxes would help to build?" Most Negroes feel sure that, instead, Gov. Wallace and some county officials are getting the profits from whatever deal was transacted to keep that factory tax-free.

There are 86 families who own 90% of the land in Lowndes County. There are over 50 families who have already been forced to move off their plantations just for exercising their constitutional rights to register to vote.

"When we speak of 'power,'" said Mrs. McGill, "we mean we are going to have a voice in the future affairs of our county. We want to have freedom for every man, woman and child. We want to have a free hand in determining the future course of Lowndes County, not all black or all white, but all free. We want Lowndes County to be a place where the lives of the people will no longer be determined by the white power structure, but by the people themselves."

Editorial Article

ARE THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HEADED TOWARD WAR?

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman, National Editorial Board

The labour unions of South Vietnam gave the anti-American struggle there an altogether new quality by the May 1st march on the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. In China, on the other hand, Chou En-lai's welcome to the Albanian delegation was distinguished, not by its attack on U.S. imperialism, but by the virulence of its attack directed against Russia. Thus we see that, just as the United States' imperial designs in Vietnam blind it to any aspect of the Sino-Soviet conflict other than that it allegedly gives the U.S. "a free hand" in its barbarous war, so Mao's China narrows all world crises, including the Vietnam war, to its own conflict with Russia.

Neither source casts any illumination on the true state of the Vietnam war, much less whether it is leading to a war of the United States with China, or with Russia, or both—or a war of China against Russia. To disentangle the contradictory statements and the contradictory actions, we need to discern the global aims of each.

"COMMUNIST INFILTRATION"

The White House, the Pentagon, the State Department—all have an easy answer to everything happening in Vietnam: "Communist infiltration." The Buddhist leadership of the six weeks long demonstrations against that admirer of Hitler and protege of President Johnson, General Ky, was "Communist infiltrated."

When the Buddhists called off the demonstration, but university students in Dalat continued with their demonstrations, those were "Communist infiltrated."

When the labor unions march against inflation and for an end to the war, too, these are, "of course," "Communist infiltrated." Needless to say the same charge is levelled against the Buddhist students for distributing leaflets, appealing for "peace, independence, national sovereignty and labor rights."

And, though the Catholics are the "good guys" when they march in support of the military clique, they, too, are "Communist infiltrated" when the lay Catholic journals are even mildly critical. Thus Song Dao and Hanh Trinh were suppressed last year long before the underlying discontent of all segments of the South Vietnamese population burst into the open in these mass demonstrations in Danang, in Hue, in Saigon—and in the tens and tens of thousands in the countryside who evade the draft because they consider this war to have become one for the recolonization of their country by U.S. imperialism.

THAT SAUDUST GENERAL KY

In truth, it was America's military puppet, General Ky, and not "Communist infiltration," which very nearly resulted in genocide of a nation by its own military clique. It was Ky who was bent on re-enacting the worst days of the Diem regime when Mme. Nhu, in her own savage fashion, declaimed: "I would clap at seeing another monk barbecue show," Ky's way of showing that he was not only the power "behind" the throne, but the front man himself, was to substitute for "clapping hands," the order that marines be flown to Danang, "to liberate" it from "Communist infiltrators!"

The American military obliged by transporting these storm troopers to the city that dared resist LBJ's latest protege. Had it not been for the actions of the Vietnamese people, the shock of (Continued on page 5)

"This is the way to the West, isn't it?"

We Need Your Help to Maintain News & Letters

In the past year News & Letters has become more and more widely used as a weapon in the struggles that are raging all over this land for a new, truly human society.

- In Maryland, where Negroes have organized a Freedom Union to end 35 cent an hour wages once and for all . . .
- In Detroit, where highly organized auto workers have been trying to get control of the union back in the hands of the rank and file . . .
- In the Deep South, where Negroes have been living through a bitter winter in Tent Cities, rather than give up their fight to register . . .
- In Delano, California, where the grape pickers have been waging the greatest agricultural strike of modern times.

"Reporting like yours has broken through the blackout that California newspapers tried to impose," the Farm Workers Press recently wrote us. "Now news of the strike and the conditions that caused it have spread all across the country."

When the story of the Baltimore Freedom Union appeared on the front page of our March issue, we received a letter from one of the civil rights workers who helped to organize the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union last spring. "I want to congratulate you on your coverage and accuracy . . . you have done a real service," he wrote. "I hope you will send copies to the various locals in Mississippi, Tennessee, and Maryland. Communication between these groups is often very poor and for some, your March issue will give a sense of hope where there must be little now."

Our Appeals for help for the Negroes, workers and youth who have been organizing the unorganized and building the freedom movement have been gratifying in their results. But the more popular News & Letters has become, and the wider our circulation has grown—the poorer we ourselves have become.

Every issue of our paper now costs approximately \$360 to print. Our entire staff—both full-time and part-time—works on a voluntary basis. But postage, office rent, and supplies cost another \$150 per month. We are supported entirely by the contributions and subscriptions of members and friends.

TO CONTINUE, WE NEED YOUR HELP!

NEWS & LETTERS, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich.

Enclosed find my contribution of for the News & Letters Fund to help continue its regular publication.

Name

Address, State

City, Zip Code

British Labor Party Aims Attack Against Striking

By Harry McShane

Glasgow, Scotland — The danger is not generally recognized, but the workers of Britain are faced with the most serious attack on their rights for more than a hundred years. The leaders of both the Labour and Tory Parties are so conditioned by the world of votes that they fail to see that, sooner or later, anti-strike legislation will bring the workers and the Government into the most serious conflict in the history of this country.

If the leaders of the main parties in the general election think they can stop the workers from using the strike weapon to improve their conditions, they had better think again. The use of bullets and the hangman's noose failed to stop strikes in the past and neither Wilson nor Heath will be able to stop them in the future. They will, however, make every strike a political strike. They should know what that means.

SLAVERY REARS

The worker lives by selling his labour power which he cannot, try as he may, separate from himself. He is at the bidding of whoever employs him. To prevent the workers, either individually or collectively, from withdrawing his labour is to impose slavery. It is fundamental that the workers — and no one else — should decide the conditions in which they will work. Who can say otherwise?

They tell us that it is only unofficial strikes they want to stop. Why should they ban one kind of strike and permit another? The

fact is that they want to ban strikes of all kinds, but hope that by means of bribes in the forms of honours and appointments to boards, the trade union leaders will avoid official strikes. It is proposed to use them to stamp out unofficial strikes. Some of them are more than willing to do so.

Had it not been for unofficial action by the workers, the wage level would be much lower than at present. The rank and file, by taking action, have forced their leaders to take a firmer stand on wages and conditions. With the experience of a century and a half the British workers know that only by militant and determined action can conditions be improved.

STRIKE RIGHT WON

The right to strike was won by struggle against viciousness on the part of employers, and legislation by Parliament. Our fellow workers in other parts of the world have, in recent months, ignored the call of the employers and their governments and gone on strike.

Our right to strike, as they have done, must be protected. Mistakes made in strikes can be avoided in the future by building a real rank and file movement. This is not to the liking of the leaders but it is the way forward.

The Government would like to make strikes the most serious crime on the calendar. It is no crime to strike. The writer of this article was involved in many unofficial strikes and never suffered a pang of conscience. Whether it be legal or otherwise, the workers must take such action as will enable them to determine the conditions of labour.

From Phila. to N.Y.

Easter-Passover Peace Walk Meets Mixed Public Reaction

Philadelphia, Pa. — The Easter-Passover Walk for Peace from Philadelphia to New York City started from Independence Hall on Tuesday morning, April 5, at 9:30 a.m. Between 35 and 40 persons started the walk and the number varied as some dropped out and others joined.

The walk was sponsored by five organizations: the Committee for Nonviolent Action, the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Friends Peace Committee, and the Students for Non-violence.

The first day of the walk was relatively uneventful. Heckling was sporadic, with the exception of one hostile woman and an equally hostile dog. A general meeting was held that night to teach us how to use nonviolent defense to cope with potentially dangerous situations that might occur during the walk, but the only injury that occurred along the entire walk occurred during these role playing sessions when Ray Delling got carried away and accidentally injured one of the demonstrators.

FIRST HECKLING OCCURS

Wednesday was also a rather uneventful day until the walkers reached Fallsington. At Fallsington, the walkers split into two groups. The first group distributed leaflets at the Levittown shopping center, announcing a public meeting at the William Penn Center where we were staying. It was at the Center that trouble occurred.

About 35 youths met the walkers and hurled insults, eggs, and anything they could think of. One sign was torn, another partially

burned. The public meeting was also marred by heckling. After the meeting many of the youths who had been at the center earlier came back to harass the group. However, the walkers invited them inside where discussions ensued.

The next day, at Trenton, Ellen Wertheim of CNVA/Phila. and Larry Teitelbaum of Washington, D.C. left the walk to speak before a class at the Woodrow Wilson High School in Levittown. Reaction to the Walk again was favorable except for one incident at a shopping center when a few more eggs were thrown.

Saturday was the most difficult day of the entire walk. While many people greeted us warmly and a man driving a bakery truck gave us a loaf of bread, the walk was marred by numerous incidents of hostility. I myself recall at least seven instances where eggs were thrown at us, two in a town called Cranford, the rest in Elizabeth and Newark. (In Cranford, we recovered six of the eggs and had them for breakfast the next morning.)

On Sunday morning we walked to the Holland Tunnel where we were bussed through to New York. At Washington Square we were met by 90 persons from the New York Workshop in Nonviolence, and walked up Fifth Avenue to Bryant Park where we were supposed to hold a public meeting, but were prevented from doing so by the police who would not grant us a permit.

Instead, we held a 15 minute silent vigil on the sidewalk and the meeting concluded with a speech by Bradford Lytle of CNVA. Perhaps this essay could best be summed up by what Brad said: "A walk is always a beginning; it shows the progress of mankind toward a better world."

News & Letters Members to Test N.J. Law

New York, N.Y. — Two members of the Columbia University News & Letters group, aided by the N.J. Civil Liberties Union, are testing a Mahwah, N.J., law requiring a permit to distribute their paper to workers at the local Ford plant. They claim the law violates their right of free speech.

Recently they applied to the Mahwah police department for permits, but did so under protest. Aided by a N.J. American Civil Liberties Union lawyer, Seymour Goldstaub, they will test the law in court.

NEW REGULATION

A new regulation, adopted in Mahwah despite a protest by Goldstaub, requires the following of anyone who wishes to distribute leaflets, handbills or papers: 1) a \$5 fee; 2) a set of fingerprints; 3) height, weight, place of employment and place of residence for the past three years; 4) criminal record; 5) description of the material to be distributed. Anyone with a "criminal" record is automatically barred from distributing.

Since each member of a group must have a permit, this law hits the local union — and especially rank-and-file groups within it — very hard. If ten workers want to leaflet over a union election, it will cost them at least \$50. They same goes for local politicians. Moreover, if you have been arrested — as have civil rights and anti-war demonstrators, NEWS & LETTERS people included — you can't get a permit. It makes free speech a privilege to be granted by the police, not a right.

NEWS & LETTERS has been distributed at Fords in Mahwah off and on for years. Last October, however, members of the committee were evicted from the parking lot by company guards and then picked up by local police when they tried to distribute on a public highway near the plant.

OLD LAW INVOKED

The police told them they had to have a permit (under a 1937 law), and suggested they were "Commies" and "Beatniks," among other things. They immediately contacted the ACLU, who referred them to lawyer Goldstaub.

Mahwah is a predominantly white, middle-class, Republican community. The Ford plant employs over 5,000 workers, including many Negroes, but most of them live in New York or urban New Jersey and drive to work.

FREE SPEECH VIOLATION

When Goldstaub contacted the town attorney to inform him the old law was unconstitutional, he discovered that the town was

planning a new, even stronger law after the incident at the Ford plant. He protested vigorously at the meeting of the Township Committee, saying "This ordinance comes close to prior censorship of free speech." It passed 4-1. One committee-woman declared it would keep "unsavory persons" out of town.

The ordinance has provisions covering peddling and soliciting as well, and thus would appear to require the Boy Scouts, the Republican Party and the Cancer Fund to register and be finger-printed. Fingerprints are sent to the FBI.

Mahwah police, called afterwards to ask if a permit was required, replied "It depends. What are you giving out?" If this is any indication, enforcement of the new law may perhaps be limited to groups of whom the police disapprove. The ACLU and NEWS & LETTERS will continue their protest.

Big Anti-War Demonstration Gains Much Sideline Support

New York, N.Y. — On March 26 a march was held down 5th Avenue in Manhattan as a protest against American policies and presence in Vietnam. Approximately 30,000 people marched and several thousands more stood along the street applauding the marchers.

There were several things new about this demonstration that participants in the anti-war movement noticed. This was the first demonstration where there were more, overwhelmingly more, onlookers applauding us

than heckling us. Even the police were polite. Those opposed to us were much quieter than ever before and there was less violence than previously on demonstrations of this size.

HOPES AND SADNESS

To someone who has protested against the atrocity of this senseless war for a long time, this demonstration gave rise to both hope and sadness. The size of this local protest was the same as the national one held in Washington, D. C. on April 15, 1965. While that demonstration was composed mostly of students and intellectuals, this one had many more middle-aged and elderly people. These facts prove that more people were being reached and shown the wrongness of the war. They show that our demonstrations have not been totally ineffectual.

However, the makeup of the demonstration puts a damper on optimism. The people of America who are most hurt by the billions of dollars being turned into blood and wreckage in Vietnam, the people of the urban ghettos, the black people North and South, striving for human dignity, and the people of the factories, these people have not been shown how they are being hurt by the war.

Most of the black people there were students. The Trade Unionists for Peace is very active but still small. This, and other demonstrations, shows that the intellectual community and the urban white-collar class are being mobilized, at least partially. But only if the people on the lower economic rungs, the people of America who are still struggling, are mobilized, only then can the cruelty of Vietnam be ended and the door of progress in America be opened.

DIVERTED EFFORT

As long as so many billions of dollars are being shunted to Vietnam, poverty in America cannot be conquered. As long as big business is pulling in enormous profits from this undeclared war, the political influence of labor is being undermined. And as long as the attention of the American people is being concentrated on Vietnam, the civil rights movement is being slowed down.

Despite the increase in numbers of people demonstrating against the war, our government continues its vicious destruction of Vietnam at an even greater pace. The demonstrations are important. Opposition must be kept alive and loud. But they are not enough. Unless those Americans who have the most to lose speak out, there is no hope of peace without destruction.

C. S.

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First Victory For Maryland Freedom Union

By RAY FORD

Baltimore, Md.—In three months, the Maryland Freedom Union has taken on dimensions that even those who formed it never expected. Requests have come into the office from all over the city of Baltimore from workers asking to be organized—far more than we can yet handle.

At present the union is involved in a drive to organize the retail stores in two of the main business areas of the ghetto. Both areas were surveyed for a month by members of the local SDS chapter, who formed a Student Committee to support the MFU. After all reports were in, we decided to start with one chain of two stores in the ghetto and two in lily-white neighborhoods.

Two weeks ago we started talking to the workers in the two ghetto stores. These workers made only 70 cents an hour, have no days off or any other benefits, and were receptive to the things the union offered them. We gave them authorization cards to sign, which recognized the MFU as their bargaining agent. After a majority of the workers had signed up, they presented their demands at noon on Friday, April 22, to the owner, Mr. Silverman, and gave him until noon Monday to answer them.

At the same time, organization of a different type was going on, to get community support. The Student Committee made up a list of churches and organizations in the target area, and the job of contacting them was begun. It entailed meetings with them at all times of the day and night, explaining the MFU and telling them what they could do to help the Freedom Labor Movement. A boycott council representing at least 60 churches and organizations resulted.

On Monday, Mr. Silverman answered with a strong and emotional: NO! The rest of the day was spent contacting the boycott council and ghetto people for the

picket lines. Promptly at 8 o'clock Tuesday morning, there were 30 pickets outside his larger store on Pennsylvania Ave., singing and shouting for freedom.

The cops arrived promptly, their riot squad emblems displayed proudly for all to see. They recited well-practiced ordinances to the pickets—who ignored them completely except to include them in the next round of songs and chants.

At noon, half the picket line went to the other store on Gay St. When a small fire accidentally occurred next to Silverman's store, one member of the line saw an opportunity to use it and shouted, loud enough for both the cops and press to hear, "If you don't let us earn, then we burn." The cops went into action to harass the line, but we kept on marching while our picket captain recited the Constitution of both the country and the state to show we had the right to picket.

Around 5 p.m., Mr. Silverman contacted us to say that he would like to open negotiations—after a futile attempt to buy off the workers with more money. The line quit at 6 p.m. and negotiations began. They lasted far into the night before they broke down.

On Wednesday morning, promptly at 8, the lines were back at both stores, and this time with even more people from the community participating. The day happened to be delivery day for supplies, and every truck that came to make a delivery was turned back.

At 2 p.m., we pulled a trump card by putting up a third picket line at one of his stores in the white community. There was reaction to this line at 36th St. as soon as it was formed. One fine citizen started spitting on our cars and letting air out of the tires. The police assigned to patrol us were very hostile. They threatened us with arrest, even joined the whites in jeering. Around 7 o'clock the mob started throwing rocks, bottles and other objects at the line, and the cops did nothing to stop them. Fortunately, Mr.

Silverman gave in before anyone was injured badly.

After only two days of picketing, a 100 per cent effective boycott, and the beginning of a third line, the Maryland Freedom Union won its first agreement on Wednesday, April 27. The agreement was signed by MFU president, Vivian Jones, and Mr. Silverman, and contract negotiations were set to start May 9.

With this first victory, the firm support of the Negro community, and high hopes, the MFU is on its way to making all workers who slave for rotten management truly free. But we cannot continue the fight without help. Please send whatever you can contribute to:

MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION
322 N. Shroeder St.
Baltimore, Md. 21223

On the Line

Safety Committee Could Correct Danger in Plant

By John Allison

The almost total lack of safe conditions in the auto shops can be seen every time you turn around. There isn't a worker who can't point to a dozen things being done dangerously at any time of day or night at the Chrysler Highland Park plant.

There are all kinds of signs up in the plant that tell you to work safe. But there is not one sign saying "Watch Out For Moving Vehicles." Yet there are jitneys, tractor trucks, bicycles and supervisor's scooters that are whizzing down work aisles and around corners all the time.

SPEED, SPEED, SPEED

Before, supervisors and other management personnel walked

from line to line, but the speed-up in the plant didn't leave them alone — now they speed around in these different kinds of vehicles. Of course, if you're just a management flunky, you get a bicycle; the big wheels get the scooters.

Most of this equipment is power driven and workers are expected to look out for all of this rolling machinery that comes at you without warning. Main aisles are always busy with movement of one kind or the other.

Management has been unwilling to see this problem. When a worker is hurt by a jitney, the old game starts: the worker is guilty or the driver is guilty, never the corporation.

DANGER EVERYWHERE

Stock is piled up high and wide, leaving little space for jitneys to travel. But jitney drivers are always being pushed to hurry up, to keep the stock rolling to supply the production line in a building that wasn't designed to handle the amount of stock that is needed on an automated production line.

There are no expressways in the factory, but foremen expect drivers to move like there are. This is dangerous and all workers know it. There is another practice that presents many hazards to workers, and this is pushing jitneys to get them started.

A BAD PRACTICE

After running these things for 24 hours without recharging batteries, they wear out and the jitney can't be started in the morning. This is a time when there is a lot of moving around and getting set up for work, with bosses and workers yelling. If a jitney won't start, the foreman calls over another jitney that has started and orders the driver to push the other jitney to get it started.

Now to start a jitney this way, you have to get up quite a bit of speed, and neither of the jitneys can be controlled very well by the drivers in this situation. So the two jitneys go barreling down an aisle, and workers often have to leap out of the way to keep from being hit. There is no excuse for this kind of practice, and it should be absolutely stopped. A safety committee could do something about things like this.

NEED SAFETY COMMITTEE

The union simply has to do something about these unsafe conditions; it has to see the need for a safety committee to take an honest look at the conditions in the plant and set up safety standards to protect workers.

Papers nowadays are full of news about auto safety, about people being slaughtered on the highways because cars are unsafe. A big part of the problem is right there in the plant. With the speed-up of the line that no worker can possibly keep up with, who can expect the things that are called for under present engineering requirements to be met? You just can't do everything that should be done and do it properly.

The corporation should start in their own plants where the cars are made to correct the conditions of work — not only on the cars, but also in the places where the men work putting out the cars.

Grape Strikers Win

Schenley Recognizes Union

Delano, Calif.—In Los Angeles on April 6, Schenley Corporation signed an agreement with Cesar Chavez of the National Farm Workers Association recognizing the NFWA as the bargaining agent for all its field workers.

The agreement destroyed, once and for all, the lies of the other growers about the strike. Schenley had been badly hurt by the strike and the boycott, and was eager to sign a contract and end the strike. Now other growers, especially DiGiorgio, the biggest of all, are squirming like snakes, trying to escape from the FWA eagle.

BULLETIN

The Southern California Teamsters Joint Council, of over 100,000 members, has announced full and formal support of the National Farm Workers Association's boycott of DiGiorgio grape products. It is the first major boycott action ever called by the Teamsters' council, whose pickets will join those of NFWA in the drive to get union recognition for grape workers.

DiGiorgio has called for scab elections among its skeleton crew of winter employees (foremen and crew bosses). The NFWA and AWOC have refused to attend this scab election and are demanding that DiGiorgio

submit to free elections of their striking employees.

ANOTHER GROWER SIGNS

Less than a week after the giant Schenley corporation gave in to the striking farm workers, another major grape grower signed an agreement with Cesar Chavez. The Christian Brothers, makers of Christian Brothers Wine, own a big winery and hundreds of acres of land in the Napa Valley (outside of the strike zone). They announced that their field workers would be protected by the N.F.W.A., and that a written contract would be signed within a few weeks.

Chavez made a speech announcing the victory and said to the cheering crowd, "After a fight like this, we are certainly not going to settle for \$1.40." He then spelled out the union demands — routine conditions for industry — but revolutionary for farm workers. "When a worker gets sick and has to leave his job," Chavez said, "he's not going to get fired for it."

"As for labor contractors," Chavez continued, "they are out. In the future there is going to be no room for them. The profession of labor contractor is a dead one."

No more will foremen be allowed to insult women workers. No worker will be fired without just cause. And most important, the FWA strikers will elect their own leaders who will sit down as equals with the Schenley bosses and negotiate wages and working conditions.

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EDITORIAL**Miners' Wildcat A Lesson In Unity**

Coal miners went out on a wildcat strike as soon as they found out about the terms of the new contract unanimously approved by the National Policy Committee of the United Mine Workers of America and signed by UMWA President "Tony" Boyle with the first coal company on April 8.

While there was one provision of the contract the rank-and-file miners violently objected to, the strike was much more an expression of their long and growing opposition to their conditions of work. It is work marked by the never-ending drive of bosses for more and more coal; by speed-up demanded by the continuous miner; and by the complete lack of any concern for safety on the part of the coal operators.

WAGE DISCRIMINATION ISSUE

The contract provision the miners objected to dealt with wage discrimination: the contract called for continuous miner operators, mechanics and electricians to get a \$1.32 daily raise effective immediately, with another dollar increase next year, while the rest of the miners would get no raise this year, but a dollar increase next year.

What the miners correctly saw was that this was an attempt to artificially create a skilled worker division in the UMWA, and they fought against it because they know of hostility and friction that so often exists between skilled and production workers in other industries.

It is a fact that one of the greatest strengths of the miners is that there is no great spread between the lowest and highest pay. It amounts to about \$3 a day, or the difference between \$28 and \$31 per day.

DANGER SHARED BY ALL

This is the exception to most industries, where differences often amount to \$10 or more a day. The reason miners feel there should be no great difference is because of the very dangerous nature of coal mining: every miner faces the same danger underground. There is not one miner who goes into the mine at the beginning of the shift who can say he is sure that he will be alive by the time his shift ends.

Miners know they get relatively high wages because of the daily possibility of death they face, and they have a very high regard for human life. Their reasoning is simple and sure: no one man's life is worth more than another's.

Miners have also seen the continuous miner come into the mines and the men go out. They have seen their ranks cut by Automation from some 450,000 miners 15 years ago to some 100,000 today. When the press reports there has been no strike in coal mines since 1950, they are talking about authorized strikes. There have been thousands of wildcat strikes during this period—both large and small—and virtually every one of them against conditions of work, against the inhuman speed-up of the continuous miner.

ROVING PICKETS CLOSE MINES

The new contract gave them another opportunity, and they gleefully took it. Roving picket caravans snaked through the hills of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky—the nation's coal heartland—and closed virtually every operating coal mine.

It was easy to do, not only because miners were against the contract, but also because of the strong strike tradition they fiercely guard. Two men are recognized as a picket line by miners, and the one thing they will not do is cross a picket line.

Within a few days, some 60,000 miners were out on strike. They stayed out for three weeks; ignored Boyle's telegrams to return to work; and forced him to renegotiate the wage provision whereby the rest of the miners also got a \$1 a day pay raise immediately, along with the \$1.32 for the other three classifications.

OTHER GAINS IN CONTRACT

There were other gains, including eight paid holidays a year, with triple-time to be paid for work on the holidays (this is the first time miners got paid holidays); an increase in vacation pay, from a previous standard of \$225 for two weeks to 10 times the daily wage of each miner; a provision that all work done in connection with a mine be done by UMWA members to eliminate outside contract work; a district-wide seniority agreement for miners laid off by a company in one mine to have the right to be hired in another of the company's mines before new men are hired; second and third shift wage differentials of eight and ten cents per hour; and payment for jury duty and for time spent by safety committee men during inspections of mines during investigations of explosions or other disasters.

These were improvements long overdue, and the miners naturally wanted them. But they were not willing to exchange a few fringe benefits for the price of unity. Once again, it has taken the rank-and-file to educate their so-called leaders about the important things in miners' lives.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

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THE ANTI WAR MOVEMENT

Johnson's policy is going a long way towards making the U.S. the most hated nation in the world. Last night, the BBC showed the build-up of American forces and equipment and raised the question of whether the U.S. ever intended leaving Vietnam, and claimed that it was base for war against China. Some of the Tories, during the election campaign, worked in some anti-Americanism when dealing with the Common Market. This is unusual for Tories, but De Gaulle seems to have set the pattern for some of them.

Here in Britain, we will see a revival of anti-Americanism with little being said about Labour's support for American policy. Wilson is in the position to hand out favours. It is difficult to visualize how the situation will end. It does not look as if Johnson is likely to retreat. That will depend on what is done by the opposition forces in America.

Correspondent
Britain

We set up a table at the teach-in at UCLA and distributed copies of the Marxist-Humanist with reprints from the N&L editorial in the Feb. issue. We sold copies of Marxism and Freedom and News & Letters.

This teach-in was larger than the last one. There was more organization to it, more literature distributed, and all the tendencies were there. (The right wing had a teach-out, at which Yorty spoke.)

The speakers were almost all just "anti-USA" but the discussion sessions afterwards were important. The two most interesting speeches were those of Herbert Marcuse, the philosopher, and Fanny Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—which happened to follow one another. The most interesting thing to me was that the philosopher, Marcuse, gave an almost completely "economic" speech — while Fanny Lou Hamer gave the only philosophic, humanistic speech of the whole day.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

President Johnson insulted the intelligence of the American housewife and working people generally when he advised us to combat inflation by not buying items that are unreasonably high-priced. How stupid does this wheeler-dealer think we are? Does he think working people can ever ignore prices when they buy?

He should take his own advice and stop buying items this country cannot afford — like the war in Vietnam, and the ability to blow up the world nobody knows how many times!

His remarks showed how isolated this member of the Washington elite really is from the thinking of the people. They rival, so far as I am concerned, the remark attributed to Marie Antoinette to the hungry people of France — to eat cake, since they didn't have bread. (She said that, if I remember correctly, just before the French Revolution.)

Reader
Florida

Readers'**LABOR AND NEGRO**

Your efforts to unite the civil rights and labor movement in our country interest me greatly. Basically our objectives seem identical.

We have been conducting voter registration and political education schools to provide information in how to use the voting machines, how to choose candidates, how to fill out income tax and social security forms, how to fill out job applications and government forms.

We recently conducted a Freedom Walk to demand the following: Do away with the all-black, all-white schools in Mobile County; Too long has the black child graduated without Negro history, but only to picks and shovels, maids and janitors. We demand trades now; We come to bear pressure for federal money, federal programs, for black and white together; We want an end to Jim Crow education, high rental fees and low income salaries, NOW.

Freedom Fighter
Mobile, Alabama

NEW LEFT IN JAPAN

I am a Japanese student. I am very poor, but I am struggling. I read your great publication Alienation and Revolution. "The Root of Mankind is Man" is the root of my radical philosophy. You wrote in this book what I had felt in my actual life.

I wish to shake your hand, and I would like to have all your publications. Please send me your paper News & Letters and all your pamphlets. Down with Stalinism! Down with Imperialism! Neither Moscow nor Washington, but International Socialism!

When you say, "One truth stands out: everywhere the masses were in motion, and, from below, there was a dynamism of ideas unmatched in grandeur by the movement from theory that is bound to an elitist 'vanguard party,'" no one is truer than you.

Y.S., Japanese Student
Osaka, Japan

You should be congratulated on your February issue for putting the Japanese New Left on the map of the United States and thus forcing the American New Left to face the challenge of ideas—Marxist ideas and not just "single and multiple issues."

Young New Left
San Francisco

I was very glad to read the article by the Japanese auto worker. Factory problems don't seem to change with international boundaries.

Auto Worker
Detroit

So Waseda University also had a strike. Hurrah! If only we could time it so that theirs and ours would coincide next time, perhaps we'd move closer to some truly revolutionary changes than what we did with our sit-in here last year.

Student
Berkeley

Editor's Note: See article from Waseda p. 6.

I wonder whether it would be possible to work out some closer relations between the New Left in Japan and here. Do you suppose it would be possible to start an international discussion bulletin?

Intellectual
New York

Editor's Note: Zenshin does publish an international bulletin in English (but irregularly). For information, write: Zenshin 1-50 Ikebukuro-shi, Toshima-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

All sorts of firings are occurring at the hospitals where we are attempting to organize the hospital workers. One Negro was fired for union activity, and one white for both union activity and for "associating with Negroes!"

Organizer
New Jersey

THE NEGRO REVOLT — NORTH, SOUTH & WEST

So incomprehensible was it to the press that the students here had organized the walkout at Northern High School completely on their own, that they credited the local CORE chapter for "planning" it. The story was nothing short of ludicrous to anyone who was at the CORE meeting the night the students came to ask for CORE's support.

While the CORE chapter was enthusiastic about the idea, so little did the students trust anyone but themselves that after reading the censored editorial, all they would reveal was that they intended to "do something," but that they could not reveal exactly what that was. All they wanted to know, they said, was "When we do what it is we are going to do, will you support us?" CORE's help was confined pretty much to briefing the students in the proper procedures for picketing, and checking their picket signs.

CORE Activist
Detroit

Editor's Note: See story, p. 7.

White people don't like the idea of a Freedom Party in the South. They worry that the black people want to take over the power and rule this nation. The white people have had it so long by themselves, they cannot stand the thought that we may put some of our own black people in the seats of government to speak for our people. The white man has had an all white country for so long that he is afraid the Negroes may want to have an all black country.

They think the Negroes should understand that they can't come up from slavery

Views

and be over the whites. Some think that Negroes must never change their way, that they must continue to be bossed around like animals and led by their noses.

But the Negroes are changing their ways — and they are going to be changing the ways of the white man too. They are working for that time when the Negro will no longer be the underdog for the white man, but when all kinds of people will judge and rule this old world in freedom.

Ethel Dunbar
Detroit, Mich.
* * *

They said the trouble here last month was because of a fight the night before between Mexicans and Negroes. I don't think so. It was a normal fight which happens often and would have blown over. I think it was the city officials and police who did more than anyone in causing trouble.

There was nothing happening on 103rd street until police came and drew a big crowd. The police blocked off the streets with barricades just before the high school let out for the day because they felt trouble would occur. It was only then that things began happening.

A crowd gathered to see why the police had blocked off the street. The police immediately came over to disperse them. First a Negro policeman came over, then a white officer shoved a billy-club in a girl's back and her boy friend slugged the policeman. I was right next to it and saw what occurred. It was then that the trouble began. A white teacher in a car came by and someone threw a rock into his windshield. Other people began throwing rocks at other cars.

The police now started coming in from everywhere. Then the TV people came and things began blowing up. The TV crews would draw a crowd and the police would immediately move in and order them to disperse.

There were police, police, police. They broke up any group of people. They told everyone to get off the street. I was by a market and seven police cars stopped, the police all got out and moved as a line down the street and marched back. They were taking no chances. They didn't give Watts a chance to breathe.

High School Student
Watts, California
* * *

The daily papers here gave me the impression that some people would really like to see the Mexican-American and the Negro minorities go at each other. They certainly did all they could to play it up as an issue between them. They claimed that the Mexican-American who was shot had knocked at several doors of Negroes who refused him help, but later a doctor said it would have been impossible for him to have done so.

Observer
Los Angeles

INDONESIAN TRAGEDY

The almost complete silence of the press on the bloodbath that has been going on in Indonesia is absolutely shocking. The beheading of the 6 generals during the attempted coup last October was horrifying, it is true — but the slaughter of close to 200,000 Indonesians in retaliation is nothing short of barbarism!

One columnist at least, Sulzberger in the New York Times, did describe what is going on as a country going amock — but his implication that it is because of their "backward" culture is really ludicrous. Indonesia was one of the first countries in the world to have a Socialist Party, a National Revolution, and a whole gamut of different kinds of political parties. That a country so rich in culture as this could be going through what Indonesia is suffering now at the hands of the military extremists shows to what depths of barbarism the world has sunk.

Intellectual
Boston

"OUR COUSINS"

Isaac and Ishmael
Were brothers, two.
So, why should an Arab
Hate his cousin, the Jew?
He should hate, instead
Those who instigate
And provoke him to war
Against the Judean State.
Drive the war mongers
Out of your lands
Calls the God of Abraham.
Obey His sacred commands.
Then we shall create
As in the glorious past
A new civilization
That will forever last.

—M.E. Ben-Ami
New York

IRISH REBELLION

The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Irish Rebellion has been taken over by the Establishment. What a contrast between those in power and the men who fought in 1916. Nevertheless, it was worth seeing. There was also an IRA demonstration at which the Establishment was criticised. But even so there is much to be desired.

None of them see, or want to see the international significance of the Easter rising. "Wrap the Green Flag Round the Boys" is as far as they want to see. Many of the types now celebrating were enemies of the rebels. It is hard to forget the burning down of the James Connally Labour College.

The great and overwhelming positive feature of the Rebellion was the fact that as a result the 26 counties finally established a republic. Ireland was the first country to win against British Imperialism. Yes, I know about America — but Britain was not then an IMPERIALIST Power.

Meanwhile I seemed to smell fear everywhere. The IRA people are courageous but fail to appreciate the seriousness of the social problem in the South. The poverty in the South will not attract many in the North to the idea of ending the border division. There is a move to take this up, but the "adventurist" policy is more attractive to these young men. They have great pride in their movement.

Correspondent
Ireland

BROOKS DEFENSE WINS

Your readers will no doubt be glad to know that Phillip Bentley Brooks the young Watts Negro who was charged with first degree murder for the slaying of a deputy sheriff (although the deputy had been shot by his own partner) has finally been exonerated of the charge. The state had a very weak case, as your article in the March issue stated. But they had kept this 23-year-old man—who had never had any juvenile or adult police record of any kind, who was married and the father of four small children, and whose only crime had been to stop for a red light at the intersection of Imperial and Wilmington—in jail for six full months after the Watts Revolt, without bail. Thanks for helping to spread the story of his defense.

Activist
Los Angeles
* * *

NO MARXISTS THEY

I have just had another look through the election material issued by the Communist Party. The transformation is incredible. There is no pretense about being Marxist. Cunningly enough, there is not one reference to Russia. They simply claim that they have a better programme than the Labour Party.

It says, "The Communist Party puts forward practical, immediate policies to solve the country's problems. Britain has all the resources to carry them out; and they could be operated within the lifetime of the coming Parliament."

Yet the works of Marx and Lenin are displayed in their bookshops. What hypocrisy!

H. McShane
Scotland
* * *

During the general election campaign, both the main parties promised to deal with unofficial strikes. The Tories said that Labour was not going far enough with the trade unions. Some unofficial strikers put some men on trial and fined them for not striking. They had, as symbol of disapproval, two ropes with nooses at the end of them. It being election time, there was great competition between the parties as to which could appear most shocked and indignant.

Wilson was reported as saying that talk of a proletariat is nonsense. All the papers made the point that Wilson had never read Marx. He is the leader of an orthodox party which is very different from the party that Lenin and Kautsky supported in 1908 when it applied for affiliation to the Socialist International.

Observer
Scotland
●

Notice to Subscribers

Due to circumstances beyond our control, the April issues of News & Letters did not appear. All subscriptions have therefore been extended for another issue of the paper, assuring that all subscribers will receive the correct number of issues to which they are entitled.

Are The United States And China Headed Toward War?

(Continued from page 1)
the world, and the disciplined semi-retreat of the Buddhist leaders, America's boundless ambition to destroy where it cannot dominate would have led to that stark tragedy being played out to its bitter end!

On the matter of the Buddhists, too, Ky and the American occupiers have shown the same disregard for truth as characterized the infamous Mme Nhu's description of their leader, Thich Tri Quang, as "a Red in yellow robes."

THE BUDDHISTS

The real question to be asked of Tri Quang is: why had he ordered the demonstration stopped just when the masses displayed such strength that they both compelled the loudmouth, Ky, to agree to elections and a civilian government and brought to a halt the awesome military might of the U.S.?

Why did Quang retreat when power lay at his feet?

Why did he call a halt to what both friend and foe agreed was the eve of a civil war?

Did he not thereby show that he, too, feared a social revolution, and wanted to channelize it into a mere pressure force that would allow him, "from a position of strength," to bargain, with all aspirants for power, foreign as well as domestic?

All we need to do to get the answers to these questions is to contrast the loud and unequivocal statements of Thich Tri Quang: "I never said that the U.S. should leave. But I am against U.S. actions that clearly benefit the Communists . . . the ideology they possess is much more dangerous than the guns they possess."

It is true that, where U.S. imperialism relies entirely on its military might, the Buddhists appreciate the power of ideas. The point is: What ideas do they fear?

Allegedly, it is religion, or rather lack of it, on the part of the Vietcong, that motivates the Buddhist opposition. In fact, it is uncertain as to which of the two powers in the Sino-Soviet conflict controls the dominant faction in the Vietcong — the Russians who may favor "neutrality" for Vietnam, or the Chinese who are all too eager to continue the war till the last Vietnamese? The Buddhist dilemma is compounded by the American never-ending escalation of the Vietnam war without regard to the possible consequences of a war with China or even triggering World War III.

Our double-tongued Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, for example, had no sooner issued statements about the need for new relations with China than he rushed to proclaim "no sanctuary" for Chinese planes; and this reckless provocation of an Asian war was done on the basis of a single pilot's statement that "possibly" a Chinese plane was involved in a dog fight over North Vietnam.

This may be the way a Milquetoast becomes a war hawk—and, clearly some hawks are itching for a war with China — but it is no way for a nuclear power "to gain the confidence" of those to whom it offers the protection of "a nuclear" umbrella.

Secretary of State Rusk should have learned at least that much from De Gaulle's protestations. But so preoccupied is American imperialism with the Vietnam war that it has deafened itself both to the "friendly" advice of a Western power, and even to the altogether new quality of the Sino-Soviet conflict and a possible new Franco-Russian alliance on Germany, still the key to the world situation.

The consensus that Johnson enjoyed when he won the presidency over Goldwater and the latter's policy of escalating the Vietnam war has long since dissipated itself. Not only does the youth oppose the Johnson war, engaging in everything from individually burning draft cards to mass demonstration, but the fourth of the nation, white and Negro, who are still ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-paid and ill-housed in this "affluent society" rightly look upon war expenditures as the monster devouring "the great society" that constantly eludes them. Although the anti-war opposition here assumes a different form, there is no doubt that this second America also opposes the Vietnam war.

Indeed, even some war hawks, like Senator Russell, are beginning to question the Vietnam misadventure and raise the question of a possible withdrawal. At the same time, the intellectual community both as a whole, and the part specializing in Chinese studies, are calling for a review of America's policy in China.

It is true that their arguments are not very likely "to win over policy makers," especially when they have no sooner declared that we should not discount a unified Russian-Chinese policy than Premier Chou En-lai unleashed a virulent attack on Russia. It is true, also, that actions speak louder than words, and even scholars must face the fact that U.S. bombing of North Vietnam is now a year old, and Russia and China have not once united to help their "socialist ally." Nevertheless in its own way, the intellectual community reveals how all sections of the population are permeated, through and through with anti-Vietnam war attitudes.

And, at the Vietnam end, the Buddhists worry why the American military is not worried over the bellicose attitude of the Chinese. Here, too, they show a superior knowledge to that of the American war hawks who seem to think that the virulence of the Sino-Soviet conflict will mean that Russia and China will war against each other. The Buddhists know how adept is the Sino-Soviet orbit, in or out of conflict, in experimenting with the lives of its "socialist allies."

THE SINO-SOVIET ORBIT

Consider, for example, how, at the negotiating table in Geneva, Vietnam was robbed of the victory it won at Dien Bien Phu. As against the Asian colonies, from India to Indonesia, who won their freedom from Western imperialism, Vietnam had to consent to a division of their country. This was so not because American imperialism was beginning to take over the role of French colonialism and running to create new imperialist realignment with SEATO, but because its "socialist allies"—Russia and China—then opted for "peaceful co-existence" with the West. And when "peaceful co-existence" with the West, following the Korean and Indo-chinese wars, led to conflict with the Sino-Soviet orbit, it still meant no peace for Vietnam; it now became a double pawn.

The delusion of American imperialism that the Sino-Soviet conflict means they will war with each other is on a par with the Chinese accusation that there is "possible coordination of Soviet actions in the north of China with aggressive war of the United States against the Chinese People's Republic."

The truth is that, whereas, in June, 1963, at the height of the ideological struggle between those two state-capitalist societies calling themselves Communist, China's challenge to Russia for (Continued on page 8).

YOUTH NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

Political Fighting in L.A. Paralyzes War on Poverty

The War on Poverty program in Los Angeles has turned into more and more political fighting with little money or aid going into the poverty communities. The absolute cleavage between the poverty area people and the appointed directors of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) can be seen in the events of the past few months.

After months of absolutely no representation of the poor (also after the Watts Revolt) the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) insisted on at least a minimum participation by the poor. An election for seven representatives from the poverty area (less than one-third of the total members of the EYOA) was held. This with little publicity, except the denouncing of such an election by Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, and little time to prepare.

CLEAR DIVISIONS

As a result only a small percentage of the poverty area turned out to vote. Nevertheless, even this small act of participation by the poor showed the division between the appointed directors of EYOA and the poverty communities.

On the two most crucial decisions that the EYOA has faced, the division in voting was precisely along the lines of the elected representatives from the poverty area versus the appointed officials. The two decisions are really one, and it revolves around the central issue for the whole poverty program: Is it by and for the poor?

The first division occurred over the firing of the director of the Neighborhood Adult Participation Program, (NAPP), Mrs. Opal Jones. The orientation of NAPP, while not being by the poor in the sense that civil rights work in the South has been, was

The Firing of Mrs. Opal Jones

The director of one of the local Poverty Program agencies, Opal Jones, was recently fired for "insubordination". She had called a conference to discuss better relations between Mexican-Americans and Negroes, but her superior called it off, whereupon all 300 workers in the Poverty Program marched to the Poverty Program office in protest — and Mrs. Jones was fired.

At a later rally called to protest the firing, CORE's director, Floyd McKissick, summed it up the best, when he said: "That's the way all the Poverty Programs in America are run — by the City Halls instead of by the people in the community. They say you should get together and write a program, but the minute you write one that includes the community it never gets passed. If you want a program passed you have to have two \$18,000, two \$12,000 and two \$8,000 a year jobs involved in it. There are guidelines that prevent any civil rights people from working in the program — if you have been arrested, or are interested in politics, you cannot be in it. That would leave out every civil rights worker in America."

The rally decided to fill the hearing room when a reinstatement for Jones was to be asked. What they got was a promise of a closed hearing. The vote on her reinstatement was 8 against, and 7 for. The 7 included the 6 elected community people and 1 Negro councilman. All Mayor Yorty appointees voted against reinstatement.

Disgusted
Los Angeles

nevertheless working on the community level.

Appointed directors of the EYOA, however, wanted NAPP to be a job referral agency only. Mrs. Jones objected and was fired by the executive director of the EYOA. The only members of the EYOA who objected to this were the newly elected poverty area members. (See article below).

The second division involved again the problem of participation by the poor. Because the EYOA has been fighting so much and is still resisting any participation by the poor, the OEO in Washington ordered a reorganization of the board which would allow any community over 100,000 in the Los Angeles area to establish its own agency and obtain its own funds.

This would have given communities a chance to get out from under the EYOA and perhaps have some participation by the poor. Again the appointed directors of the EYOA objected to the order and passed a resolution deplored the reorganization.

POOR WALK OUT

The only members who voted against the resolution were six elected representatives from the poverty areas who then walked out of the meeting and charged that the poor are unrepresented on the EYOA as they can be constantly outvoted.

The fights are still going on. The control of the poverty program is still not in the hands of the poor and the War on Poverty in Los Angeles continues to be a war on poverty people participation.

Unreported Events on D.C. Conference Told by Youth

Watts, Calif. — When we first got to Washington we had a great many ideas about all the changes that were going to occur as a result of the poverty conference. But when the meetings began, some Negro ministers and others with a little status in the community took over the meeting and began to use poverty as a status symbol.

Since these people had a little standing in their community, grass roots people did not speak out against them.

The conference developed into a competition between the leaders as to who had the worst poverty program. As a result no one submitted any constructive programs or ideas at the conference. This continued until the last day when Sargent Shriver was going to speak.

The people who had been running the conference booted Shriver off the floor. The real community people, while not supporting Shriver, did want to hear what he had to say.

We marched to the front and told the ministers and others that we were disappointed with the conference and held our own meeting next door. Some of the youth who were there got to

Wall Street Is Target of Demonstration

New York, N. Y. — On April 14, Youth Against War and Fascism called a demonstration against the stock market under the slogan, "Big Firms Get Rich — G.I.'s Die". When we arrived and set up a picket line across the street from the stock market, a boo went up from the spectators, who filled the entire street.

In spite of the unfriendly nature of this crowd, the police made no attempt to keep them at any distance from the picket line. After a short while the line was attacked by a small group of hecklers. It was not until the police saw that the hecklers were being driven back that they intervened.

DEFENSE GUARDS EFFECTIVE

It appeared for an instant that the demonstration would not be allowed to proceed. But the picket captains jumped out and shouted instructions to reform the line. The demonstration continued as a defense guard stood in the center of and extended the entire length of the line.

As the demonstrators walked to the subway a group of hecklers again crowded around and tried to attack them. The perimeter guard held them back until everyone had reached the subway in safety.

Perhaps the most disturbing part of this demonstration was the pose that the defense guard adopted: a line of men standing with clenched fists, daring anyone to attack them.

The defense seemed the only point. While spokesmen shouted slogans at reporters about "Big Business" and "Dying GI's", the war in Vietnam seemed almost irrelevant and I wondered if anybody remembered what we had come there for in the first place.

SLOGANEERING

The sloganeering lies at the heart of the problem. While this was an attempt to bring out the involvement of American capitalism in the war, it became no more than the physical expression of the old slogans about "bringing the fight to Wall Street".

gathered and decided they would have to do something themselves. We formed the National Youth United Against Poverty.

We got some publicity by making a tape for a local radio station. Sargent Shriver heard about our organization and immediately arranged for a meeting with us. Shriver asked us to submit our proposals, but when we did he was evasive on every proposal we submitted.

The proposals were: 51% representation of people from the poverty area on poverty boards; 10% of this 51% were to consist of youth. The Neighborhood Corp to be reorganized. Now it only puts petty cash in the pocket. There are only make-work jobs with no future. A Federal Anti-Poverty Board to be formed with 51% representation by poverty people and 10% of these people to be youth.

Shriver said that a Federal Anti-Poverty Board would be fine if his staff could pick the people to be on it. When he made this statement we knew that he did not want any grass roots changes in the program. He only wants those who would be loyal to his program. The youth are going to meet in Washington again this summer to organize ourselves.

Morris Taylor
Watts Youth Representative

There are many exploited mail clerks, office boys, etc. working in this area, most of whom are Negro and Puerto Rican. But they were not even present at the time the demonstration took place.

The hecklers, almost to a man, were the wealthy upper class stock broker and industrialist. Clearly the working people in the area did not feel any involvement with what we were doing.

QUICK LINE—LITTLE TO SAY

Y.A.W.F. has consistently refined and improved its tactics. I don't know any other group which could have maintained a picket line under these conditions so well; any other group which has actually gone into the stock market itself. When Vice-President Humphrey was speaking at a Press Association meeting, Y.A.W.F. managed to get no less than twenty people to picket outside on an hour-and-a-half's notice. No one else in the New York area could have organized a line so fast and no one else

would have had so little to say once they got there.

Up to this point the anti-war movement has not proved disciplined and imaginative enough to respond to every-day events and escalations as fast as Y.A.W.F. has. This often places anyone who wishes to express his commitment to the end of this war in terms of action with the choice of supporting their slogan or not being active at all.

This means that the movement often allows Y.A.W.F. the position of spokesman. I think this movement can do better.

—S. H., New York City

(Editor's note: It has recently come to our attention that the latest slogan of "Youth Against War and Fascism" supported the sentencing of the two "counter-revolutionary" Soviet writers, Sinavsky and Daniel to years at hard labor, after a sensational Moscow trial. This slogan requires no comment.)

Japanese Student Protest Parallels Berkeley Revolt

Background: During January and February student demonstrations took place at Waseda University, in Tokyo, Japan, to protest both a raise in tuition and the manner in which the student center was run. Students wanted, for example, more voice in the opening and closing hours, and the administration of the center's facilities.

Violating a long-standing rule in Japan that government powers cannot be allowed on the campus, the university administration, for the first time in history, requested police intervention in the demonstrations. Four times troops of armed riot police swarmed over the campus. Up to this time, even criminals have been able to find sanctuary on the university campus, and the university administration has preferred to handle any such incidents by themselves.

This year not only did the police rush to the campus, but on Feb. 16 they arrested two of the strike leaders, Oguchi and Fukuda, on a charge of "interfering with an officer in the execution of his duty." More than 20 other students were injured in the clash with the police.

On Feb. 22, no less than 203 more students were arrested and hauled off in police vans. An article in the Waseda University student paper describing the events charges that the police "over-ran the campus and arrested every student they could catch."

Below is a summarized translation of another article from the Waseda University paper, which discusses "The Suppression of the Student Struggles—What is the Central Problem?"

The reason behind the protest movement lies in the fact that the sharp increase in the tuition at Waseda University was not caused by a general increase in prices, but by the university's investment in equipment largely for the physical and industrial sciences. This investment was made because the fundamental policy of education at Waseda is aimed primarily at bringing the students up to a level where they will be competent for the international competition that is required by Japanese capitalism in the present economic system. This also means that the university administration must try to control various kinds of independent and autonomous student activities. The students of Waseda are fighting against such an Industry-University cooperative.

The administration claims that the arrests were made in order to ensure that the entrance examinations for new students, which were to take place after Feb. 24, would proceed smoothly. But the true reason for the intervention by the state-power in the affairs of the university was the desire to suppress the autono-

mous activity of the university, which is the center of the student movement in the metropolitan area.

When the university administration reasserted on Feb. 6 that the tuition raise would stand, and that the Student Struggle Conference could not be recognized as the proper representative of the whole student body, they tried to justify their position by saying that they were acting to protect the students from violence. They thus revealed that they felt the students had lost their independence, and were merely being agitated by the student activists. They also revealed their intention of denying any political activity to the students.

Most of the students had voiced their own opinions at two meetings that had been held. Their main concern was the present image that Waseda University presents—that is, that of a university damaged by a management-mentality, which has forgotten about education.

Our aim after these events should be to destroy the inhumanity in the university and rebuild it as a university full of life and human beings.

Special notice to our readers in Japan

The following News & Letters pamphlets are now available in Japanese translation:

The Law of Value and the Nature of the Russian Economy,

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Workers Battle Automation, by Charles Denby

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Order directly from: Zenshin, 1-50 Ikebukurohigashi, Toshima-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

Organize Freedom School**High School Students Protest Inferior Education**

Detroit, Mich.—The Northern High School students of this city made history last month when they spontaneously organized the first Freedom School of its kind—in the North—in protest against the de facto separate and unequal quality of education which has become typical of inner-city schools.

The Freedom School evolved during a four-day boycott of Northern High School by almost the entire 2300 student body, and coupled with the threat of sympathy strikes in 11 other inner-city high schools, ended in victory for the students when they won their immediate demand—the removal of the principal, Arthur Carty.

CENSORED EDITORIAL IS SPARK

The long-standing grievances of the students at Northern, almost all Negro, came to a head when a student editorial written for the school paper, which criticized the inequality of educational standards at predominantly Negro inner-city schools, was censored by the principal's office. On April 7, the day before school closed for the 10 day Easter recess, the entire student body staged a walk-out, picketing the school to draw attention to the severe problems existing at the school.

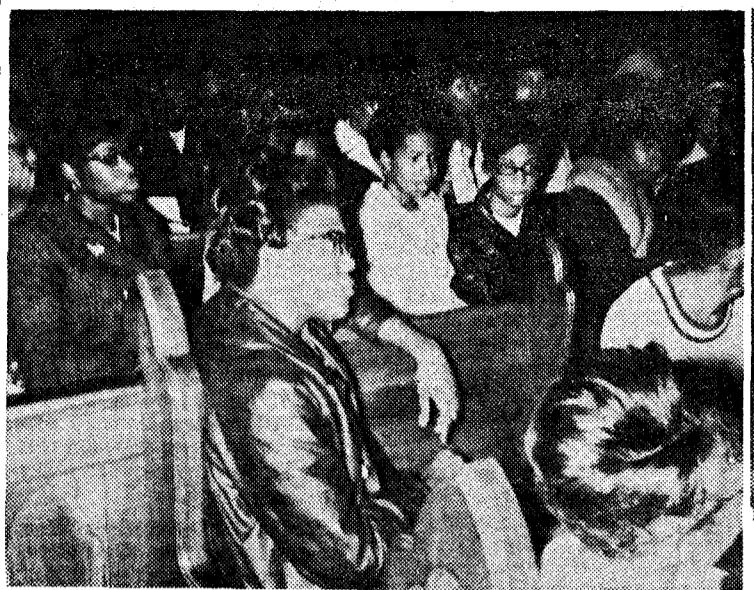
Detroit's Superintendent of the Schools, Dr. Samuel Brownell, "endorsed" the walk out, and everyone, including the daily press and TV, "praised" the students for their interest in a better education. Everyone thought the recess would provide a cooling-off period, and that the students had simply been blowing off steam—everyone, that is, except the students.

Far from cooling off, they followed up their walk-out by presenting a list of five demands to Dr. Brownell: 1-Mr. Carty, the principal, must go. 2-The police officer who was stationed in the corridors, and against whom many complaints of brutality had already been filed by both students and teachers, must go. 3-Teachers who had befriended the students (and attempted such daring things as a Negro History Club, for instance) must no longer be harassed by forceable transfers for such actions. 4-Specific information comparing Northern with other schools must be supplied. 5-A student-faculty council must be created to discuss inner-city school problems.

When school reopened on Monday, the police officer HAD been removed and principal Carty was NOT at the school; he was reported to be discussing the situation with Brownell.

NEW WALK-OUT

The status of the principal remained unclear, however, and the students on Wednesday staged another walk-out to show their determination that Carty



—News & Letters Photos

should never return. Superintendent Brownell at once announced that the students' action had forced his hand, and that Carty would return to Northern the next morning. What he returned to was an almost completely empty school.

Overnight, the students, set up a Freedom School at a nearby church. And on Thursday morning, the majority of the student body jammed into the church. Over 50 volunteer faculty members, many from the local universities and colleges, and others from civil rights organizations, also reported for duty. An economics professor who had been active in civil rights work was designated as Principal.

The first day the students heard a lecture on Racism in Geography, sang Freedom songs, were given the chance to discuss their grievances, and voted to run the school from 8 a.m. to 3 p.m. When they were assigned as homework a two-page essay on "What's Wrong with Northern High?" the shouts went up, "Two pages? I could write a book!" (See column 5 for excerpts from some of these essays.)

FACULTY GROWS

The next day, Friday, the volunteer faculty had grown to almost 75, and, exposing the lie that "all they wanted was a vacation from school," even more students jammed into the church than the day before. Two more churches were offered to take care of the overflow, and from somewhere three old school buses were produced to transport the students back and forth.

By Saturday, the faculty had grown to 150, and the week-end was spent matching volunteer teachers with the subjects the students had asked for. They wanted almost all of their regular subjects, but they wanted them "taught right." They also wanted classes they never got in regular school—Negro history, and civil rights. Most of all they wanted a chance to ask questions and get answers.

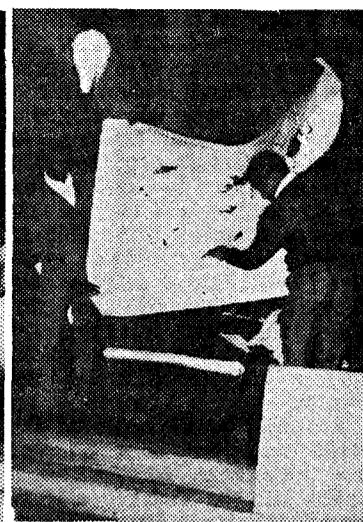
STUDENT OBSERVATIONS

When describing the sort of

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STUDENTS listen attentively to lecture on racism in geography during the first day of Freedom School.

counselling system they had at Northern, one girl said, "A counsellor is somebody who tells you what you can't do."

When discussing what the word freedom meant to them, one said, "I don't know what it is exactly, but I know that if we had it, we wouldn't have to be protesting like this." Another said, "Freedom is when people are treated like persons."

On Monday morning the attendance at Freedom School rose to almost 2000 students. A few hundred were reported to have returned to Northern, but it was later discovered that they included students who had returned early in the morning for their books and then tried to leave to come to Freedom School but had found themselves locked in.

At the three Freedom School churches, the morning hours were devoted to teaching the basic courses: math, English and social studies. In the afternoon, the students could choose what they wanted from a list of "electives" posted on a bulletin-board outside the church. There were art, science and language classes, but the most popular classes were those in Negro History. Students shopped around for the classes they wanted to take.

ATTENDANCE REMARKABLE

The physical resources were far from good. Several different classes often had to be held in the same room. Some classes had no rooms available at all, and went out to meet on the church lawn. Yet the attendance and the interest in the classes was remarkable. There was not a single "discipline" problem. Students volunteered for a clean-up squad and kept the church and grounds as clean as possible.

Meanwhile, the pressures mounted on the students to return to their regular classes. Many who had praised the students for their first walk-out, and some (like a Negro ministers alliance and the local NAACP) who had supported the Freedom School when it first appeared, now began to urge that the students had made their point, and it was time to return to regular routines. The press began to worry about the "flouting of duly constituted authority". Adult "agitators" were blamed for misleading the students.

What worried everyone the most however, was the threatened sympathy strike by students at 11 other almost-all-Negro high schools, who had vowed to come out by Wednesday if Carty was still sitting in his empty school, and things had not been settled.

How Northern Students Saw It

(Below are excerpts from student essays written at the Freedom School describing "What's Wrong at Northern".)

"I feel we must get out from under the dictatorship of the school administration and have better student-administration relations to get some of the things that are offered at other schools. If this means Mr. Carty must leave, then Carty must leave. If they try to change the policies and don't remove the man who was enforcing the old policies they might as well not change them at all, because he will still have his old ideas and bring them back to life."

"In examining inferior education you cannot just examine the quality of the curriculum but also the quality of the teachers. An inferior curriculum together with inferior educators are short-changing Northern students. When a teacher refuses to teach, a student 'can't' learn."

"In our world history class we were told that if we did our outline and failed our test we would still get no less than a B grade. I got a B and failed all but one test. I haven't learned anything about world history except that Columbus discovered America in 1492, and I learned that when I lived in the South. My aunt told my mother that you learn more in the North than in the South—but not at Northern. It's less."

"We are treated like dogs, and watched over like babies. We have police all around the school as if it was a concentration camp. After school we can't go to any business places. If we want to go to a store around the school area we have to get a pass from our counselor . . . Some people say we're trying to run Northern, but we're not. We're going to keep on pushing. We can't stop now. I'm so glad to be fighting for my rights. We're into something now that we just can't lose."

Watts Student Describes Lacking School Facilities

They don't even have a baseball court.

QUESTIONS NEED ANSWERS

There are other problems. The student government should not be run by the teachers. There should be some questions and some answers, and a place where people could voice their complaints. That's what the student paper should be.

Right now they have a ridiculous student paper of two pages which comes out three times a semester and they charge 50c a semester for it. It doesn't say anything. It just shows you what you already know anyway. All the events they tell you about are also posted on the bulletin board. It is certainly not making people aware of what's shaking, what's happening. What have you paid your money for?

The paper should have a place where the students could put in their complaints and have them answered by the faculty. But I believe the way things are set up now, that even if the students got their complaints in the paper, the administration would just ignore them or would only put in certain ones, or would only put answers they like—their own "good" solutions.

—High School Student

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Are The United States And China Headed Toward War?

(Continued from page 5)

leadership over the Communist world limited itself to accusations of "possible," "theoretical" betrayals, the accusation of actual betrayal first appeared in the statement of Defense Minister, Chen Yi, quoted above, and it was first made on Sept. 29, 1965.

It transformed the Sino-Soviet conflict not only from an ideological level, but also from a national power plane, into one of different global aims. Note the date, Sept. 29. It is the eve of the Sept. 30 coup in Indonesia, which China, not Russia, hoped would result in a Djakarta-Peking axis, a new world axis as against either the one from the West or from Russia.

The fact that the counter-coup, not the coup, succeeded; that the greatest outright massacre of Communists and all opponents of the military, put an end to any Djakarta-Peking axis, seems not to have deterred Mao's China from vying with Russia, or the United States, for world domination, any more than De Gaulle has been deterred by American nuclear might from challenging its domination of NATO and vying with it not only in Europe but throughout the world.

China's failure to create a Djakarta-Peking axis has only intensified its determination to create an axis with itself as center. Thus, on Nov. 11 Mao's China declared: "We must be prepared at any time to ward off a combined attack from U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism, and the reactionaries of various countries."

It has played this theme so consistently that, by March, 1966, it could refuse to attend the 23rd Congress of the Russian Communist Party with these words: "Despite the tricks you have been playing to deceive people, you are pursuing United States-Soviet collaboration for the domination of the world with your whole heart and soul."

For its part Russia allowed its secret letter to the Communist Parties of the world to leak to the press on the very day, March 23, when China's letter of refusal was published. In that "secret" letter the Russian Communist Party spoke bluntly enough (which is why Brezhnev could be publicly soft spoken).

The letter contains the true attitude. It states: "The subdivision of the world into two contrasting systems, the socialist and the capitalist, has disappeared from the materials of the Chinese press . . .

"The facts show that the CCP leaders today are directing their foreign political activity not so

much against the imperialists but against the Soviet Union . . .

"From all this it becomes clear that the Chinese leaders need a lengthy Vietnam war to maintain international tensions, to represent China as a 'besieged fortress'. There is every reason to assert that it is one of the goals of the policy of the Chinese leadership in the Vietnam question to originate a military conflict between the USSR and the U.S. so that they may, as they say themselves, 'sit on the mountain and watch the fight of the tigers'."

Imagine the dilemma of the Buddhists as they attempt to use the Sino-Soviet conflict as a wedge into the Vietcong, only to be told brusquely by the American occupiers that the Buddhist demonstrations "can only help the Vietcong." It is impossible for American imperialism to face the truth that it is the greatest breeder of Chinese Communism when it writes "No Exit" on all roads to independence.

Such is the way of the capitalist world, East, West, North, South. Its exploitative nature has not changed from its competitive youth, through its decadent monopoly maturity when it embarked upon its imperialist adventures, to its present state-capitalist senility which will not let the new third world of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America alone, much less allow its own working class to engage in social revolution to work out new human relations.

WHICH WAY OUT

What is crucial is that there is no escaping recolonization except through social revolution—but that is precisely the way the Buddhists do not intend to solve their dilemma. The only way out for the people is through their own self-activity, relying only on the world's working people for outside support.

At the same time, under no circumstances, must we separate our anti-Vietnam war activities from total opposition to both American capitalism and to all state-capitalist alternatives even when these dub themselves as "revolutionary." A choice of a "lesser evil" only leads to the victory of the "greater evil." Just as the Negro revolution gained momentum because it would not stop short at the door marked "new civil rights bills," so the battle for the minds of men (and it is the only type of battle that can be won in a nuclear age) cannot stop short at the doors marked "East" and/or "West." It is a struggle aimed at reconstructing society, at home, and on a world scale.

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Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

U.S. Big Business Abroad Stifles Nations

The future development of the newly emerging nations of Africa and Asia depend to a very large extent on their ability to acquire sufficient capital to develop their resources and promote industrial growth. Today the allocation of capital investment in the world lies, not so much in the hands of various governments, as it does in the corporate decisions of the industrial giants of American big business.

U. S. direct investment abroad has risen from \$25 billion 10 years ago to \$50 billion today, with another \$20 billion invested in the stocks of foreign corporations. These U. S. funds are invested where they can make the highest rate of profit, not where they can serve to develop or expand the economy of any given nation.

The U. S. auto makers are a good case in point. Their rate of profit is 27% on their investment after taxes. They have used their funds to build plants in Europe, South Africa, Australia, and to buy up control of their European competitors. At present Ford makes 40% of its cars outside the U. S., General Motors 20% and Chrysler 30%.

General Motors, by building

SHRIVER MEETS POVERTY

"The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty" was set up by Walter Reuther with a million dollar bankroll drawn from U.A.W. funds, and 125 social-welfare agencies as members, to work alongside of the Johnson "War on Poverty" program.

Meeting at the swank Washington International Inn, the nation's poor began talking about organizing against the political and economic structure that has denied them control over the anti-poverty money. The last thing that Reuther wanted was to organize anything against the Democratic Party, but the poor would not be denied.

Mrs. Unita Blackwell of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party declared, "The same men who are paying us \$3 a day and who are bent on putting people off the land—that's the men who are on the poverty committee. The Federal government ought to be ashamed of themselves."

Carl Johnson of Harlan County, Kentucky, stated, "You just come up with the resources and we'll show you what can be done with the money." He claims the area is no better off today after the government poured one million dollars through the regular political channels, that is, the politicians who line their own pockets.

When Sargent Shriver, national head of the program, tried to speak, he rubbed them the wrong way when he referred to the affair in the Watts section of Los Angeles as a wildcat strike which "we cannot afford." "What do you know about it?" a woman from Watts shouted, "When all this poverty money is spent, the rich man is going to be richer and I'm still going to be drawing a welfare check."

Here are just two facts that caused the spontaneous outburst against Johnson's

a \$100 million dollar plant at Antwerp, Belgium, is able to introduce the most modern know-how in a brand new plant that will be able to overwhelm its European competition. Ford has a similar complex at Saarland, and Chrysler bought out Simca, in 1963.

Foreign sales of U. S. companies in 1950 were \$37 billion compared with 1964 when only one fifth of a total of \$110 billion in foreign sales were supplied through exports, the rest coming from American plants on foreign soil.

Today, 2,200 American firms own and operate 6,000 firms overseas. Standard Oil of New Jersey operates 57 foreign affiliates, while U. S. Rubber has 28 research and manufacturing centers in 23 countries, selling in over 150 countries.

The vaunted American "know-how" is not entirely the product of "free enterprise." In 1966, \$21 billion will be spent on research and development. Of this sum, 70% will come from U. S. Government funds and two thirds of the money will be given to U. S. industries for research. The benefits of this research and development will be used for private profit by American business.

Anti-Poverty program: Unemployment in Watts runs 37% of the population; and in Marin City, a Negro suburb of San Francisco, no less than 51.3% of the population is unemployed in these "affluent" times!

Is there any wonder why Shriver was unable to conclude his speech or why Reuther could not compel the meeting to come to the type of conclusion which he wanted? That master of substitution did not, however, dare, as did his sub-lieutenants, to threaten to do away with the "Crusade" altogether. Instead, he promised in the future to screen the delegates! (See Page 6 for Voice from Watts.)

MSU IN SOUTH VIET NAM

"Classroom teaching is a team business" says Ralph T. Smuckler, "and anyone who doesn't see how his discipline fits into the overseas operations of the University is already obsolete." This is but one of many declarations emerging from the Ramparts expose of the role of Michigan State University in propping up the dictatorship of Diem and Madame Nhu.

The article by Warren Hinckle shows how M.S.U., using a \$25 million grant from the Federal Government, sent agents from the Detroit and New York City police department, along with F.B.I. agents, into Viet Nam to train Diem's security forces and, "in the early years of the project actually supplied them with guns and ammunition. In doing so, the East Lansing contingent helped to secure Diem's dictatorship and to provide a base and the arms for the secret police which were to make Madame Nhu and her brother infamous at a later date."

The main point about this expose is not only the things it reveals about the Viet Nam project, but what it

reveals about the attitudes of some so-called intellectuals in this and the majority of the universities of the country. They can visit Viet Nam, see the horrors of the regime, return, and keep quiet about it.

The investment in these so-called extractive industries is low by comparison to manufacturing industries and their main requirement is cheap labor.

To make matters worse, these American firms are beyond the range of any effective control. The U. S. Government claims that they cannot control the activities of firms abroad, and since in many cases the income of U. S. firms is greater than that of the country in which they are operating, they are able to make their own conditions on new plants set up abroad.

reveals about the attitudes of some so-called intellectuals in this and the majority of the universities of the country. They can visit Viet Nam, see the horrors of the regime, return, and keep quiet about it.

The MSU affair reinforces the arguments the students of Berkeley used against Clark Kerr. As Mario Savio stated, "His view is that we serve the national purpose by being a part of the military-industrial complex . . . Well, I haven't felt much of a component part . . ."

* * *

INDIA'S POVERTY

When Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited Washington last month she was feted as becomes the voice of "Western democracy in the East." The catch of the eulogies was, however, exposed by the facts of India. After nearly a quarter of a century of independence, more than one-half of India's 500 million people live "below the breadline" on under \$4 a month!

As if that tragic fact could be eliminated by rhetoric, James Reston of The New York Times wrote: "She was very cool, precise and unemotional in her gleaming saris . . . India, she said, had to work very hard just to wipe the tear from every eye. She quoted an old Indian proverb: 'I complained that I had no shoes until I met a man who had no feet.'"

How unpoetically would this stark reality be described were these the facts the press was detailing about China, especially when the illiteracy in India and the "some twelve million or more of bullock carts still churn the dust of our village roads" was followed by "we are building three nuclear power plants." Since, however, this was American imperialism's choice for the alternate road to China's "communism," the press didn't even gag at describing India's way as "democratic socialism."