

ON THE INSIDE

'Black Power' Race, and Class

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EDITORIAL

Lynching of Adam Clayton Powell

The fury shown by Congress, the real seat of white power in America, when it climaxed its vicious vendetta against Adam Clayton Powell by first stripping him of his chairmanship of the House Labor and Education Committee, then denying him the Congressional seat he had held for 22 years, swept in two shock waves throughout the U.S.

This "lynching, Northern-style" of the most powerful national Negro politician in the U.S. was nothing less than notice being served that there is absolutely no Negro in this country who is safe from the oppressive and humiliating power of white racist America.

The cancer of white supremacy is more deeply entrenched on Capitol Hill than it is anywhere else in the nation and eats away at the reason of white liberal and reactionary alike. The fact is that a so-called "liberal" committee of Powell's "fellow" Democrats, from both North and South, pushed through this action, so gleefully supported by the reactionaries of both parties.

The only thing that President Johnson said that was true in his State of the Union speech was that this was "a time of testing." And that very day the world saw how white congressmen met their test, in the shocking action against Powell.

WHAT WHITE POWER MEANS

Congress did not even try to hide its naked racism by also removing, at least "for show," the new chairman of the powerful Rules Committee, arch-reactionary William Colmer from Mississippi. The ridiculous pretense that Powell was removed because of his "unethical conduct" is further exposed by the fact that Senators, like Dodd from Connecticut, can use political contributions for personal expenses without fear of even censure, to say nothing of the fact that every Southern Congressman can fill the Congressional Record with filth against Negroes that could only be the product of a depraved mind. This, of course, is quite ethical, just as is the \$15,000 ad taken in the Democratic Party program book by defense contractors, who know ads mean government contracts, or the President's Club which charges \$1,000 for simple, and \$10,000 for special, membership.

The truth of the matter is that Powell was removed because he is a Negro who not only did openly what the other hypocritical congressmen dare do only secretly, but also demonstrated that he knew very well how to use his Congressional power against white reactionaries and opportunists to get progressive legislation passed.

WHITE IGNORANCE VS. NEGRO UNDERSTANDING

White America seems baffled by the unanimous support of Powell by Negroes throughout the nation. This bafflement reflects their ignorance of the issues involved just as clearly as the support of Powell by the Negroes reflects their complete understanding of what is involved.

As one Negro auto worker said, "I would defend Powell to the end of time, although I do not agree with all his actions and statements. If Powell was white, this could never happen to him. We did not agree with Stokely Carmichael when he said there are 180 million white racists in America. Most Negroes know that all whites are not the same when it comes to supporting us. But this action in Congress proves that they are too few and far apart." A million words from Carmichael could never do what this one action has done to reveal what "white power" really means.

— Charles Denby

LBJ's State of Union Fantasy Revealed in Glare of Reality

A miner's wife from Hazard, Ky., whose husband has been unemployed for more than ten years, recently wrote News & Letters: "Things are just as bad now as ever here. I have been able to find a little work in a restaurant. I am ashamed to tell you what I'm making. It is only 70 cents an hour. But I have to do something to keep us going, now that my husband is ill and not able to work at all."



Special Thanks to The Appalachian South, Charleston, W. Va., for Sketch and Poem.

Miners' View of the New Year

An automated miner
From Cabin Creek,
Said automated miner
From Cabin Creek
Ain't got no job
That's what I seek.

Now I used to dig coal where
The mine was damp
Said I used to dig coal where
The mine was damp
Load sixteen tons
By carbide lamp.

But since automation came
The times got tight
Said since automation came
And times got tight
They put me on
A special diet.

O molly-grub and gravy on
The welfare roll
Said molly-grub and gravy
On the welfare roll
Can't get no job
To save my soul.

Walked all the way to Charleston
My feet got sore
I walked the road to Charleston
My feet got sore
And then I went
To Baltimore.

But twenty years a miner
It's all I know
Said twenty years a miner
That's all I know
No job, no home,
No place to go . . .

—Don West

Her husband was one of the miners who had picketed the White House three years ago trying to see President Johnson in vain. Inside, Johnson had been too busy preparing his first State of the Union Message — the one that declared an "unconditional war on poverty."

ALL GUNS, NO BUTTER

Despite President Johnson's ludicrous claim in this year's State of the Union message that we have "succeeded in creating a better life for the many," every year since that "unconditional war on poverty" was declared, less and less has been done to eliminate the so-called "pockets of poverty" in this most affluent country of the world. Every year, as the war in Vietnam has been escalated higher and higher, greater slashes have been made in the domestic budget to pay for it, until by now, almost twice as much is spent every month to devastate both South and North Vietnam as is spent on the so-called "War on Poverty" in an entire year.

The Pentagon recently revealed that the U.S. is now spending more than two billion dollars a month on the war. This is twice what was presented to the nation and Congress in January, 1966 as "estimated expenditure for the war." So callous have the statisticians become, in fact, that this was broken down into the fact that it is costing \$322,000 for each enemy soldier killed!

The Senate, in October, meanwhile, grudgingly passed a poverty bill that would cost a little over a billion dollars for the whole of next year — provided still more slashes aren't made by the new Congress which is even more reactionary than the 89th was.

THE CHRONIC POOR

Moreover, it is not just Appalachia which has been chronically poor for more than a decade. Nearly half the nation's poor (around 34 million according to the Social Security Administration) live in America's large cities. The "poor" are officially only those who make under \$3,000 a year for a family of four. Yet by even these pitifully low standards, 14 percent of the white population, and FULLY HALF THE NON-WHITE are officially counted "poor", according to a study appearing in a recent issue of the Social Security Bulletin.

LBJ's boast that we have just seen "six years of unprecedented prosperity" notwithstanding, this poverty persists at the same time that profits continue to soar, unemployment is supposed to have reached the lowest rate in 13 years, and wages are supposed to be at an all-time high.

Unfortunately, those bringing home pay-checks have discovered that the cost-of-living has also reached some new highs, and that their so-called "higher incomes" are buying far less today than their smaller incomes bought two years ago. The average price rise across the nation was some 3.5% in 1966, but in cities like New

(Continued on Page 8)

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Workers' View of Reuther-Meany Rift

The recent statements from Reuther and the UAW about the conservative, if not downright reactionary, positions of Meany and the AFL-CIO have caused a lot of laughter among rank-and-file workers in the shops. As one of the workers in our shop said: "Reuther and the labor leaders in the UAW knew all about the AFL before they ever agreed to the merger. They wanted to expel workers in the union for saying exactly the same things about Meany as he is saying now, when we opposed the merger. But Reuther was thinking that Meany, being an old man, would soon pass on, or be forced into retirement. Reuther was sure that Meany would be out of his way by now, and he would be the king-pin of the AFL-CIO."

"Only it didn't work out that way. Meany is still here, and seems very healthy. And he's organized his own forces much closer around him, so that if something did happen to him today, most likely some supporter of his from the old AFL, and not Reuther, would be his replacement." He said that's what he believes is the real argument between Reuther and Meany.

THEN AND NOW

Another production worker said: "When the UAW wants sympathy and support from the membership, the rallying cry is always to focus our minds and attention on what the UAW was 20 years ago. If you read the militant and revolutionary statements they sent to the press then, showing what they were for, and what the AFL was against, you would hardly believe it. If a worker insisted on fighting for those things today he would be thrown out of the union. Their statements then covered everything from working conditions, economic freedom and civil rights, to political freedom."

"I'm not saying the UAW is as reactionary as the AFL," this worker continued. "There's a big difference between Reuther and Meany on liberal issues. Reuther will support liberal causes, and give militant speeches at civil rights meetings. But his actions are something else again." The workers then began to discuss how Reuther and Gus Scholle have been yelling for years about the state reapportionment issue. People in this state do not have equal representation. Some congressmen and state representatives have as much voting strength, or more, than others who have twice as many people in their district. The argument is really for "One Man, One Vote."

Everyone agreed that there was no worker who would not support this. But they felt that this same principle should apply even more to workers in a plant who are members of the UAW. Yet in our last contract, Reuther made an agreement with the company whereby they could eliminate workers' representation, and mainly production workers', not skilled workers'. Workers refer to the production workers as the "second class citizens" in the shop.

CHIEF STEWARD ELIMINATED

Many workers did not know until recently that if the chief steward of a department passes on, retires or quits, that department cannot elect another chief steward to take his place. The union and company has agreed, instead, that a chief steward from another department will serve both his own and the new department. What is worse is that the new chief steward may not even know anything about the work in his new department.

This is exactly what happened in our shop when a chief steward from inspection died during the Christmas holidays. This job requires someone who knows something about blueprints, and the workers are up in arms because they are going to be given a chief steward from the Welding Department, even though there are many workers in inspection who are qualified to be steward.

SKILLED VS. UNSKILLED

One worker pointed out that we have some 250 skilled workers in the plant, and they have 10 chief stewards, while we have some 1,200 to 1,400 production and non-production workers in the plant who are represented by 14 chief stewards. "How can the UAW yell about state and county representation being unequal when they have taken away most of the workers' representation in their own union?" he asked.

He said that production workers in another plant, who constituted a 75% majority, had voted to accept a contract which the skilled workers were against, mainly because their pay raise did not give them enough of a margin over the production workers'. (This seems to be the argument of the skilled workers lately; they do not seem to worry about the amount of the pay raise they get as much as the gap between them and the production workers.) The union leaders said that the skilled workers could override the production workers, and rejected the contract.

The rank-and-file workers are not too concerned about the Reuther-Meany rift, not nearly as concerned as we are about the conditions in the shops. As one said, "Sometimes it seems that Reuther is working with the State Department while Meany is working with the CIA—and the fight between them is the same as the fight between the State Department and the farther-right CIA."

"But that is Reuther's worry, not ours. We are concerned with our lives here, every day in the shop. We must begin organizing to protect some of the things we gained years ago and have been losing. And we had better start pretty soon, because it is clear that neither Reuther nor Meany cares what happens to the production workers, except as dues-paying members."

Anti-Americanism Is Not Answer to Britain's Woes

Glasgow, Scotland — Discontent is spreading into every part of Britain. It will spread more rapidly as the number of unemployed continues to increase. There seems good reason to be optimistic about the kind of struggle members of our class will embark upon in order to defeat the efforts of the Government to save British capitalism by lowering the living conditions through the wage-freeze and the creation of unemployment.

It is in these circumstances we feel bound to ask some questions regarding the display of anti-American feeling in Luton, where workers employed by Vauxhall Motors are in conflict with the management. One shop steward is reported to have raised the call for "all the Yanks to go home." This was followed by strong anti-American slogans. Why workers should be diverted from the real struggle by that cheap kind of campaign passes comprehension. Who is responsible for it?

ENEMY AT HOME

There is a serious situation in every motor car factory in Britain, and it arises directly from the policy of the British Government. It looks as if there are some shop stewards who find it more to their liking to denounce the Americans than to face up to the enemy at home. As against this there are many shop stewards, like those at Linwood, who are doing all they can to intensify the struggle against those who are responsible for the present squeeze.

We can be sure that those who called out the anti-American slogans don't believe that a British employer is any better than an American employer. All employers, regardless of their nationality, have the same aim in view. When there

is no profit to be made, they sack the workers.

Those who set out to mislead workers in regard to America have an objectionable reason for doing so. There is a political attitude that refuses to see anything good in America. They see the bombing in Vietnam but blind themselves to the struggle of courageous men and women in America who are doing everything they can to combat the policy of Johnson.

The struggle against the Vietnam war is on a higher level than here in Britain. If we fought as hard as the anti-war fighters in America we could stop Wilson from continuing support for Johnson. That is possible. We should turn our attention to that kind of job.

WORKER IS KEY

It is right and proper that the economic struggle be seen in all its political implications. That would preclude anti-Americanism. To the politically enlightened person the place of the worker in industry would be seen as fundamental. Despite all the claims about progress, he is still at the beck and call of another class. That is true of every country in the world.

In no country do the masses have control of the means of production. That lies at the root of all our political problems. The worker in such circumstances is deprived of human dignity.

Let us turn our attention to something better than shouting hate slogans against America. Let us engage in the immediate battle against the Government, but let us never forget that there is nothing more urgent than the creation of the new society.

—H. McShane

N.Y. Press Does Not Report Huge Anti-War Rally

New York, N.Y.—On Dec. 8 SANE and 36 other organizations held an anti-war rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City.

There was an overflow crowd of at least 17,000 people and about 500 outside listening in at loud-speakers. Among the speakers were Dr. Spock, the well-known pediatrician, Floyd McKissick of CORE, Jules Feiffer, I. F. Stone and Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish correspondent.

Myrdal pointed out that not one of our European allies supports our war in Vietnam with a single soldier, and that the Swedish government refuses to sell arms to the U.S. on the grounds that it is an active disturber of the peace. He also pointed out that in Asia only our "client" governments like Thailand support us; and in Africa only the racist governments of Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa are on our side.

MORAL EROSION?

The speech of Dr. Eric Fromm, the well-known psychiatrist and author, was read by the actor, Tony Randall, because Dr. Fromm was ill and unable to attend.

He pointed out that our conscience and morality have been gradually and systematically weakened and eroded starting with the schrecklichkeit of World War I, the barbarity of the Nazis in World War II, and the atom bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S., until we now can accept the napalm bombing of innocent women and children in Vietnam.

Despite the size of this rally and the prominence of many of the participants the New York Times reported it in only a few lines on an inside page. This report appeared in only one edition and was absent from all the others printed that day.

Mother of a draft-age son
New York

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Race Changes Come Slowly

Segregation in the Southern states is still trying to hold on. There are still many who think the black people are not fit to do any kind of work except digging a ditch or working on some white man's farm. Some think black people never get old until they are 90 or 100 (and then can be called "uncle" or "aunt").

OLD DIE-HARDS

Early this month a newsman on TV interviewed some of the old and young white men in Alabama, and asked them what they thought of a Negro having been elected sheriff in Tuskegee. The younger whites seemed to think that it was a good thing to have a Negro in the job. But the older white men all seemed to think a Negro shouldn't be an officer "because he don't know enough about the law to handle that kind of job."

That's what I would call being an "old die-hard white," for sure. They're afraid of any Negro ever having a chance to do to them what they have been doing to the Negroes for years.

Today, everybody is wondering what is going to become of the country, where wars are going on against other nations and even against each other. The world is full of hate. Whites hate each other. The recent elections showed that whites who fear they may not be able to control other

whites they have elected, will get together and get rid of them.

The Negroes fight against each other a little differently than the whites do. Some Negroes think that if they teach school or make their living in that kind of work, they are better than the rest of us. But the Southern states are still trying to keep everything separated from all the Negro people, just as it was 100 years ago.

"ALL THE WAY" FOR LBJ?

Each Southern governor tries to have a meeting with the President, to help them keep the laws just as they are. They cry that they didn't have to go to school with Negro children and they don't want their children to. The President will have to shake up those crazy people in the South unless he wants them to carry him all the way they want him to go. If he is supposed to be the president of the whole United States, he should act as if he is, and that is what he should tell the South.

The Negro people may have stopped marching for a while. Many will hate to see them start marching again, because they know that if they do—and stick together—it will be the end of the old ways once and for all. They have shaken the whole world with their fight for freedom, and they will shake it still more.

Afro-American Calendar Offer

Black musicians are honored in the 1967 Freedom Calendar issued recently by Chicago's Museum of African American History.

Thirteen musicians are honored in the new calendar, containing biographies written by Charles Burroughs, museum curator, and pictures drawn by artists Al Price and Douglas Williams.

The musicians include Chevalier De Saint George (1745-1799), a violinist-composer in France; George Polgreen Bridgetower (1770-1860), also a violinist-composer in European circles; Harry T. Burleigh (1866-1949), an American composer who influenced Dvorak; R. Nathaniel Dett (1882-1943), American composer; Chick Webb (1907-1939), one of the best of jazz drummers; King Oliver (1885-1938), a member of many famous bands; and others.

Single calendars are \$1.50, or \$1 each when purchased in orders of ten or more. Make checks or money orders out to the Museum of African American History, 3806 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60653.

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Kaiser Wildcat Strike Causes Compared With Situation at North American Plant

(Ed. note: Below are the reactions of a North American Aviation (NAA) worker to a wildcat strike at a Southern California Kaiser steel plant and the relation of that strike to work and civil rights grievances occurring at her own plant.)

Los Angeles, Calif. — Kaiser's unique formula (profit sharing) for strike prevention, like NAA's recent 17 point program to ensure women, minorities and Negroes equal employment opportunities, exemplifies the terrible morass of technical legalities which workers face.

SUBTERFUGE

In both these situations the clear-cut cases of justice versus injustice are not presented because of the companies' employment of ambiguities and outright subterfuge. This allows them to whitewash their dirty laundry before too many workers and the public are totally aware of their "supposed" generosity.

The Kaiser "fruits of progress" bonus plan, for example, was employed to eliminate strikes and create "harmonious relations." From the onset, some of Kaiser's employees saw the danger of being lulled into complacency and felt the company would take advantage of this—and the company did.

It ignored old grievances and refused to talk to the grievance committee chairman, Rex Parker, about other grievous conditions. Yet when Parker called a strike, the president of Kaiser Local 2869, James Veasey, termed the strike illegal. Why?

IGNORE WORKERS

It is obvious that Veasey, like Hank Lacayo, president of Local

887 (NAA), had become insensitive to the needs of the workers. However, in the face of the actual strike, President Veasey had common sense enough to concede "Mr. Parker proved his point," because the company shut down.

It is interesting to note that this action was accomplished by a relatively small series of grievances. The so-called militant group headed by Parker realizes the necessity for full participation of all workers in fighting.

The situation at Kaiser is anything but harmonious; for all the company's posturing. NAA's situation, while analagous, is closer to the core of the labor-management disputes. This is so because the Parker-Kaiser grievances were not spelled out and no racial overtones showed through.

RACE AND CLASS

On the other hand, NAA's solemn promise of "thou shall not discriminate and get caught" shows the racial content clearly. At NAA they are clothing a class issue with a race issue.

The grievances are the ones which all workers feel, but since Negroes are complaining, the company and the union use the race issue. That is why, with the definite overtones of a racist issue, NAA goes about its sadistic business with the aid and abetment of federal funds. The worker is often not aware of this subterfuge because of the color syndrome that is so rampant in America today.

Is there any question that all workers must bear the brunt of labor-management disputes? The comparison between Kaiser and

NAA does not end here. What about the union?

NAA RACISM

When CORE initiated a civil rights strike at NAA, Lacayo raised a louder hue and cry than did Veasey of Kaiser when the wildcat occurred. And the reason was that Lacayo had adequate racist political support, and intimidated the oppressed workers (workers who pay his salary) along with the company.

Legal technicians call this collusion. But the workers who have no legal technicians call a spade a spade.

Lacayo warned, but with more success than Veasey because of the evident racism in the union and company, that civil rights strikers might lose their jobs and that their grievances could not be processed through union procedures.

"We are the only ones who can help you" says Lacayo to the workers in an effort to get them to ignore the civil rights strike. But when certain pressures were exerted, who but Lacayo bent the union procedure and put civil rights grievances through a long drawn-out process with the hope of wearing us down and at the same time making himself look better.

He was never smart enough, like Veasey, to concede that there was a serious problem and gain for himself a face-saving device. Lacayo admits, "Certainly there is discrimination" (over 18 years of it) but in the same breath says that "the company has a pretty darn good policy on race." And besides, where does civil rights have a place in employment?

On the Line

Insurance and Compensation Problems Need Settlement

By John Allison

Numerous complaints have been received by the union on the way the management has been treating workers off on sick leave. To begin with, the Chrysler Corporation has its own medical department. These people have no fee problem, so they are more than willing to send a worker back to work before he or she is well enough.

The Insurance Department bounces workers between an outside doctor who is seeking a fee and the Chrysler medical department which is seeking to return the employee to work, so production can go on uninterrupted. Anyone who has been on sick leave can tell you that many times workers are at home in bed when they receive a letter from the Insurance Dept. telling the worker to report for work at once or lose his seniority.

REJECT GRIEVANCE

At this point, the union complains to the company, and is told that the Insurance Program in the plant is not a subject for the grievance procedure. We can say for sure that we will never correct the abuse of the Insurance procedure until we have the right to strike or put Insurance and Workman's Compensation under the grievance procedure. That is the only way the union will have some means of handling these problems.

The code on women and men is given to workers by the company's own medical staff, when the workers return from being off sick. Labor Relations, Insurance, and Medical will team up on a worker to keep him or her out of a job. The worker will be afraid to get sick again.

Where the Local Union takes a strike vote against any company you will find insurance abuses are always one of the strike issues. The reason for this is that for any shop problem that does not come under the griev-

ance procedure, the only way the problem can be solved is for workers to stop production.

LONG TIME, SHORT TIME

Safety, insurance, workman's compensation—anything that does not stop production always remains a problem. In contrast to the way these non-production problems keep dragging on for months on end is when something happens that affects production. This never takes more than a few minutes to solve at most, because the god of production must always be served and served immediately.

It is a fact that if a worker is injured the company is always eager for him or her to apply for insurance rather than compensation—even though the insurance pays more than compensation. The reason is simple: The company's insurance rate stays pretty much the same, but its compensation costs go up with each lost-time accident that is paid for under a compensation claim.

Another thing is that as the length of time of the insurance coverage has been extended, the more harassment a worker faces who is off for any long period of time. Actually, the extension of time to 12 months coverage looks good on paper and like the company is granting workers a benefit. But this just isn't so, because if a worker would reach the point of receiving full 12-month insurance benefits, he would almost always be eligible for partial or total disability coverage.

HARASS OLDER WORKERS

It gets especially tough for workers who are older and are coming close to or are at retirement age and who develop lingering or chronic illness. These cases are really jumped on by the management team, and they are told in no uncertain terms that they'd better retire—or else!

And most workers in that position know what the "or else" means. The company will be watching them to catch the first false move to get a chance to fire them or make work so tough that they will be glad to retire.

Any more the company also has a "Blue Book" on doctors too, and classifies those who go along with management as the good guys, and the ones who try to do what is right for the workers as the quacks. Management does have a little trouble with these classifications once in a while, though. Sometimes a good guy turns into a quack, and management has to make some re-classifications.

Grape Strikers Gird for Winter

(Editor's Note: The Farm Workers of Delano are in the 17th month of their strike against the inhuman conditions they refuse to suffer any longer. Their work is fanning out from Delano across the whole country, and it doesn't stop in the winter. Following are some brief excerpts from the latest issue of EL MACRIADO)

DELANO, CALIF. — When the rain comes, the strike moves onto a kind of new front. There is no work for the scabs, and less opportunity to picket for the strikers. About 100 strikers went to Los Angeles last week for a "gate collection" at the entrances to the big auto plants and missile

factories. The money raised will help to bolster the depleted strike fund. Cesar Chavez is in Mexico, presumably laying the groundwork for closing the border, an essential task if the strike is ever going to really change the lives of farm workers in California and Texas. While he was gone, one of the old-line AFL-CIO organizers who have been helping us, was tortured and maimed in the most bestial manner by unknown assailants...

Two trailers sit in a muddy encampment on the edge of Delano. This is the miraculous Farm Workers Health Clinic, which has survived since the beginning of the strike on donations of time

and money by dedicated doctors who drive 300 miles from San Francisco to spend a day treating people who desperately need their healing hands...

People are fanning out from Delano across the whole country, to the vineyards of New York State and to Texas, the end of the world, where they are holding out against the impossible odds of an open border and ruthless police repression...

The strike is on the streets of San Francisco where church people, young radicals and rank-and-file unionists walk the picket lines, scheme their way into the newspapers, and raise money and food. There are the truck-chasers, and there is the boycott. This one, the third in a successful line, is against Perelli-Minetti and Sons...

And this is how winter finds the Strike in the Grapes in Delano.

Money is needed to keep El Macriado going, so everyone can keep informed about the strike; it is needed for the Union; and it is needed for the Clinic. All contributions can be sent to Farm Workers Association, Box 894, Delano, Calif. 93215.

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EDITORIAL

Resurgence of Nazism?

The recent West German elections, which produced a 7.4 per cent vote for the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party, in two states, has brought fear of the possible resurgence of Nazism.

As if there were much difference in outlook between these NDP deputies in Bavaria and the Christian Democrat Franz Joseph Straus, who played a key role in the Christian Democrats electing the former Nazi, Kurt Kiesinger, as Chancellor!

Here, too, the whitewash machines were put to work, referring to Kiesinger's Nazi past as an "unfortunate decision" back in the 1930's to join the Nazi Party, which he supposedly left at the very height of World War II.

The worst development of all however, was the decision of the power-hungry Social Democrats to form a coalition with the Christian Democrats at this critical moment of the latter's disintegration.

It is true that the Social Democrats have long since rejected any relationship to Marxism. Nevertheless, some of the youth had nowhere else to go to show their opposition to the ruling party.

Where the totalitarian regime of East Germany needed to erect a wall to keep its workers from escaping, so the government, born out of the massive retaliatory policy of the Dulles-Adenauer era, needs this coalition to keep a genuine left opposition among the workers and youth in West Germany from developing sufficient force for its overthrow.

THE U.S. ROLE

The irony in the fall of the Erhard regime and the rise of Kiesinger, who seeks to revive the Franco-German axis, is that its immediate cause was U.S. insistence on the continued buying by West Germany of U.S. armaments.

Since this money goes, not to the U.S. government, but to private munition manufacturers, this, at best, is a very, very indirect way of doing this. What is more important is that it is thus aiding in the rearmament of West Germany — which even West Germany thinks is excessive.

Unfortunately, this doesn't mean that they wouldn't like to get their hands on the nuclear trigger; but at the moment even the staunchest capitalist allies of U.S. imperialism in the West fear that U.S. imperialist involvement in Vietnam means that, in U.S. eyes, the key to the world situation has shifted from Europe to the Orient.

WORLD CAPITALISM, WEST AND EAST

The rise of the neo-Nazi party this year is symptomatic of more than a possible resurgence of Nazism in Germany. It is the reminder of the degeneracy of world capitalism, which has solved not a single fundamental problem since the World Depression first gave birth to Nazism.

DeGaulle France, loudly protests U.S. imperialism's role in Vietnam, but considers its own colonial war there, which brought about this division of Vietnam, as "just." In the same way it tries to replace U.S. imperialism's role in Europe in general and in Germany in particular.

By no accident DeGaulle France is likewise experiencing a new anti-Semitic trend. Latest polls show that 20 per cent of the French population is anti-Semitic.

Just as the biggest blow to the development of a West German working class opposition to the ruling Christian Democrats was achieved by the Social Democrats joining them in coalition, so the biggest blow to the new emergent anti-capitalist forces throughout the world would be dealt by any who would choose sides with one imperialism against the other as the "lesser evil," be that DeGaulle France or Brezhnev's Russia.

The idea that, since unification of Germany was not achieved by being "on the side of" the United States, perhaps it can be achieved through flirtations with Russia, is the biggest illusion of all.

A NEW BEGINNING

A new beginning in West Germany must start with the workers fighting against capitalistic conditions of labor; with the youth demonstrating against Nazism, fighting against the status quo on all fronts from education to war, and beginning to revolt in the Free University of West Berlin.

The model for any new Left in Germany is neither the East German single-party system or the "two party" system in the U.S. but the actual movement for freedom, whether that be the East German rising of 1953 or the Freedom Now Movement in the U.S. since 1960.

The times when each oppositor movement could work only in its own country are gone. Our one world demands a world movement for freedom, with a show of international solidarity being but the first step towards such a world development.

Readers'

STATE-CAPITALISM AND MARX'S HUMANISM

The article by Raya Dunayevskaya in the December issue was very dynamic. I was deeply moved by the strong pathos of Marxist-Humanism, the philosophy of liberation of man from below, in the period of state-capitalism.

The article by Tadayuki Tsushima did not do this for me, because his attitude seemed too mechanical. It didn't deal with man as the subject of revolutionary activity who must transcend state-capitalism.

I recently read the letter of a young girl student which had been sent to the editors of Zenshin. She said: "The worker cannot get back his own humanity without revolting against the world which state-capitalism dominates. The Stalinists break his will to revolt, pretending they are socialists. Stalinism has become degraded to a criminal existence."

Reader Nagoya, Japan

I am glad you included the excerpts from the unpublished part of Capital in News & Letters. I feel that it would have helped the British "Marxists" to understand the purpose of the work if that had been included in Capital.

I tried to read Capital when I was 14 years of age with the purpose of defending my church from the Socialists. I made a brave attempt, but gave it up.

When I was 19 I read a penny pamphlet "A Summary of Marx's Capital. I still have a copy of that pamphlet. Under the guidance of John Maclean I again had to go at Capital. We were concerned about proving the correctness of the theory of value and pursuing the class struggle.

We were right but we did not see all the implications of Capital. This is where Marxism and Freedom comes in. You have done a great service.

Correspondent Glasgow

It was exciting to see the first English translation of the original ending of Marx's greatest work, Capital—and I was glad to see you rush the celebration of the 100th anniversary of its publication in 1867 that way.

Reader New York

EDITOR'S NOTE: Watch and see.

Enclosed is a small "help-out". I sure enjoyed my last paper. Much good food for thought.

Reader Missouri

I am very anxious to translate Raya Dunayevskaya's article from the December issue: "State-capitalism and Marx's Humanism." I will try to get a publisher, and have it out as soon as possible.

Intellectual Tokyo, Japan

I was glad to see you publish the article by Tadayuki Tsushima, first because there is so little evidence in any other journal of an international exchange of ideas on an important theoretical subject; and second, because he sums up what to me would be the standard "economist" view.

Intellectual Boston

Congratulations on the splendid essay by Raya Dunayevskaya in your special December issue. It is about time that Marxist-Humanism and the state-capitalist theory were integrated as a single unit.

Graduate Student Berkeley

EDITOR'S NOTE: It is hoped that the work-in-progress by Raya Dunayevskaya, Philosophy and Revolution, will be completed in a year.

Just as the promise suggested in Capital must result, as a historical necessity, from the actions of society, we see society induced to action must hasten the promise... Marxism-Leninism.

It is unfortunate so many intelligent people see a difference of worlds rather than a world of differences.

New Reader Massachusetts

HAPPY NEW YEAR?

The character of our 90th Congress was certainly clear during LBJ's State of the Union message. The big "promises" to "intensify" our effort to make war on poverty got such weak applause it sounded sick.

You could see how sure LBJ must have been that this Congress wouldn't pass anything

progressive even if he made the pretense of trying it.

But when he proposed a new "Safe Streets and Crime Control Act" the applause was terrific. It was the only enthusiasm Congress showed, in fact. And the more Johnson described how "law and order" must be revered, and how the U.S. is going to have the best police force in the world, the more I could see the "police state" closing in on us!

Alarmed Detroit

Having seen how few of the so-called "poverty funds" get to the poor—and how much goes to the pretty administrators and their ilk, I would submit that what OEO really stands for is "Office of Economic Opportunists."

Fed-Up Boston

What has happened to the demonstrations by housewives across the country against rising food prices? While of short duration, they were effective.

The question in my mind is, were these demonstrations a pre-election political maneuver? Nothing has been heard of similar protests since the November elections.

Surely, food prices haven't dropped since then. As any housewife can testify, they have risen!

Working Woman Detroit

The first act of actor-turned-politician, Ronald Reagan, now Governor of California, was a swinging midnight inauguration that cost the California taxpayers \$100,000. His second act was to start the destruction of Berkeley University.

As a first step he proposes a \$28 million cut in the budget of the state-supported university, which has 90,000 students. To punish the students further, he proposes that each student pay \$400 a year additional tuition on top of the \$275 they are already paying.

A university official stated that the Reagan action was "the worst setback for higher education in the state since the depression." Dr. Clark Kerr, the university president, is expected to resign or be fired by Reagan.

Worried California

I was watching the CBS year-end roundup with reporters from various places. Two things struck me.

On Vietnam, they kept interrupting the newsmen who had been covering Vietnam. He had been giving a rather disturbing picture and the rest of them just didn't want to discuss what the U.S. will be doing in Vietnam next year with a half million men.

On the Negro revolution, they felt that the moderate leadership was in trouble because they cannot give to the Civil Rights Movement what it needs—jobs, etc. But when they came to the militants, who are small, they seemed almost frightened, because they do not know what is going to happen.

Observer California

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Views

NEO-NAZISM

The most disturbing thing to me about the former Nazi becoming chancellor in Germany is that it was the Social Democrats that helped put him in.

Brandt of the SPD has been making socialist thought "realistic." He has completely disfigured socialist thought to do this, and now to be "realistic" turns out to be supporter for a former Nazi.

There were demonstrations when it was announced that Kiesinger was to be chancellor, but when Brandt said he would support him it quieted down. "If a man with a socialist background supports him, it must be okay" was what came through. The left whitewashed him.

Old Radical
California

Some people consider the rise of Kiesinger and the National Democratic Party in Germany to be a resurgence of the same old Nazi movement that brutalized civilization 3 decades ago. But "neo-Nazism" is not the same old thing. "Neo" means that it has taken a "new form". In this case, what is "new" is that Kiesinger has a "left face"—given to him by the so-called Social Democrats.

Intellectual
Chicago

I can't help wondering how much the Vietnam War has to do with the re-emergence of militarism throughout the world, and even with the revival of the Nazi movement in Germany.

When people are forced to have arms they don't need, they will find use for them. If people need food, but you give them guns instead, you, and not they, are responsible for what they do with them.

Worker
Detroit

YOUTH AND WAR

I just read a little item (very little) in the daily press that said Justice Department figures show that proportionately fewer young men are trying to avoid military service illegally (i.e. draft dodging) now than during World War II.

During that so-called "popular" war, with four times the number of men in uniform, there were ten times the number of convicted draft violators.

It would obviously have been pretty demoralizing to the "war effort" if the number of draft dodgers during WWII had been publicized widely in the press. Yet today the press is deliberately trying to pin that scathing term on young men who are anything but that.

They are not trying to "hide" or "avoid a fight"—but are openly and courageously opposing a war that is both barbarous and illegal. They are not acting individually—but as a movement. That is what alarms the Administration!

Supporter
Philadelphia

Intellectual thought is really bankrupt. On television, a college professor was talking about why youth are almost all against the draft. He said that girls are only against it when you take the good-looking fellows!

Disgusted Youth
Los Angeles

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

The National Executive Committee of the College Young Democratic Clubs of America met here in September and passed, by a vote of 10 to 3, a resolution expressing its "sincere disapproval of the present administration policy in Vietnam, calling for an immediate cease fire on the part of both combatants and a prior halt in American bombings of North Vietnam."

The offices of the Democratic National Committee denied them permission to reproduce and mail out their resolutions and policy positions through the Committee, because of the nature of the resolution on Vietnam so the young Dems finally made the facts public and distributed their resolutions on their own.

The Young Dems are certainly not wild-eyed radicals, but as the war in Vietnam grows more and more horrifying, it is bound to bring more and more concerned youth to the anti-war movement.

Student
Nashville, Tennessee

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

I am tired of your harping on the dead Hungarian "revolution." Nothing stops a real revolution. Look at Vietnam. That Hungarian so-called revolution was a phoney. The Catholic Church and the CIA had a big hand in it. And Kadar, who was put in to head the government then is still in office, and very popular with the people. So what are you beefing about?

Reader
Los Angeles

EDITOR'S NOTE: A revolution that was fought under the banner of Marx's Humanism; that ushered in a whole new epoch in man's search for freedom from capitalism, both private and state; that first gave the term "Freedom Fighters" to the world; and whose accomplishments in its short life remain vital lessons for today's revolutionaries, is far from dead.

Having smashed the revolution physically with tanks and guns, it is true that the Communists tried hard to slander it as a "counter-revolution of the landowners and capitalists," and brand the revolutionaries as "fascists."

Such slanders are completely demolished by the many books which document the true history of the Revolution. Space prevents us from mentioning more than a few: *Behind the Rape of Hungary*, by F. Fejto; *The Hungarian Revolution*, by George Mikes; and for the Workers' Councils documents, *The Review of The Imre Nagy Institute*.

NEGRO WRITERS WANTED

A small Italian publisher is preparing a book containing poems, short stories, essays: writing of any kind by Negroes on the questions of Black Power, Black Liberation, the Vietnam War, and the affinity of Afro-America with the third world. Although professional writers will be in-

cluded, the publisher is mainly looking for writing from black youth and the average man-or-woman-on-the-street.

Literary finesse will be a minor consideration if a consideration at all. There is no pay involved in the project, but there is every opportunity to speak honestly and directly to the Italian public.

Submissions should be made through: Smyrna Press, Box 418, Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009.

Dan Georgakas
New York

ON CHINA . . .

I have been reading your articles on the Red Guards and following events closely in China. I am hoping that in a year, or at the most two, I will be able to arrange for a national lecture tour for Raya Dunayevskaya in my country.

Chinese Refugee
Macao

I found your article on "China's Self-Created Turmoil" (N&L, Oct.) thoroughly absorbing, and I look forward to Raya Dunayevskaya's "Philosophy and Revolution." Your views of the tragedy of the Vietnamese are quite just.

Reader
Singapore

I don't agree with you on China, but am interested in your analysis. Your position and work on the Negro and Delano and worker control is excellent.

Friend
New York

PRO AND CON OUR COLUMNISTS

I consider Peter Mallory's statement in "Our Life and Times" (N&L, Nov. issue) that Bertrand Russell is "a warhawk on Mao's side" as being one of the most ridiculous statements I have heard in a long time. Why not leave name-calling of this type to Birchers and their fellow paranoics?

L. H.
Oregon

Mr. Eugene Walker's columns are excellent. The students should never have departed from the South, and now they should be invited to return.

Reader
Chicago

It may sound strange to you, but the article I look for first, after I've read the front page article each issue, is the one from Glasgow. I like the way Harry McShane writes, and what is happening to the workers there often helps me understand what is happening right here.

Auto Worker
Detroit

LEADERS AND RANKS

Reuther is certainly no raving radical—and if even he can't stand what passes for the labor "leadership" of Meany, you can imagine what the rank-and-file think of him!

Auto Worker
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

'Black Power', Race and Class

(Ed. Note: Several readers who are active in the civil rights movement have requested that we print the following excerpt from the "Perspectives Report" given to News & Letters Committees at our Convention in September 1966. The full report is available for 35c from News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Det. Mich. 48204.)

At the present crucial moment of world history, when the third world of underdeveloped countries has become the bone of contention, not only between "East" and "West" but also within the so-called East, the Sino-Soviet orbit, it is imperative that the Negro maintain his independence from any state power, and its ideas. Presently, many of these have jumped on the bandwagon of the "black power" slogan. It therefore must be closely examined.

The SNCC statement, which evidently SNCC had been discussing for months before its publication by others, is not outside of a certain philosophic framework, certain principled tenants. In turning to these, we, of course, take the statement at its face value when it declares: "These views should not be equated with outside influence or outside agitation but should be viewed as the natural process of growth and development within a movement; so that the move by the black militants and SNCC in this direction should be viewed as a turn toward self-determination." (New York Times 8/5/66).

At the same time, however, we know that ideas have a history of their own, and a logic of their own, and we must follow each to its logical, bitter end, including all its historic ramifications, not the least of which, both for past and present, is the inter-relationship between class and race.

RACE AND CLASS

There is no such supra-historical abstraction as racism. In each historical period it was something different. It was one thing during slavery, another during Reconstruction, and quite something else today.

To maintain, as the new SNCC statement and its new chairman, Stokely Carmichael, do, that there is something called a "white psyche" and that this "white psyche is part of the white fear-guilt complex resulting from the slave revolts," is but the reverse side of the same coin which standard bourgeois white textbooks maintain: that it is not the exploitative class that is keeping the Negro down, but that it is due to some sort of "stigma of slavery." That, naturally, was not the intent of the SNCC statement, but ideas have a logic of their own.

To further insist that "whatever their political persuasion," "all whites" are "part of the collective white America" so that the U.S. has "180 million racists" is to blur the class line which cuts across the race divisions as well as to muffle the philosophy of total freedom which has created a second America. In this, the Negro has played a vanguard role and it is this role we must save from the SNCC statement which means to separate "all blacks" from "all whites"—and thus ends up by flying in the face of how the Negro shaped the course of the second America.

The truth is this. Despite the ruling Bourbon South's economic power with its Simon Legrees, despite its political power in the halls of Congress ruling the North, despite their "fear complex" (I know nothing of any "guilt complex"; none of them had sufficient of that to do anything about it—but regarding their fear of Negro revolt they did plenty in the South, in the North, in Congress, and in the Supreme Court)—despite ALL these powers, the Bourbon South not only failed to brainwash all the people, but a very important section was inspired by the slave revolts, just those slave revolts which SNCC thinks all feared, to organize the most remarkable organization this country had ever seen. I am referring, of course, to the Abolitionists.

NEGRO AND WHITE UNITY—1830-65

It was no coincidence that in 1831, the year of the greatest slave revolt, Nat Turner's, a white New England Abolitionist, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, founded the *Liberator*.

It was no accident that the Negro runaway slaves, the white Abolitionists and Negro freedmen gathered together, determined to resolve the problem of slavery, not by founding a colony abroad, but right here at home.

And it was neither accidental nor a mean achievement that these males had a different view of voteless women than that which was then prevalent, and the suffragette movement also arose out of this most remarkable organization of uncompromising freedom fighters that predated the origin of Bolshevism by 80 years.

Nor was it "an overnight affair." It lasted for three long decades, until they impelled the Civil War, and during all those 30 years, in slave-ridden America, these remarkable individuals practiced these human relations that they espoused for the country as a whole. So that when, finally, the paths of the Abolitionists and Karl Marx crossed, the affinity of his ideas and theirs should have revealed how indigenous, how deep were the American roots of Marxism.

It is peculiar, indeed, that this page of history, so carefully hidden from all standard white textbooks which, at best, treat the Abolitionists as a tiny group of "fanatics" with no influence on the course of American history, should also have been skipped over by Carmichael because it doesn't fit into his conception that all whites have the same "psyche." This does no harm to history because it has been lived.

It does a great deal of harm, however, to the SNCC philosophy which has thereby deprived itself of the awareness of the duality of historic development, of the dialectic methodology which is born out of these contradictions, and which had led Marx to see men's development as the development of various stages of freedom. This is the methodology which enabled Marx to make pivotal to his philosophy the vision that, just as man develops through contradiction, so his "quest for universality" is most intense when people are most degraded.

Either SNCC has not the slightest conception of this world view of history. Or they deliberately disregarded it, to continue with the logic of their first false premise, that "all whites" have one "psyche" and "all blacks" another, and if ever the twain meet,

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

Move Is on To Stifle Berkeley Students

Exactly two years after the culmination of the Free Speech Movement, thousands of students at the University of California at Berkeley began a student strike against the calling of police on campus to suppress an anti-war demonstration.

The anti-war demonstration had been called to protest the administration's decision to allow a Navy Recruiting table in the Student Union, and to protest the Vietnam War. The invasion of the campus by law officers galvanized student opinion as it did during FSM. Thousands responded to the call for a boycott of classes.

The student government voted to support it; the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1570—the graduate students who are teaching assistants—voted overwhelmingly to stop teaching; the faculty members of the American Federation of Teachers urged "all faculty members to respect the teaching assistants' picket lines."; the Student Waitress Union voted to "honor the student strike by striking against the Golden Bear (campus restaurant)" and "urged all student employees of the Food Services to STRIKE".

The strike lasted four days. With final examinations less than a week off, the students voted to end it after the faculty did not support the strike. Although the students called off the strike they did not feel it was a defeat. As Mario Savio stated: "We don't want a strike that is hurting us more than them . . . We'll be back next term because our demands haven't been met."

STUDENT ISSUES

To review the causes of the strike we must begin with the Free Speech Movement of 1964. It was here that the students by their actions and words most clearly raised the issues that were central to their humanist concept of life—the issues of civil rights, war and peace, automation, the role of the university in society, what should an education consist of—a concept diametrically opposed to what society and the university stood for.

As Raya Dunayevskaya put it, "The dialogue on concrete questions became a search for a total philosophy"(1)

The victory was won, temporarily at least. But the search for a total philosophy gave way to the pragmatic immediacy of a growing war in Vietnam which the students wished to oppose.

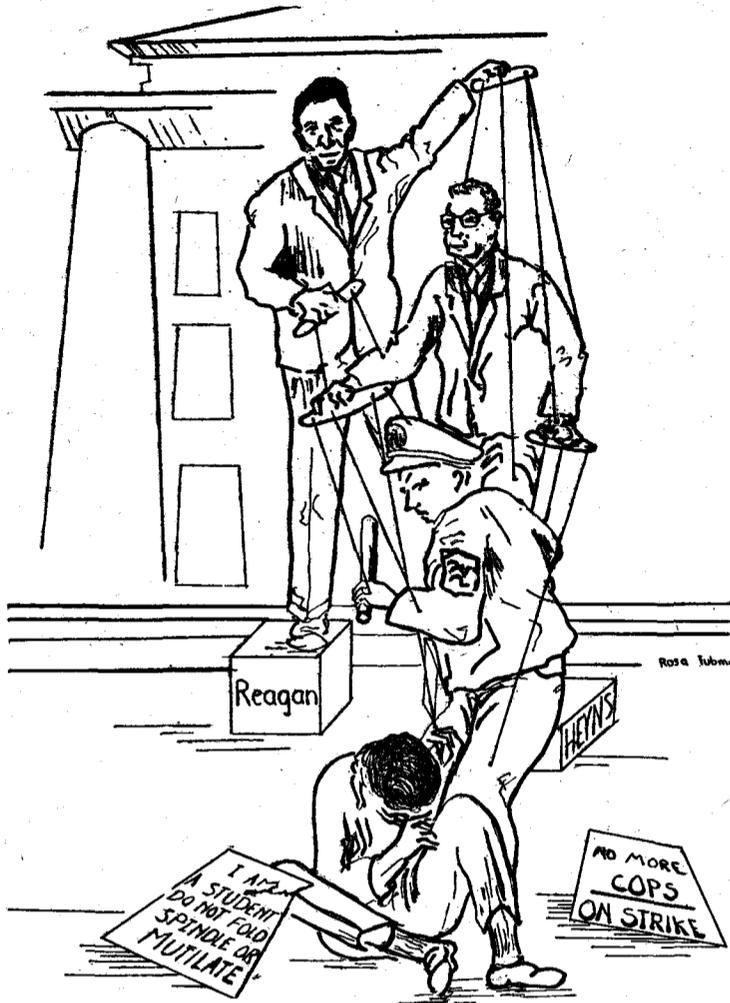
NEW RESTRICTIONS

On the campus a new chancellor, Roger Heyns, was installed the following year. As the Vietnam War expanded and drew student attention and protest, new restrictions for political activity were slowly built up on campus. The administration was attempting to "depoliticize" the campus.

Chancellor Heyns felt, as had the President of the University, Clark Kerr, two years previous, that it was a question of only a few outside agitators—"non-students"—who were causing the trouble. He set about to restrict non-student activity on campus.

The truth is that so involved is

1. The Free Speech Movement and The Negro Revolution. Mario Savio, Eugene Walker, Raya Dunayevskaya. News and Letters, Detroit 1965.



the university in politics — the politics of a capitalist country with one foot in the imperialist adventure in Asia and the other on top of a minority at home—that it must at all times attempt to stifle the student youth, who will not accept our government's repression at home or abroad.

"DEPOLITICALIZATION"

The administration tried other tactics in its depoliticization campaign. It restricted the number of times an organization could use the free speech area of Sproul Hall for rallies. It then began a campaign first to shorten the time allowed for rallies at Sproul Hall and then to move the free speech area to a more isolated location. Both decisions were postponed to avoid a major confrontation. The confrontation finally occurred with the sit-in and student strike.

The Regents and Heyns felt quite well armed in this fight. Ronald Reagan had made "cleaning up" the campus of political influence (read: students) one of his major campaign themes. His victory had been a resounding one.

REAGANISM BEGINS

Reaganism was instituted on campus before Reagan was in the governor's chair. It was round one of the students versus Reagan and Reagan responded to the student strike in the notorious style of "patriots" who used to ask: "If you don't like this country, why don't you go back where you came from." Reagan tells the students, "No one is compelled to attend the University. Those who do attend should accept and obey the prescribed rules or pack up and get out."

The gulf between Reagan and the students is much deeper than the student strike. It is the difference between the new generation of U.S. radicals who are seeking to remake a world they did not create and a representative of a decrepit society which must be remolded.

On Vietnam, Reagan feels there should be a "greater use of our hardware and full mobilization of the resources of our country." On nuclear weapons, he states that our enemy "should go to bed every night not knowing whether you're going to use them." Just when farm workers have succeeded in organizing themselves (a fight in which many students aided) Reagan appoints a man who is a member of the National Right to Work Committee as president of the State Board of Agriculture. Reagan supported a constitutional amendment which nullified all fair housing laws in California and criticized the state government for not moving more quickly in putting down the Watts Revolt.

WHAT WE FACE

Thus the students at the University of California at Berkeley face not only LBJ with his real war against the Vietnamese people and his false war against poverty, but a home-bred reactionary standing in opposition to all that the new generation of radical student youth is fighting for.

What the students must ask themselves, is: what can be done? Is the approach a pragmatic one of fighting each new intrusion of peoples' freedom, only to have to refight it on the same basis at the next intrusion? Or should it be a return to the search for a total philosophy which was begun by the students during FSM?

There will be further manifestations of the unfreedom of our society and they must be fought in the concrete. But ideas—not a hampering ideology, but a philosophy of freedom—can become a crucial weapon in this fight.

It is for the activists in Berkeley and everywhere to work out such a philosophy so we face not unending battles against the old but the building of the new.

Venezuelan Student Reports Divisions Wrecking Nation

(Ed. note: Last month the University of Caracas in Venezuela was closed and occupied by the army. Many students were arrested. A student there sends us this report.)

Caracas, Dec. 24, 1966 — The latest events in Venezuela and at the Central University of Caracas have had repercussions which go beyond merely local interest. Seen from the outside, where only the peaks which come up through the clouds are visible, these kind of events must provoke astonishment.

But seen from the inside, and knowing all the details from the privileged vantage point of a student in this university, the "why" of these events becomes fairly clear. So I shall try to explain as briefly as possible what is happening.

For the past five or six years we have had a Communist Party and also another sister party, the "MIR" which saw itself as the continuation of Castro in Venezuela. These two parties always worked together, and together they started the guerilla movement and the FLN (National Liberation Front).

"PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE"

In 1964, the Communist Party (PC) decided to "apply" the line of "peaceful co-existence" to Venezuela and put forward the

slogan of "democratic peace," i.e., respect for constitutional rights, legalization of extremist parties (the PC and the MIR), nationalistic reforms.

The MIR, feeling that there could be neither peace nor democracy without victory, began to oppose violently the "revisionist" line of the PC, which itself was moving slowly towards legality (some of its leaders freed, a partly free press, etc.) The FLN began to fall apart; several militants fell into the hands of the police after being betrayed (Fabricio Ojeda was only the best known of them).

TERRORISM CONTINUES

Within the PC itself Douglas Bravo emerged. Bravo, who controlled most of the armed units of the PC, decided to continue the armed struggle, terrorism, etc. Within the guerilla movement itself there were shootings on all sides and even armed battles. Meanwhile, the MIR sided more or less with Douglas, emphasizing the peasant guerillas.

UNIVERSITY ATTACKED

The government itself makes a sharp distinction between the two clans and, while it is growing soft on the PC, is redoubling its repression against the others. Douglas has begun to carry on his terrorism in earnest, killing people who were directly involved in the torture of political prisoners and assassinations and not hesitating to shoot down high government officials or high military officers.

It was one of these attacks on a general and the death of a major that caused the military pressure on the government to abandon the university to the army. The army has not deprived itself of the pleasure of smashing everything in the school—labs, classes, dorms. They even evacuated the school hospital.

WORKERS NOT INVOLVED

The government obviously didn't approve of this action, which tends to unify the extremist factions. It is quite clear they were forced by the army. Since then, there are rumors of more terrorist attacks and stronger and stronger military pressure on the government. (There is nothing, of course, in the legal press).

In the rest of the country the situation does not appear alarming, for the government tried to limit the repressive actions as much as possible to the university. The rest of Caracas is completely normal.

Until now the proletariat has not come into the political arena, and it has absolutely nothing to do with all these faction fights among the different tendencies of petit-bourgeois radicalism of our "national socialists."

We are waiting with great expectation for the proletariat to put its word in and put an end to this whole murderous farce.

—Serge

dictators
our youth they have upturn
from earth's delight
dragging them by their heart's
roots
with no more
than a single
gram
of patriotic
dynamite
dark judases
of nations
now
brains and feet
keep pace as identical
divisions
ignite Americas
Europe
Asia
advance in joy newfangled
to glory
with rotted skulls dangled
from bayonets
jangle your hymns
with nationalistic faces
while
their
graces
tiptoe traders in ideals
kicking
their own posteriors
with their heels
order
us hanged
as a new
laudation
of the dictators by the strangled
Antoni Gronowicz

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New York's Poor 'Bust Out All Over' in Winter Time

New York, N.Y. — In the country June is the month for "busting out all over," but in New York winter is the time when mass action rocks the city. There are indications that this year may see even more people demanding change than there were three years ago.

At that time the great school boycott dramatized the fight for quality, integrated education, and hundreds of rent strikes flooded the courts. Already this winter there have been movements in the areas of welfare and hospitals as well as in schools and housing.

BETTER SCHOOLS DEMANDED

In late December, the Board of Education held public hearings on its proposed budget for the next year. Members of interested parents' groups came out in number to demand better schooling in minority-group areas.

When a "non-scheduled" speaker insisted on being heard and the audience supported her, the Board adjourned the meeting. Then the parents elected their own "Peoples Board of Education" (the official Board is appointed) and continued to discuss their problems.

For three days the Peoples Board sat-in in the official Board members' seats, until they were finally arrested. The next week the same parents brought a court case against the Board members, claiming they failed to hold proper hearings and failed to provide adequate education for the City's children. Of course the case was lost, but all these activities are showing that the people are fed up with empty promises.

NO HEAT—NOT NEW

One day the same week, the headline in the Daily News read "6,000 families without heat." This horrible condition is nothing new, but the city government was overwhelmed because it now

provides a number for tenants living with dangerous conditions to call.

The City is then supposed to supply emergency service to put on the heat. In the days after the headline, tenants of many buildings sat-in at the Department of Buildings demanding emergency repairs. Some Harlem tenants built a bonfire in the street and demonstrated until the City sent fuel.

The problem of heat will, as always, be a major point of protest for the poor all through the winter. In addition, the fight to keep and strengthen rent control will grow hotter and hotter until the matter comes before the City Council in the spring.

Welfare recipient leagues have been growing over the past year, but they have not yet had any city-wide demonstrations of their strength. The recipients' demands are closely related to those of the welfare case workers, whose increasingly militant union is about to strike again for smaller case loads and other changes which would be advantageous for their clients.

HOSPITAL DEMANDS

Hospitals have been in the news recently, with charges of inferior service added to the constant problem of overcrowding. Again in late December, a hospital in the Bronx closed down. The next day some of its doctors and members of the minority groups who live in the area forced their way into the building and continued their clinic.

The residents and social-minded doctors are demanding that the City take over and run the hospital, as the only other hospital in the area cannot possibly absorb the 480 beds in this one.

Will any of these separate activities grow into lasting movements to improve the lives of New York's millions of poor people? Those of 1964 did not, but this writer predicts a lot more action in 1967.

Treat Students Like Workers at Berkeley

The problems of the student in the University have intensified since the FSM. While some minor experiments in education have occurred at the University, the major "reform" has been the introduction of a quarter system which has further estranged the student. In this system each teaching period is shorter and the tests are more frequent. The University has become further automated.

The Regents who run the university showed what type of student-faculty-administration relations they wished when they stated in response to the strike that "university personnel, including all levels of faculty and teaching assistants, who participate in any strike . . . will thereby be subject to termination of their employment relationship with the university; denial of re-employment or the imposition of other appropriate sanction." The picture of the factory was complete and the Regents were letting all know who the boss was.

The Regents and Heyns refused to consider any of the student grievances. Heyns throughout the student strike refused to negotiate with the strikers. Even after the Strike Committee made concessions central to their strike, Heyns' attitude was that of the boss who says: end the strike, resume production and then maybe we will talk about it.

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Youth Fight for Sunset Strip Freedom

Los Angeles, Calif. — The leaflet was an idea by a group of youths from the Fifth Estate Coffee House. It called for a protest meeting against police mistreatment of youth on a section of Sunset Blvd. known as the Strip.

The weeks before this had seen the police arresting many youth on violations of a curfew law which is enforced only in certain parts of the city. The youth expected only a few to come to the protest of Nov. 12, but by 10 p.m. (the time of the curfew) about 2,000 young people had assembled in the area around Pandora's Box, another teenage coffee house in the area.

DEMONSTRATIONS EVERY NIGHT

Another meeting was called for the following Saturday, but every night until then demonstrations were held by the teenagers themselves. Some of the posters read, "Let Us Alone," "Stop Molesting Teenagers," "Don't Destroy Us," and "Freedom for All on the Strip."

The police and the businessmen of the area sought to crack down on the youth who had no money, who wore their hair long and dressed in a Mod fashion.

Even though the curfew is for loitering, some of the arrests were made as youth were coming to or leaving the area, especially if they had long hair or looked different.

YOUTH HARASSED

They moved against not only the teenagers with wholesale ar-

rests, but against the places where the teenagers gathered, the coffee houses and the entertainment spots which held youth permits.

They harassed youth who were in the coffee houses and who often faced arrest upon leaving. The entertainment spots lost their youth permits.

ADULTS HAVE MONEY

A group of merchants on the Sunset Strip made statements demanding that the Mayor close down the teenage clubs which constitute "public nuisances." They never protest when adults get drunk and cause trouble—there are two burlesque houses and several adult night clubs in the area—but they have money.

The demonstrations continued for three weeks with sit-downs, marching with placards and pro-

test rallies. Over three hundred were arrested.

At present there is a truce in effect. It is one sided in that the youth are staying off the street and therefore cannot be arrested.

FIGHTING FOR RIGHTS

By their demonstrations the youth are demanding equal rights. They see no reason why there should be discrimination against someone with long hair, a beard, or sandals, any more than against someone with different skin color.

They see so much that is false today and they want it changed. This area of Sunset Blvd. was used as a place to meet and discuss. It was a place where they could express themselves as they felt without the confinement of today's conformity.

It is for these rights that they are fighting.

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'Black Power', Race and Class

(Continued from Page 5)

it is always to the end that the whites interfere with or pervert the Negro's self-organization.

PERVERTED PHILOSOPHY PERVERTS MOVEMENT

It is to that end that Stokely Carmichael, instead, singled out the organization of the Niagara movement, which he says was all black and great, until it was "perverted" by whites and merged into the then new NAACP. Whatever the white liberal did in changing the direction of the Niagara movement as it became the NAACP, this was not grounded in either their whiteness or their liberalism.

Rather, it had its origin in the thesis of Du Bois himself; in his concept that each nation, each race has its own "talented tenth," and that this elite "brings" freedom to the mass. With such an underlying philosophy, the Niagara movement couldn't possibly get a mass following, no matter how militant it was in its demands for full equality as against Booker T. Washington's philosophy of "Cast down your bucket wherever you are."

It is true that by then (the turn of the century) racism had become rampant, North and South, for, with America's plunge into imperialism in 1898, the other great pages in American history of black and white solidarity, including the greatest page within the South's development—Populism—were fully expunged. It is true, also, that the only rational voice came from the Negro. It isn't true, however, that the failure of these movements to become mass movements was due to the whites "taking over" the NAACP.

As against Carmichael's rewrite, here is how one of the leaders of the Niagara movement summed up this failure: "... their cause was just, their motives pure, their goals noble and practical; but they were perhaps too far removed from the masses to inspire them to action—too conscious of their own privileged position as a black elite . . ." (Henry Lee Moon, *Balance of Power*, p. 848)

Now, despite the fact that the word, black, and not the word, white, precedes the word, elite, this is a class concept, a thoroughly bourgeois class concept, and it led to the isolation, self-imposed isolation of the black intellectual, from the Negro masses, and therefore from their self-organization.

HOW CLASS SHOWS THROUGH

The only time this wasn't true, and Negroes by the millions organized themselves and put an end to the myth that the Negro couldn't be organized (and this was 1920, not 1966) to fight for his freedom in an all-black organization, was the Garvey movement. The interference it ran into was from the black "talented tenth." The most prominent of these, and the one who appealed to the white power structure, particularly the Justice Department, to deport Garvey was—Du Bois!

Now Du Bois was a great historian, one of the greatest this country has ever had, white or Negro, and the only one who has made a great contribution to the true history of Black Reconstruction. Unfortunately, however, his class (petty-bourgeois) character always showed.

This was so when he organized an all-black movement, and retreated. It was so when the West Indian, Marcus Garvey, organized an all-black mass movement, and Du Bois attacked him. It was so when Du Bois fought against the Marxists. And it remained true when, in his old age, he joined the Communist Party and followed their African line.

The point here is that, just as Du Bois showed his class character in this country, so did he show it on the world scene, especially in Africa. For, while he appealed to still another white power structure—the United Nations—to give Africa limited freedom, the African masses arose spontaneously and changed the whole map of the world in less than a decade.

The point is that Du Bois moved to Ghana after it became independent, that is to say, only when state power was won. The point is that, as with all intelligentsia, so with the Negro, there has always been a separation between the elite and the mass.

NEGRO AND WHITE UNITY—1930s AND NOW

This was so not only as they organized themselves in nationalist movements, but when they organized themselves, with white labor, to reorganize the whole industrial face of the nation through the CIO. Considering George S. Schuyler's present reactionary stance, it is important to see how differently he spoke under the impact of the CIO, as he lashed out against the established Negro leaders in 1937: "Nowhere were the 'educated' classes cooperating with the unions to aid the work of organization, save in a few notable instances and there only by one or two individuals . . . Their desertion of the struggling Negro workers in this crisis constitutes one of the most shameful chapters in our recent history. The new position Negro labor has won in the past year has been gained in spite of the old leadership. It has been won with new leadership; militant young men and women from the ranks of labor and grizzled black veterans of the pick and shovel and the blast furnace." (Crisis, Nov. 1937)

You cannot reverse history. This integration into labor having been achieved, the ones who will save the CIO from its degeneration, as we can see by the new formation of Negro caucuses for upgrading, for the end of lily-white departments, against the bureaucracy in general, are the workers. It will not be achieved by those who disregard the integration, and themselves use college-type vocabulary, completely devoid of any sense of class struggle. The great German philosopher, G. W. F. Hegel, had a phrase for this type of thinking. He called it "self-determination applied externally." That is, from above, not as it emerged from internal self-development.

The Negro Revolution of the 1960's that emerged from below was for integration, not because of interference by the whites, but because it arose spontaneously from black youth who wanted it. The Muslims were completely external to this movement, outside of it. Indeed, to get back into the mainstream of the black revolution, Malcolm X found he had to break from Elijah Muhammad.

The development of SNCC to greater militancy, of necessity, had to involve a break from white liberals—a break both from their money and their policies, it is true. But the emphasis, if this is what SNCC meant to do, should have been on the "liberalism" they opposed. Instead the emphasis was put on "all whites," as a generalization, including even those who had given their very lives for the movement.

And the trouble with generalizations is that they very often sow only confusion, because each one reads into it his specific interpretation, which may not be what you intended at all. There is no way to avoid confusion except by being specific instead of general.

LBJ's State of Union Fantasy Revealed in Glare of Reality

(Continued from Page 1)

York, Boston, Washington and Cincinnati, it was nearer 4%, and in Detroit, it was up by 5% over the year — and there was every indication that the rate of increase would continue steadily.

WARS AND RECESSIONS

Ever since the end of World War II, the permanent army of the unemployed has been a permanent feature of capitalism. The country has reeled from Depression to War, and from recession to small wars, and back again without end.

What is new in 1967 is that we stand on the threshold of a new recession in the year ahead, at the very time that the war is being escalated more and more. To have war, inflation and recession — all at the same time — has up to now been regarded as a strict impossibility by all bourgeois economists, and even by many "radicals."

Yet almost all of the so-called "leading indicators" began to point downward toward the end of last year, and by now the Administration economists themselves are euphemistically predicting a "leveling-out" by mid-1967.

Auto sales, for example, were so low in the last months of 1966 that all four auto companies scheduled "holiday shutdowns" and began 1967 with layoffs. The drop in auto production, together with the drops in appliances and housing, have in turn resulted in a significant cutback in the output of steel.

LBJ'S "SOLUTIONS"

To combat the unprecedented and unholy three—war, recession and inflation — the Administration appears to have the following answers:

(1) Escalate the war still more — and get the money for it by slashing domestic programs to the bone.

(2) Fight inflation by taxing the consumer to curtail his "spending power," rather than by increasing the tax on the fantastically high corporate profits. (This is what the 6% surcharge tax LBJ has called for, to be applied "equally" to individuals and businesses, amounts to.)

(3) Prepare for the expected wave of strikes in 1967 with new anti-strike legislation.

President Johnson has already named a special panel to study ways to "cope with" the new strikes that may "affect the national interest" and there are very few who believe that the strike legislation Congress is expected to take up in its 1967 session will limit itself to even what they choose to call "emergency strike situations."

Secretary of Labor Wirtz recently set the tone for 1967 when he decried the many times in 1966 that rank-and-file workers had rejected the labor agreements recommended by their so-called leaders. Wirtz called it "very very dangerous for collective bargaining," and predicted that it would increase in 1967.

MORE STRIKES AHEAD

Workers, whose concern is with their working conditions, and not with the fringe benefits their leaders try to foist upon them, are sure to agree.

More than two and a half million workers employed in big industry alone (firms with more than 5,000 on the payroll) will be involved in contract negotiations in 1967. This is more than twice the number that were involved in such negotiations in 1966, and the industries are more basic: oil, railroads, trucking, auto, rubber, maritime, construction.

Labor's increasing opposition to the conditions of labor imposed on it by capitalism comes at the same time the opposition to the

dirty war in Vietnam is also increasing. In mid-December over 350 members of 32 international unions attended a peace conference sponsored by the Chicago Trade Union Division of SANE, where they denounced official AFL-CIO support of LBJ's Vietnam policy, and resolved to carry the discussion on war and peace to the other members of their unions.

WAR PROTEST GROWS

A SANE rally in Madison Square Garden in Dec. attracted more than 20,000 protestors, and this was BEFORE New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury's eye-witness reports of the bombing of Hanoi and resulting civilian casualties, which the Administration had diligently denied up to that time.

Perhaps most significant of all, was the New Year's message to President Johnson from 100 student leaders across the nation — most of whom were elected campus leaders and admittedly represented a far more moderate group than members of the New Left — in which they warned not only that "unless this conflict can be eased, the U. S. will find some of her most loyal and courageous young people choosing to go to jail rather than to bear their country's arms", but also that, "There are many who are deeply troubled for every one who has been outspoken in dissent."

The civil rights movement has likewise been increasingly linking its drive for freedom and equality here with opposition to the war in Vietnam, while the Administration has dropped all pretense of sympathy for the Negro struggle and made it clear that only the Vietnam war has any priority.

Not one word, in fact, did Johnson utter on the state of the Negro in his "State of the Union" message — despite the fact that the Negro masses continue to live in conditions of poverty and segregation that have remained utterly unchanged, if they have not grown worse.

In 1966 Congress failed even to pass its usual hypocritical "new Civil Rights legislation" — and the shocking action of the new Congress against Adam Clayton Powell shows both the real "state of the union" and the incredibly reactionary character of the new Congress, at one and the same time. (See Editorial, Page 1.)

REAL WORLD VS. LBJ'S

One would never think that this racist and ghettoized society which is promising only new economic crises and greater escalation of the war in Vietnam, both at the same time, in the year ahead, is the same one LBJ was talking about in his speech to Congress.

The real conditions in this country, and the real conditions of Vietnam apparently do not penetrate the rarified atmosphere of the White House today anymore than the unemployed miners were able to penetrate it three years ago. Unfortunately, however, the White House, rarified atmosphere or not, is no Ivory Tower, but the control center of a world power which is waging a war that threatens increasingly to be but the prelude to a nuclear holocaust that would destroy civilization entirely.

Capitalist society is rotten at its core, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state-capitalist form as in Russia and China. What is needed not only to break down the old, but to build an entirely new society is the linking, through a philosophy of freedom, of all the struggles — those of the Negroes against rampant racism, those of the youth against war, and those

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

North Vietnam Bombing Takes Civilian Toll

Up to now, the claims from Hanoi that civilian targets in the capital and the city of Namdinh had been hit by American bombers has been met by insistent denial by the American military authorities. Now a completely reliable American reporter, Harrison E. Salisbury of the New York Times, has been permitted to view both cities and inspect the damage caused by American bombings.

He reports, "at 2:30 p.m. on Christmas an air alert sounded and anti-aircraft guns roared. A U.S. plane was reported shot down." In describing the results of the attack of Dec. 14, he says the target was apparently a rail yard and bridge, but the bombs fell short and into a large group of apartment houses which

were demolished.

In describing the damage to Namdinh he states, "The cathedral tower looks out over block after block of utter desolation: The city's 90,000 population has been reduced to 20,000 due to evacuation; 13% of the city's housing, including the homes of 12,464 persons has been destroyed; 89 people have been killed and 405 wounded."

Despite American claims that "only military targets" are being attacked, Salisbury could find only one textile plant, a rice processing plant, a silk factory, an agricultural tools plant and a thread co-op. The only possible military product of the area might be cloth for uniforms. The textile plant has been hit 19 times. "On April 14 about

6:30 a.m. just as the factory shifts were changing, 49 persons were killed, 135 were wounded and 240 houses collapsed in the street. Eight bombs accomplished this, MK84s, huge weapons weighing about 2,000 pounds."

The local authorities feel that the Americans are using unannounced indiscriminate bombing of the city as a warning of what might happen to Hanoi in case the same strategy is applied there as it was in Germany in WW II.

Even Salisbury is forced to conclude, "President Johnson's announced policy that American targets in North Vietnam are steel and concrete rather than human lives seem to have little connection with the reality of the attacks."

Guatemalan War

An American reporter, Georgie Anne Geyer, has just returned from a prolonged visit to the camp of the guerilla fighters in the mountains of Guatemala and has issued a report on their conditions and aims of their struggle for freedom.

The resistance to despotism is led by 25-year-old Cesar Montes, head of the Rebel Armed Forces called FAR, who permitted the reporter to interview the ranks of the rebels, old and young peasants whose only choice is to rebel or die of poverty.

The peasants described how their villages had been burned to the ground, including the Protestant churches, the people jailed and held for ransom. "I was in jail for 6 months," an old man said. "My boy, he is 18, died of malnutrition while I was in jail. One of my relatives had to pay \$150 to get me free. I had to pay \$80—all I had."

Guatemala has long been the scene of poverty and struggle against their oppressors, the wealthy landowners and the Catholic church, held in power by naked military force. The United Fruit Co. of the United States always pulled the strings and shared their profits with the church and landowners.

The U.S. government, far from helping to establish any form of democracy in the country, has been the chief stumbling block.

In 1963 the American government evaluated the situation in the country and decided on the advice of John O. Bell, the American ambassa-

dor to the country at the time, that it was necessary to prevent the election of Juan Jose Arevalo, whose popularity was so high that his election as president was imminent. In the councils of President Kennedy, it was Bell, Edwin M. Martin, then assistant Secretary of State, and Richard Helms, now director of the C.I.A., whose advice prevailed against that of Theodor Moscoso, administrator of the Alliance for Progress, who opposed the 1963 coup. Once the Kennedy decision had been made, the C.I.A. instigated and supported the 1963 military coup against their "friend" President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, who had provided the base for the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

Miss Geyer states: "History shows that the Ydigoras' overthrow marked a halt in the progress of the country. The military regime headed by Col. Peralta did nothing to further economic development. He became so intransigent that U.S. aid officials became publicly disgusted."

The present American ambassador denies that the special "Green Beret" forces are employed in Guatemala. The leader of FAR claims that there are about 1,000 in the country fighting to support the military dictatorship. Miss Geyer said, "I personally saw American Special Forces (without their berets, but with their insignia) in Guatemala City. Police sources told me there now are Special Forces men training recruits."

"One sign—a curious one, but a sign—may be that Robin Moore, the chronicler of the Green Berets, recently has them located in his comic strip 'somewhere in Central America.' But if he means Guatemala, his portrayal of the rebels is wrong. He shows them wearing big sombreros." Obviously we are dealing with far more than a credibility gap. We are dealing with downright government lies.

Guatemala stands as a symbol of the stupidity of U.S. policies in Latin America. Miss Geyer says, "The story of American diplomacy in Guatemala, which has played a major role in shaping present events, has been a story of continuous intervention, especially by the CIA."

"The problems started after Guatemala's 1944 revolution against the dictator, Jorge Ubico, when Juan Jose Arevalo, considered the 'first

president of the revolution,' came to power. He spoke in vague concepts such as "spiritual socialism." He made reforms in education, introduced social security and medical coverage for the workers, encouraged industrial development and started unionization of workers.

"There has never been any evidence that Arevalo was a communist. What worries some critics, however, is that in the last years of his presidency he became practically a prisoner of the army. His administration led to the far leftist administration of Col. Jacobo Arbenz.

"As President Eisenhower later admitted, the CIA then backed the invasion of Guatemala by still another colonel, Carlos Castillo Armas, and in 1954 the Arbenz government fell."

Mao's Red Guards

As we go to press, reports from Mao's China indicate that fighting between the workers and the Red Guards has resulted in hundreds dead, wounded and arrested, with violent battles spreading throughout the nation.

Red Guard posters in Peking claim the workers were led by Li Su-ying, a secretary of the Kiangsu Communist Party.

The struggle for leadership in Red China takes on an ever-increasing gruesome aspect as more and more of the old leaders are denounced and blood is shed in the streets. With millions involved in this struggle, industrial production has fallen and agriculture has suffered for lack of labor. All tends to deepen the crisis within China and increase the suffering caused by the policies of Mao Tse-tung.

The fact that the "Red Guards" themselves are posting news about the struggle between workers and students, which the press claims has taken on the proportions of a civil war, is proof enough that, far from this being a road "back to capitalism", this is the road the workers are taking away from what Mao and his cohorts are choosing to call "communism."

Yet in this fighting of posters, in a Kafka-ist manner, where crimes attributed to the accused strain truth to the breaking point, it is impossible to know what is really taking place. Moreover, the turmoil is self-created. (See N&L, Oct. 1966). Our next issue will carry that analysis further.

of the workers against their automated conditions of labor.

Nothing written today so fittingly puts the case as what Marx wrote fully 100 years ago this year: "Hand in hand with this centralization (of capital) ... develop, on an ever extending scale, the cooperative form of the labour-process... Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class... Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder..."

That is when the building of a new truly human society can finally begin.