

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

A New Dance—The Election Twist

May is the month for most of the local elections in the UAW-CIO. Workers do not see or hear from the union bureaucrats from one election to the next one, which are two years apart. But when election time comes near, those bureaucrats seem to come out of hibernation, smiling and reaching out their hands for a hand-shake. Some workers will ask them where they have been since the last election. And some of the bureaucrats try to make it sound like a joke, and say: "You know, it's election time again."

Two years ago in Local 212, there was an opposition rank-and-file slate that got many of their candidates elected, including president of the local. Workers were very happy because for the first time in 12 years or more they saw the Reuther slate lose an election. At the inauguration of the officers, the new president from the Rank and File slate made a statement that the local union activities would be put back in the hands of the membership instead of the big boys of the International Solidarity House. He said he was not expecting any help from them and that if he found any problems he couldn't solve, he would bring them to the membership to resolve. For several months after this speech, workers talked about his remarks.

FIGHT BREWS OVER NEW SECRETARY

The first union meeting after the installation, the Reuther supporters tried to block every proposal that the new president recommended. He would just put it to a vote of the membership, and the Reuther supporters would be overwhelmingly defeated. For the first time in the history of the local, a Negro was hired as the president's private secretary.

The Reuther supporters then began to make deals with the new president and leading members of his slate. They figured that if they could get rid of the Negro secretary, they could handle the president. The Negro was, they felt, the "brains" behind this particular president. The deal, therefore, was to get rid of this particular Negro, give a Negro supporter of theirs a job as an Administrative assistant so he could pick one of the leading whites for a job in the local as an Administrative assistant. Furthermore, if the president would double-cross the membership and join up with the Reutherites, they would see to it that there would be no opposition against him in the next election. This he agreed to, and did join forces with the Reutherites.

NO MEETINGS TO DISCUSS GRIEVANCES

This is just one example of how bad is the deterioration in many of the UAW locals today. Since this unholy marriage between the president and the Reuther slate, about a year and a half ago, there has not been one membership meeting called to discuss workers' grievances. They passed out some leaflets in the shop recently, telling workers how to get the floor in a meeting. One worker said, "Hell, if you can get in that hall, you can have the floor all you want, because you will be there all alone. They never have a membership meeting, so what is all this for?"

Another worker said, "What we need in the UAW is voting by referendum, where all the rank and file can vote for or against the top ranking officers of the UAW-CIO. If this was done, Reuther and his handpicked Executive Board would have been put out of office long ago. But he buys off the delegates who go to the Convention, who tell us that they are opposed to him. "When I see the defeat of Carey in the IUE, and McDonald in the USW, and several others — all because the rank and file members can vote by referendum directly for the president — then I wonder why we cannot do the same?" There were 97 local unions in the UAW who voted out their Reuther-supporting presidents two years ago.

STOOGES HELP KEEP WORKERS DOWN

In Local 212, for this coming election, there are some independent candidates, and the local officers and shop committeemen are frightened to death. The present officers have put some Negro stooges on their slate to go to the independent Negroes who are running, in order to try persuading them not to run for the same position that whites are running for on the Reuther slate. But not one white man has gone to another white worker to ask him to withdraw his name. One worker said that the local union would have made much more progress if it was not for the leading Negroes on the Reuther slate. They have held back the rank and file Negro, and this has also slowed the progress of the white rank and file worker. The role of Reutherite Negroes is solely to keep the bureaucrats in power. It would have been impossible for those white union leaders to build the machine they have today if it was not for the Reuther Negroes.

With all the yelling Reuther does about civil rights and human dignity, these are the things he allows to go on in many locals of the UAW. Workers in our shop say we will have to form a slate of our own, with rank and file workers, and dispose of those bureaucrats; a slate based on workers' interests and on shop problems, instead of "union politics" — the only thing these so-called leaders today seem concerned with.

Labor, Freedom Movements Begin New Links of Solidarity

Under the impact of southern violence and terror, the American labor movement has finally begun to forge new links of solidarity with the Freedom Movement. These last two months, which have seen the slaying of civil rights workers Willie Lee Jackson, the Rev. James Reeb and Viola Gregg Liuzzo—and which continue to see the clubbing and gassing of Alabama demonstrators—have also seen the development of joint activity between trade unions and civil rights organizations.



"Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Dominica" — See Page 8.

Not only did an unprecedented number of trade union contingents take part in the Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March, but longshoremen in Philadelphia, warehousemen in Los Angeles and teamsters in St. Louis refused to handle goods made in Alabama in flash boycott demonstrations of solidarity.

In Detroit, to give another example, 15 tons of food, clothing, toys and Easter baskets were collected in an inter-union drive and delivered in Selma on Easter Sunday. Participating in the drive were auto workers, teachers, state civil service employees, building maintenance workers, hotel and restaurant workers and teamsters. Members of Local 705 of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union actively coordinated the collections, and members of Teamsters Local 299 organized the transportation and delivery of the shipment to Alabama.

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

In mid-Manhattan, early this month, the Downtown Chapter of CORE worked with Teamsters Local 210 to sign up workers in an unorganized shop. (Last winter, this same CORE chapter helped Local 1199 of the Drug & Hospital Employees Union during the 2-month strike at Lawrence Hospital in Bronxville, N. Y.)

More far-reaching is the successful 2-week strike, by District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Workers, which recently shut down New York's garment center. On May 3, 10,000 piece-goods workers walked out of 1,200 shops in Manhattan, Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn, and parts of New Jersey. They demanded higher pay and the abolition of discrimination in hiring and upgrading.

The significant new element is that workers from 400 previously unorganized shops joined the strike and the Union because of the central emphasis given by District 65 to the demand that Negro and Puerto Rican workers be upgraded not only in the shops but that they be employed in the predominantly lily-white front offices and salesrooms as well. On this key issue, the Union organized the unorganized.

THE COMMON ENEMY

A measure of the importance of even these first steps toward labor-Negro solidarity is the venomous slander the Ku Klux Klan is trying to spread against the martyred Viola Liuzzo because she was both a Freedom Fighter and the wife of a Detroit Teamsters Union official. This twin poison of anti-unionism and racist hate figured in the Alabama mistrial that released her accused Klan killers who are now taking part in the Klan's organizing drive in North Carolina.

It is this twin poison which underlies the vicious police report on Mrs. Liuzzo prepared "con-

(Continued on Page 8)

We Appeal for Your Help to Publish

'The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution'

The pamphlet now being prepared for the press includes a special report by Mario Savio—a report of Mississippi Freedom Summer by Eugene Walker—reports by many other participants in the student demonstrations that have spread quickly from Berkeley to every corner of the country — and several articles by Raya Dunayevskaya, both on the Free Speech Movement and on the new stage of the Negro Revolution since Selma.

We are trying to rush publication so that we will have the pamphlet out by June, but 10,000 copies will cost \$2,500, and we need your help to raise it. Many readers have already sent in donations ranging from dollar bills to 50 dollar checks.

The fact that the Free Speech Movement is far from over, despite all the reports that it has "dissolved," is seen in the constantly recurring student demonstrations on almost every campus, large and small, multiversity or ivory-tower (See pp. 6 and 7)—as well as in the fact that the trials of the 800 students arrested at Sproul Hall last December are first now taking place. It is also more than obvious that the Negro Revolution, far from being over, has now reached a much higher stage where the unity of practice and theory is truly being demanded. We believe this pamphlet will be part of that process of welding practice and theory into a new philosophy of freedom, and making freedom at last real, and no longer just an idea.

You can help in two ways: 1—Through a direct contribution, as generous as you can make it. 2—Through advance orders of 5 copies for \$2. We are trying to see to it that the price of the final pamphlet need be no more than 50 cents. WILL YOU HELP?

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In Small Gambia, Aspirations Are Big

We have been told we are small in size and in population. We have been told our country's resources are limited. Yet we claim our independence, and today, our aspiration is a living fact.

In a world of economic chaos and political instability, this does not seem right. But it is the will of the people, and a people's will to be free cannot be kept

Open Letter from Committee of 100

To Malaysians—You are in the middle of two storm centres not of your own making. Mr. Wilson has chosen Singapore as the pivot of his vain claim to "a world role" East of Suez while President Sukarno's actions only add substance to the belief that he needs an external enemy to help him maintain his rule at home.

Looking ahead to the more distant future, is it not possible to imagine all the peoples of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia rejecting all militarism domestic and international (British, Russian, American and Chinese) and building a non-violent Maphilindo?

To Indonesians — Why "Crush Malaysia"? Bullets don't hit Malaysia, they hit people. Why kill anybody? If President Sukarno's case is a good one, can he not make it without violence by meetings, broadcasts, literature and demonstrations? Does he so lack confidence in what he says that he has to force his views on people? . . . Will you demand a cease-fire now?

To Our Fellow-Countrymen in Britain—Harold Wilson has decided to use the Army, Navy and Air Force to contain 'Communism' in the Far East. But 'Communism' in Asia is often another name for nationalism . . . Foreign bases only provide sources of continued conflict. British military policy in Malaysia at the moment plays right into the hands of Peking.

Are Britons to be killed and Britain to be bankrupted because Mr. Wilson knows no better than Mr. McNamara? This is the prospect unless we break with American policy in SE Asia and fix a date for complete withdrawal from Malaysia.

To The Russians—Your government has been sending arms to Indonesia and now Dr. Sukarno is turning to the Chinese for military aid. What good does it all do? We have made it clear where we stand. What about you? Will you join us in demanding the complete neutralisation of the East Indies?

To The Chinese — Afro-Asian self-determination has meant liberating the creative energies of many long-subject peoples. There can be no going back to any kind of colonialism. The future belongs to the cause of freedom. But militarism has now become the curse of the Third World as well as of the other two. Will you say to your government as we do to ours: "Hands off the Third World." To do this means no bases and no military aid of any kind from anyone.

To Americans—We are glad to see public opinion in America mounting against the war in Viet Nam. There, as in Malaysia, we condemn violence on both sides. Our governments clearly regard the two problems as one. The American government has just granted to Malaysia a loan for the purchase of four million dollars worth of military equipment. This is one more move in the wrong direction. Can we act together?

—National Committee of 100, Great Britain (13 Goodwin Street, London N. 4)

back by such considerations.

But our story did not just start today. Our peoples' enduring spirit lasted through centuries of foreign rule preceded by days of freedom.

Archaeological evidence in Gambia takes us back to the 5th Century B.C. In 470 B.C., Hanno, a Carthaginian voyager gave us what is now the first written account about Gambia. Gambia was formerly part of the early West African empires of Ghana, Mali, and Sonhay.

COLONIZATION DESCENDS

The Portuguese reached the Gambia River in 1455. They were followed by the British in 1587. The first British settlement was made on James Island in 1661—the first in Africa. Today, Gambia is Britain's last West African colony to gain independence.

The reasons are not far to seek. In 1889, Britain and France drew Gambia's boundaries. By a stroke of the pen, a piece of land, 28 miles wide and 250 miles long, became the British colony of Gambia and its peoples were finally cut off from their relatives and fellow tribesmen in the larger territory of Senegal, which now surrounds us on three sides.

By 1902 the last of the Chiefs was conquered and deposed on the principles of justice! And a young Gambian playwright now writes, "What you call justice . . . caused me to sell the lives of my race, my color and my blood . . . that same justice of yours which laid waste my land." M. David Diob, a Senegalese poet, wrote:

"His hands red with black blood, the White man turned to me, And in the Conquerors voice said, Hey, boy, a chair, a napkin, a drink!"

The fight for freedom continued . . .

EARLY LABOR STRUGGLE

As early as 1920, Edward Francis Small gave up training as a priest, and took an oath of selfless service to Gambia. A Gambian representative at the West African National Congress in Accra, he returned home to found the country's first newspaper in 1923. He was a pioneer

in many fields. In 1929, his Bathurst Trade Union led the workers in a strike that lasted 82 days and brought wage increases and improvement in working conditions. Mr. Small later entered the Legislative Council where he served for many years. At the time of his death three political parties had developed and their leaders were serving as ministers of government. Mr. M. E. Jallow, now Secretary General of AFRO, ICFU regional Office for Africa, continued his battle for the workers.

At the elections in 1960, Honorable David Jawara, British-educated veterinary scientist, led the newly-established Peoples Progressive Party to victory. But the Governor, with the support of the Chiefs, by-passed him and made Honorable D. S. Njie, leader of the minority United Party, Chief Minister.

The P.P.P. and the Democratic Congress Alliance, another party, joined forces and called for quick and unconditional independence. Within a year, a new constitution was drawn and elections were held. The P.P.P./D.C.A. swept the polls with an overwhelming majority. Honorable D. K. Jawara was made Prime Minister. Eighteen months ago, he brought Gambia full internal self-government. Today the long journey has ended.

Independence is a moment. It sets a stage which Gambia is mounting to demonstrate its hidden talents. I know the rehearsal has been thorough and we will succeed.

A TORCH OF UNITY

As a Nation, we will work to improve our status; as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the United Nations, we will join the forces of tolerance, peace and understanding, and with malice towards none, and good will towards all, if I may recall Abraham Lincoln. We will take our stand on world issues from a viewpoint of non-alignment with the full responsibility independence brings to us. As an African state, we will solve our problems of association with Senegal and light the torch of the United States of Africa.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

'In White America'

What is it that has the whole world shaking? Is it that there is so much hatred? Or is it that so many people think they should lead all the others in their way? No matter how wrong some may be, all they want to know is that they have somebody following them. But the only place they will lead you is straight to Hell.

You can see exactly what I mean when you see people not getting any punishment even for killing other people for no cause whatever. Men like Wallace and the KKK gang should be done away with by the United States. White men claim that they built this great America. That may or may not be true, but it is true that white men are certainly tearing it down.

AFRAID TO PUNISH KKK?

Crooked people are taking the world over, and they are breaking every law in their own books. And other white men are ashamed to punish them for the things they are doing to their own people. Are they afraid to arrest the KKK leaders because they think they won't have anyone to fight the Negro people when they get ready for their next March for freedom? They know that the Negro people

mean to have their freedom which is so long overdue.

When I saw the play "In White America," I thought how well it showed just how dumb the Southern white man is to keep the Negro people under his foot. When the white man asked the Negro why he wanted to be free, there were only a few words necessary to answer him: the Negro wants to be free to go and do things just as the whites do, and have some money in his pocket just like the whites do, because the Negro works just as hard to live as the whites do.

NOTHING WILL STOP US

It is hard to see how white men can act as they have done to women. No black man ever tries to run over a white woman as the white man tries to run over the Negro woman. It seems as if the white men are the very ones who are trying so hard to mix up the races—but only if they can be the ones to do it. There are some white women who see what the white men are up to, though.

And there are many who see through the white man's attempt to keep the black folks down by calling them "Communists." That will not stop people from going on to fight on for what they want, for nothing will stop us now.

From Scotland

We Are Not Anti-American

By Harry McShane

Glasgow, Scotland — Ordinary people everywhere are alarmed about the danger of a world war springing from the situation in Viet-Nam. It has become the main topic of discussion in political circles. The declara-

tion of support for American policy by the Labour Cabinet while posing as the apostles of peace is an example of appalling hypocrisy which does not seem to have registered with most of the "Lefts" in this country.

So engrossed are they with anti-Americanism that they fail to recognize that NONE of the great powers are willing to let the people of Viet-Nam determine their own destiny. They are unwilling to recognize the courageous stand taken by many of the American people against the policy of the militarists and reactionaries in their country. Nevertheless, that stand is being taken.

SPIRIT OF FREEDOM LIVES

It is unpopular to say so, but the spirit generated by America's great struggle against foreign domination still lives with large sections of the American people and has had an influence on the struggle for freedom throughout the world. Over a long period of years, thousands of victims of religious and political persecution found refuge in America. There is of course, the class struggle, but names like Eugene V. Debs, Joe Hill and Tom Mooney testify to the courage of the working class of America. Most of the best Marxist literature has come to Britain from, or via, America: As we show elsewhere in this paper, it still comes.

Boast as we may, there is nothing in Britain to equal the readiness of the American people—Negro and white—to risk everything in order to defeat the racialists of the South. The political struggle, while harder, is on a higher level than in this country. The attitude of President Johnson on Civil Rights and the Ku Klux Klan can only be explained by the extent of the growing movement in America. The haters of everything American will never be able to understand this. The highlight of struggle in the eyes of our "Lefts" is a march to the American Embassy.

OPPOSE ALL IMPERIALISM

It is not possible for any of us to excuse American military policy. We refuse, however, to let that blind us to the historical and immediate political background to the struggle. The American forces are tolerated in Asia only because many people in that part of the world regard their presence a lesser evil than domination by China. The people of Asia are the victims of a struggle that has nothing to do with freedom. Freedom will come to them only when they are in the position to win it for themselves.

We in Britain must oppose the support given by the Government to the policy of America. We must go further and demand the withdrawal of the British forces in other parts of Asia. At the same time, we must do all we can to prevent the minds of the British workers from being poisoned by the pro-Chinese and pro-Russian elements in this country. We take our stand alongside our Marxist-Humanist comrades in America who have under great difficulties done so much to clarify our minds on the character of the problems now facing the world.

We must fight capitalism regardless of what kind of flag it flies. We are against both sides in the war. We are NOT anti-American. We stand for world solidarity of all who wish to work for the new society. That rules out all forms of national hatred.

(From the Scottish Marxist-Humanist)

Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Farce Shown

Philadelphia, Pa. — There was great enthusiasm here in Philadelphia the night that neighborhood meetings were held to explain the voting and nominating process for poor people to sit on neighborhood Anti-Poverty Action Committees. These committees are supposed to involve poor people in the Administration's so-called War on Poverty. The committees of poor people are to work out plans for helping themselves.

It sounds like a fine idea. Many thousands of people, especially Negroes, turned out for the meetings. Drum and bugle bands were marching. The Girls Scouts and Boy Scouts came out.

A STACKED COMMITTEE

What the people heard did not leave them enthusiastic. It turns out that the local committees will only be able to suggest plans. Each of 12 local committees, of 12 members each, will choose one delegate to the city-wide Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. On this city-wide committee, besides the 12 delegates from local committees, will sit 19 friendly gentlemen from such "civic groups" as the Chamber of Commerce, the Greater Philadelphia Movement, the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, and other protectors of privileges, as well as the president of city council, a none too subtle racist (Northern style).

This city-wide committee is supposed to "coordinate" all the local suggestions, make suggestions of its own, and then send them to the Federal Government which gives final approval. It will be 12 poor people against 19 defenders of privilege. That's called involving the poor.

By the way, in addition to a "War on Poverty" that spends less in a year than the real war in Vietnam spends in a few months, there is the matter of dates. The elections for local committee members are to be held May 26. All final plans must be submitted to the Government by June 5. In nine days there are supposed to be meetings of the local committees, a meeting of the city-wide committee, and a final decision on plans to be submitted! And Johnson talks about North Vietnam!

SAME OLD STORY

This "War on Poverty" and its "involvement of the poor" are the old deal of promise-them-anything, but-give-them-Arpege. The "anything" in this case being a poverty program of, by, and for the poor. The "Arpege" being the old now-you-see-it, now-you-don't-runaround that is a tradition with bourgeois reform.

After hearing the whole story explained at a meeting, one woman told the audience, "I feel empty."

A lot of hopes were raised and a lot of hopes were shattered. A lot of people will be the wiser.

Marchers' Morals Show Southern Immorality

Detroit, Mich.—Recently one of the Congressmen from Alabama made accusations that the Freedom March from Selma to Montgomery was filled with immorality, and that this was the basic purpose of the March. He claimed to have pictures and documents to prove it, but nobody was ever shown any of them. Some Catholic priests who were in the March swore there was not a word of truth in any of the accusations.

I was taught a long time ago that when somebody makes that kind of statement, for the sole purpose of degrading the other people, the thing to do is ignore it, and pass it over as ignorance. But knowing the Southern white man and his method of distortion, as most of the Negroes who have grown up in the South do, I would just like to say that if there was any "immorality" at all, no Southern white would even mention it, unless it was some relationship between a white woman and a Negro man.

SOUTHERN "MORALITY"
If one wants to see the Southern white man for what he really is, insofar as his "morality" or "immorality" goes, the area from Selma to Montgomery on Highway 80 is the place to see it. There are dozens of white men living with Negro women, and in Lowndes County, the percentage of mulatto children, whose fathers are white, is higher than anywhere in the state of Alabama.

Before the loud talk about the March was over, the mayor of Selma and his white lawyer came to Washington, D.C., and that night got what they thought was an Uncle Tom Negro to take them someplace where they could find a Negro woman. Unfortunately for them he was a confidence man, playing the role of a stupid Uncle Tom, and he took them for \$100. When this mess hit the headlines every Negro in our shop knew what had been involved, although some

of the white workers seemed confused as to what really had happened, and why those race-hating Southerners could want a Negro to take them to a "club" in Washington.

AFTER THE MARCH
One Negro woman who has a grocery store a few miles off Highway 80 has a 16 year old daughter, who sometimes takes care of the store with two of her friends. The week after the March, two white men came to the store and asked what this mother would say if a man asked for her daughter. She told them that it would depend on who the man was, and what the daughter had to say.

They laughed, but several days later they came back again and one of the men said he wanted to go with her daughter. She asked him if he had any sister for her son. In fact, she was so angry, she even asked if they had a sister for her husband. They were shocked and said, "This civil rights thing sure has gone to your head!"

Several nights later the daughter and her friends were working at the store, a few yards from the house. When the mother saw the white men's car pull up, she took a weapon and went to the store. She found the three girls huddled in the corner with fright in their eyes. She swung and hit the white man who seemed the most aggressive and floored him, and when he got up off the floor and grabbed her she floored him again.

The daughter and her friends began to yell that the white man had a gun, so she got her own gun from where she had it hidden in the store and told her daughter to open the door to the freezer. But as she started to pull the white man toward it, his friend asked her please to let them go and they would not be back any more. The woman, her husband, and their son have kept

the store open ever since, staying up nights to guard it, but so far nothing more has been heard from anyone.

The woman storekeeper said the incident made tears run down her face as she thought of Mrs. Liuzzo, dead for merely having a young Negro riding in the car with her. This is the Southern white man—at least that part of him that relates to his "morality." There is much more to his actions, his attitudes, and his distortion of the truth.

Chrysler Transfer Practices Violate Workers' Seniority

Detroit, Mich.—Seniority is supposed to protect the rights of workers who have put in the most time in a plant—the longer you have worked in a plant, the more protection you're supposed to have.

But what they're doing in transferring workers from Plant 3 at Chrysler Highland Park makes a joke out of seniority. Some 1,000 workers in Plant 3 are being transferred into Plants 4, 5 and 6 at Highland Park or into another Detroit suburb plant in Sterling Township, because Plant 3 is being torn down to provide space for Chrysler engineers.

BAD POLICY
At first the company and union had a policy of transferring low-seniority men to the other plants first. It soon became clear that the union officials did not think too much about what the effects of this policy would be, but they soon found out—from the men.

The company placed the low-seniority men first transferred on the better high-paying jobs, so by the time the high seniority men were transferred, many had to take harder, lower-paying jobs and even had to change their classifications.

Now this is no small thing. Both vacation pay and retirement pay are based on your classification rate, so a worker who worked for 20-30 years and had a comparatively good paying job suddenly found that the transfer meant not only that he had a harder and lower-paying job, he also would be losing money on his vacation pay and retirement benefits. And at the same time, the low-seniority man with five or less years was making more money, receiving more vacation pay and building more retirement benefits.

TRANSFER TRICKERY
Chrysler is known to have many older workers, and it is equally known that the company wants to get rid of these older workers because they've worked too long too hard to keep up with the speed of Automation production. By this trick of the company in transferring the workers, it succeeded in some cases to force some older workers to quit.

On The Line

Back and Kidney Trouble Mark Auto Jitney Drivers

By John Allison

This can be said without fear of doubt: If you are a jitney driver in any auto factory in Detroit or elsewhere, you can be sure there is a backache in your future. Without exception, the condition of your work makes backaches and kidney trouble an everyday part of your working life.

Experience has shown that management does not care or try to improve the conditions jitney drivers have to work under.

There is no air in jitney tires, they're just hard pressed rubber; there are no springs, no shock absorbers, none of the comforts you will find in your family car.

TRY A WILD HORSE

There is a false belief by some that riding a jitney in a factory is fun. Try riding a wild horse—it is not quite the same as riding a tame one. Try driving a jitney over bolts, nuts, screws, holes in the pavement and over other debris left lying around on the floor.

You see, there is no Highway Department in the shop to keep the pavement in repair. There are no clean-up, paint-up, fix-up crews working there.

But there is one thing there is plenty of, and you hear it over and over again: Get that production! Make that stock! Keep that jitney moving!

The Plant Safety Department issues jitney drivers permits to drive in the shop. You receive a safety book with your permit. But just try and do what the book says. You won't work long.

Your supervisor will use any means whatsoever to keep production rolling. When that starting whistle blows, you get going and you'd better not stop. If there's any conflict between the supervisor's orders and the book, the book goes out the window.

JITNEYS AND AUTOMATION

Before the jitneys and Automation came into the shops, there were stock chasers, guys who either carried stock to the line or pushed it around in a cart. With the introduction of the jitney, which can handle much bigger loads much faster, the stock chasers were practically eliminated.

Where the jitneys knocked out the stock chasers, when Automation came into the shops, it didn't knock out the jitneys, it just speeded them up. Before Automation you handled some 10 loads a day, with Automation you had to handle 20 loads a day.

There used to be a time when jitney drivers could take a break when production stopped. Now when production stops, the jitney driver has to use this time to try and get caught up to be even with stock supplies when production starts up again. What it all comes down to is that jitney drivers often end up like a prize fighter who has taken too much punishment.

TOO MUCH PUNISHMENT

The prizefighter who has his head battered and jarred too many times ends up with his brains scrambled—he's punch drunk and finished. For the jitney driver, his back and insides are so jarred and battered that he winds up with his back strapped up in a corset and going to the hospital for kidney treatment. So far as being able to keep on working like this, the jitney driver is much like the prizefighter—finished. The body wasn't made to take this punishment.

Gradually it becomes clear in the world of work and movement and Automation and jitneys and fast moving lines and more and more production. The worker is on a collision course with this kind of world of work.

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EDITORIALS

Opposition to War Spreads in U.S.

So great has the opposition to the Administration's policies in Vietnam become, that the U.S. State Department has now hatched a new plan to launch a series of "tours" by top officials to campuses throughout the country "to explain the U.S. policy" and seek support for it. None of the daily press in this country dares to label the planned campaign as openly or as honestly as has the Canadian press, with headlines such as that which appeared in *The Vancouver Sun*: "U.S. to Brainwash Colleges on War." This is precisely what the Administration is hoping to do.

The alarm of the daily press in this country at the ever-tighter censorship of news being allowed out of Vietnam, and the harsh restrictions on newsmen there has, unfortunately, not prevented them from their own censorship of news in this country. Yet, despite an almost complete press black-out of how widespread have been the "teach-ins" which began at the University of Michigan on March, 24, when 2500 students and professors conducted an all-night discussion on Vietnam policy, this method of protest has spread quickly throughout the land. The fact that more than 50 such teach-ins had already been held was one of the main reasons for Administration alarm. The other spur to their new "Operation Brainwash" was the mass picketing at the White House over Easter week-end, when more than 20,000 students, over twice the number that the organizers of the March had expected, converged to dramatize their deep anti-war convictions. The most recent, and most publicized "teach-in" at Washington, D. C., was televised to 100 campuses in 35 states.

The widespread character of the condemnation of American policy in Vietnam is seen also in the many shades of the spectrum involved in the various forms of opposition. Almost every shade of political conviction is represented—from the radicals to the liberals and from students to Senators such as Wayne Morse of Oregon and Alaska's Senator Gruening. Even Senators Fulbright and Mansfield are openly critical of the conduct of the war.

In the face of all of this, it is revealing indeed that President Johnson must now count in his camp the very man whose warlike policies the American people defeated in such overwhelming numbers last November, but whose policies LBJ himself is now carrying out—Barry Goldwater, who took time out from his trip to Paris to declare that "my President has done the right thing in the right way" in Vietnam.

It is dismaying that the Administration's conduct makes it so easy for the totalitarian rulers throughout the world to sell their various brands of "anti-Americanism," in order to boost their own dreams of world conquest. But it is more dismaying for anyone to conclude that being against American imperialism means that you must be for the imperialism of the other orbit.

People must not be made to choose between only two alternatives—Anglo-American orbit, or Sino-Soviet orbit. The split in each of these orbits tells of more than intra-capitalist divisions. It reflects the third world of the masses of people everywhere,—in the technically underdeveloped countries and in each of the technically advanced countries.

Just as Hitler felt impelled to call his party "National Socialist", so De Gaulle is now trying to align himself with "a third force." It will not do. No truly independent force will accept as allies those who give the type of "support" that a rope gives to a hanging man. The proof, the only proof, of true opposition to exploitation and occupation is the reconstruction of society from below in each country.

Johnson's heart which bleeds so much for the South Vietnamese and the Dominican people (See "Our Life and Times", p. 8), must start bleeding for the American Negro, who in his own country is not only exploited and discriminated against, but can be murdered with impunity, because that mighty power—the United States—can send 42,000 troops to Vietnam and 30,000 to the Dominican Republic in one moment "to protect American lives", but has done nothing for 100 years to protect American lives here.

May Day—Truth and Distortion

May 1st—that date which commemorates the long and bloody struggle of workers to win the eight-hour day in this country—has been perverted on both sides of the Iron Curtain into the exact opposite for which it stands. It has taken painstaking "rewriting" of history to transform into a so-called "Communist holiday" what was the American workers' day of demonstration for the eight-hour day—and was then adopted by workers throughout the world after the 1886 General Strike was put down in blood by the Chicago police in Haymarket Square.

In Russia, May Day has now become one more chance for Russian rulers to display their latest military threats to all of humanity. In Peking, it is the occasion to gather three million people to hear the United States denounced.

In the United States, meanwhile, May 1st has been turned into something dubbed "Law Day" by an Administration which to this day has been unable to enforce a Supreme Court Decision made 11 years ago, or to see to it that a single white supremacist murderer in the benighted South has ever yet been brought to justice. Indeed, "Mother's Day", the very Sunday after "Law Day", saw the three KKK murderers of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, Detroit mother of five, celebrated as "heroes" in Alabama following the hung-jury trial of the man who was actually seen firing the shots into her body as she drove along Highway 80.

The true spirit of May Day has, nonetheless, this year been rekindled by a new surge of struggles among almost every element in the battle for a truly new society.

The recent Hamtramck teacher sitdown in which 120 members of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) remained in the auditorium of Copernicus School for four days in order to win their strike for better wages and fringe benefits, was history-making not only because they were using the same tactic their own fathers used in the great 1937 auto sitdown in that same neighborhood. It was history-making also because they won the aid both of organized workers such as the restaurant employees who sent in food to them, and even of the pupils and their parents who picketed in support outside the school.

Labor solidarity and militancy such as this in 1965 is far from a mere repetition of 1937—it is an important sign of a new awareness and a new stage in labor struggles throughout the entire country.

'NUCLEAR MOTHER'

The painting "Nuclear Mother" in your April issue was a magnificent addition to your front page!

Artist
New York

I would like to see the original painting of "Nuclear Mother" very much. I keep wondering if the original was in color, or in black and white, as you reproduced it. It is a very moving piece of work.

Office Worker
Detroit

Editor's Note: The painting is in color, and the reproduction in black and white could not possibly do it justice. We are very grateful to the artist, Helen Andersen, an active worker for peace, for allowing us to reproduce it that way, nonetheless, as her contribution to our April anti-war issue.

YOUTH IN FERMENT

Hurray for the Glasgow students who protested in sympathy with the Berkeley students when the University of Strathclyde in Scotland announced plans to award an honorary degree to Clark Kerr! The Student Association at the University voted 72 to 66 to disassociate itself from any such thing in protest over Kerr's "illiberal views over the rights of the students of the University of California to organize themselves on the campus." The Berkeley aftermath is certainly far from over.

Correspondent
Britain

There is a lot of ferment on U.S. campuses today. At K.U. here the students have been in all kinds of protests, from civil rights to the firing of the track coach, from the proposed new Fraser Hall to Vietnam and the military draft. They even formed committees to fight the increase in the price of coffee in local restaurants. By jove, I tell you there is a whole history to write here. I only wish I had more time to write it up for you. But the program leaves little room to think of carrying out research on anything outside of the official curriculum.

Student
Lawrence, Kansas

Editor's Note: See story of K.U. demonstration, p. 7.

The Berkeley and Selma news has been a great thing for us in England. We have had a "down" period of about 18 months or so (brought about by false hopes of too many people in the Labour Party and the General Election) but the blinkers are now fast coming off and as people see Wilson in his true light,

Readers'

so they begin to think and act independently once more. This has been the context of the time in which the news of direct action has come from the U.S.

P.C.
England

Since I want a copy of your pamphlet on the Berkeley Student rebellion crisis I hope you will announce in your paper or otherwise the price and title as soon as it appears. I was a student at UCLA and loved the big college spirit and atmosphere and also the freedom for all, the greatest variety of speakers, sampling of all philosophies!

I want to buy a copy of your student rebellion pamphlet! I hope my cutting articles has been of help!

New Reader
California

Editor's Note: See page 1 for advance order prices, and many thanks for your clippings. They have helped a great deal.

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

What is important in the Challenge to the Mississippi delegation is not whether they succeed or not, but the involvement and development of the Negroes in Mississippi. It is a mistake to deal too much with legalisms, and ignore the dynamics of the movement.

The success of the challenge at the Democratic Convention was not measured by whether they got seated, but by the fact that they got the story to the nation and that 90 working-class Negroes from Mississippi were Freedom Democratic Party candidates.

The same thing is true with the challenge. Some think success will be measured by whether some congressmen get unseated. But to me the real success will be measured in terms of getting the population of Mississippi actively involved in the challenge, whether it succeeds or not.

Activist
Los Angeles

The right to vote in the South is the critical issue for them at this point. But we have that right here, and have found there are just too many political tricks. It makes me wonder how many political marriages between Negro and white politicians will result from all of this new struggle.

The rank and file are very sympathetic to the cause of civil rights, but they seldom have a chance to participate. The leaders always do the job "for" us, and get the headlines. But in our shop 3 stewards went around and took up a collection for Selma, and got \$200 right away.

Auto Worker
Detroit

The right-winger Buckley gave a talk here to off-duty cops at some "Holy Name Society" or something. When he praised the Selma cops for their treatment of the civil rights marchers he got tremendous applause. And throughout the whole affair sat Mayor Wagner with his hands folded. He has found it a little difficult since to explain why he did not protest.

Under the circumstances it was certainly good to see that, in contrast to the cops, the Catholic people in the St. Patrick's Day Parade here carried a big sign in Gaelic that read "We Shall Overcome."

Working Woman
New York

QUESTION OF THE TIME

Bravo! Raya Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" last issue expressed the theory of alienation in a manner that it has become a newspaper question in the spirit that "newspaper questions have become questions of the time."

Eugene Walker
Los Angeles

When I met with a friend the other night it was my intention to speak about Raya Dunayevskaya's article on "Marx's Debt to Hegel" but before I got time to do so, he spoke to me about it. It is both excellent and although theoretical it is very inspiring.

I wish we could get it distributed in thousands of copies. It is very readable and I don't know of anyone who could do it so well. Widely circulated it would do a great deal of good.

H. McS.
Scotland

THE WORKING CLASS

I found your pamphlet *Workers Battle Automation* a graphic, moving presentation of the human problems involved in the issue. It should be of particular value for those undergoing this divisive animating process. At the same time, it is difficult for me to visualize a worker who is not himself enduring the effects of automation or near to someone who is, deriving much from the rendition. I rather think such a worker would consider it overdrawn. For instance, I myself, despite my alleged ability to think would, had I not met workers who were being subjected to this dehumanizing thing, find it hard to believe.

The most unfortunate part of the matter is the natural receptivity in the minds of workers for the slogan "You can't stop progress." The dilemma created by the ambivalence of the slogan is of a very pressing nature and one to which workers' control offers the only solution.

Supporter
Canada

Our International—the ILGWU—was supporting the District 65 Retail workers strike in the garment area here, so on my lunch hour I went over to help them picket. I called one scab a rat—and the rest of the pickets picked it up and made a song out of it!

It was a great lunch hour, and it reminded me of the good old days when strikes were militant, and so was my union. But what these pickets added that was brand new was

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

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Views

just making up a song on the spur of the moment like that. It was really jolly.

Garment Worker
New York

* * *

I would like to offer a couple of criticisms of *News & Letters*. One, you seem to put an undue emphasis upon spontaneous activity. By that I mean that the consciousness of injustice does not mean that the sufferer knows how to remove that injustice. A baby flails his arms, but it accomplishes little.

Also, with the decrease in the producing working class I don't see how they are to be the only vehicle for the massive social changes needed. To think that they will be, seems to me to be metaphysical and a denial of the Marxian method of examining this conditions in existence.

Do keep my issue of *News & Letters* coming each month, however. I'll try to get a donation coming your way soon.

Student
Philadelphia

* * *

It did my heart good to see a picket line that was as lively as the one before Bloomingdale's Department Store here. Negro and white marched together, very friendly to each other. Though the Manhattan store is unionized, the store at the ritzy section in Queens is not, but they put up a picket-line at that store, too.

It was sickening to see all those middle-class women walk through the line and not even take the literature from the pickets. I watched for about an hour, and I think I must have been the only one who didn't cross the line. Somehow, if a worker crossed a line it wouldn't disturb me as much because I figure that someday they will find out what it means when somebody crosses their line. But these people will just never know.

Working Woman
New York

* * *

PEACE MARCHES

We were delighted with the story about the Teach-ins as reported in the April issue.

We went on a supporting Peace Walk on April 17 to show our sympathy with the March on Washington, protesting the Dirty War in Vietnam. No incidents, no arrests. We were even allowed to carry our banners to Stanley Park to "Speakers Corner," which is a Hyde Park type place. The mounted police were all around and I thought they looked kind of lonely, because they were so very separate from everyone. We did have Nazi hecklers, but only a handful. Boy, are they violent! Our crowd remained very loving and non-violent...

New Friend
Canada

* * *

There was a fantastically wide divergence of political views represented in the demonstration at the Federal Building here on Easter to protest the war in Vietnam. The marchers numbered about 5000, but they were far from united.

In fact, there were really two Marches.

In the rally for the smaller March (which was very Maoist) an IWW youth who is a student at San Francisco State College, got up to criticize the U.S. policies, but refused to

take sides with China or North Vietnam, or even the Vietcong. He was booed down. There was such disgust among many in the crowd at this booing, however, that he later had to be recalled to the platform to speak again uninterrupted.

I feel that in a Peace Demonstration there can be many different opinions, but if all are unified on the question of opposition to war they should be able to march together and speak under their own banners. We made sure that *News & Letters* April issue was there and was sold, and we also sold three copies of *Marxism and Freedom*.

Committee Member
California

* * *

I was very happy with your pro-peace headline in the last issue, which indicates that peace is popular.

Pacifist
California

* * *

The subheading about Communists opposing the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) March which you used for my article last issue was unfortunately somewhat misleading and I would suggest that you print an apology next time, saying that this time they will not nominally oppose CND — they merely oppose CND holding a principled position of doing anything radical that would make its criticism of Wilson clear.

L.O.
England

* * *

EDWARD R. MURROW

I know you make no distinction in what you call "bourgeois journalists", but who could help admiring the integrity of one like Edward R. Murrow, who, at the height of the McCarthy period in 1954, produced an entire program devoted against him. I cannot help but mourn the man who said: "It was no time, if indeed there ever was such a time for men who opposed Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent."

Journalist
New York

* * *

SOME CORRECTIONS

I received your April issue with pleasure. I don't know English very well, but it seems to me that "dirigeants sociaux" is better translated by "social rulers" and not "social directors."

2) By "rapport de production" Marx meant "mode of production" and not "relation." Relation deals only with two elements in the production cycle: mode of production is the totality of relations of all four elements of the production cycle.

3) "Annono": this was the means and structure for distribution in the Roman Empire. A series of warehouses and bureaus which stored and distributed the "annonae" (rations of subsistence, clothing, etc., especially for the State bureaucrats). To translate this by "annual" seems to me a serious error.

You have, however, given the essentials of my thesis and I would be delighted to hear Miss Dunayevskaya's criticisms for, if I err, I don't like to remain in error.

N.B. I would like to buy 20 copies of this issue of *N & L*.

Bruno Rizzi
Brescia, Italy

NEW FRIENDS IN ITALY

We are a group of young workers who were first in the Communist Party and have gone out of it some months ago, thinking that it was a party of petty-bourgeois and intellectuals, and workers couldn't make use of it to generalize their fight.

In order that we are able to progress in our political work, we need more news as possible about the workers' fight in other countries. We have read with great interest the April 1963 issue of your journal, which we borrowed from a friend of ours. In that publication we found subjects of other *News & Letters* publications.

We don't know how much money we must send to receive them, nor if you have still some copies of them but we would like to get them if possible. We hope you'll write as soon as possible.

Factory Group
Italy

* * *

MARXISM & FREEDOM

I have found *Marxism and Freedom* a very valuable book. I had to break my head over the first half, because Marxism is by no means easy to me. I floundered through various forms of the "People's Marx" and I believe I actually read the first volume of *Das Kapital* in English in my youth, but I think my natural level must be about that of the Bolshevik sentry who was guarding the Kremlin after the October Revolution. Some smart guy was trying to sweet-talk his way in, but no matter what he said, the sentry always answered, "I only know one thing comrade; there are two classes in society..."

The theoretic part largely floated over my head, but when you got down to the Commune, I came to and stayed awake the rest of the time—until 4 a.m. as a matter of fact...

I hope you are right about Lenin, because there has indeed been a tendency lately to attribute the one-man rule and the conspiratorial role of the party to him. I remember someone once explaining this to me, and my disillusionment at the explanation...

My activities during my own years in the movement were generally three: Jimmy Higgins work, book reviews, and labor defense and civil rights. I have sat through countless meetings and rarely made a speech, (never more than a minute in length), or a motion. So it does not behoove me to criticize the theoretical part of your book, except to say that most of it seems plausible and I hope it is true.

Old Radical
Colorado

* * *

I have two copies of *Marxism and Freedom*—the hardcover 1958 edition which I purchased second-hand, and the 1964 paperback edition which I bought through the publishers... I liked it very much and carefully went through the whole book with the exception of the appendices, which were a bit too deep for me, although I was inspired enough by the book to go out and purchase many of the books mentioned in the selected bibliography.

Subscriber
New York

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Mao Sides With Nasser on Israel

Chinese Communism's agility in accommodating itself to Arab nationalism is something new in the ever-changing yet ever-the-same Communist foreign policy of all-out anti-Americanism. One of the proofs of Khrushchev's revisionism used to consist in showing that he let the Egyptian Communists rot in Nasser's jails while Khrushchev "collaborated with the bourgeois nationalist, Nasser." Presently, however, the desire to get Nasser into an all-out anti-United States stance has produced one of the many Maoist miracles, instant transformations of "bourgeois nationalism" into the "the just struggle of the Arab peoples", which—so Chou En-lai assures the editor-in-chief of the Middle East News Agency (1)—"will certainly be crowned with final victory."

The great "socialist" aim for which Chou is predicting "final victory" turns out to be the diversion of the River Jordan from Israel: "U.S. imperialism is exerting all-round military political and economic pressure on Arab countries in an attempt to force them to give up projects for diverting the River Jordan tributaries. But the great Arab people cannot be frightened..."

The paid press of Mao's China proceeds to find kinship between this and the national liberation struggles of Asia and Africa: "The protracted struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and other Arab peoples against U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression, Israel, is a just one and is part of the common struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism headed by the U.S." To which Chou adds: "Of late, the U.S. has flagrantly stepped up arming Israel in collusion with West German militarism..."

Whether dealing with "Trotskyism", "German militarism", "U.S. imperialism" or "Russian revisionism", "Mao's Thought" thrives on just such amalgams. Chou's theme is repeated in the *Kwangming Daily*: "U.S. imperialism is wire-puller behind the collusion between West Germany and Israel in their attitude towards the Arab countries."

None of this display of dissolution of the class struggle into "the just struggle of the Arab people"—and on such an issue as the diversion of Jordan River from Israel as part of Nasser's chauvinist attempt to "drive Israel into the sea"—has detracted from Mao's appeal not only among his Communist, but his so-called independent Left, followers.

It would be easy to conclude from this that Maoism's adherents are irrational. And, in fact, one student of the Japanese scene considers Maoism's conquest of the Japanese Communist Party at the very time of Mao's opposition to the nuclear test-ban treaty as beyond rational explanations. (2) It is, however, necessary to take a second look at the Maoist blend of nationalism and anti-U.S. imperialism which passes for "internationalism", this time on the question of the proposed treaty between Korea and Japan.

"PATRIOTISM", KOREAN, JAPANESE, CHINESE

Here the double-tongued polemic is at its contortionist best as Mao's China goes all out in opposition to the ROK-Japan Basic Treaty and, all out in praise of "patriotism"—Korean and Japanese. It seems that, on March 1, at a mass rally in Peking in opposition to the treaty, the main address was delivered by the Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee—Kuo Mo-jo. Conveniently forgetting China's conquest of Tibet and invasion of China, "Asian fighting Asian" is now shown to be a sinister U.S. plot. Referring to the proposed treaty, the Communist leader said: "All this shows that U.S. imperialism is stepping up its vicious plan to make Asians fight Asians." But, continued Kuo, "Asia today is a revolutionary Asia against U.S. imperialism, an Asia of storms and thunder." (3)

Despite the revolutionary thunder, however, the Chinese Communist appealed, not for revolution, but for "patriotism" and patriotism not only on the part of the Koreans but also the Japanese! To arouse the Koreans' patriotism, which needed no chauvinistic appeal from China, Kuo Mo-jo spoke of Japan today as of Tojo's Japan which subjugated Korea: "the Japanese militarist forces are now attempting to resume the old path of aggression against Korea, China and Asia and revive the dream of a 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.'"

Having thus set the line for the Korean Communists to use, this "peace" leader went on also to praise Japanese patriots: "The Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. struggle is surging forward." No militarist, however, need to fear that the designation of the patriotic struggle as a "people's struggle" would exclude him. Ever since China threw down the gauntlet to Russia for leadership of the Communist world, the concept, "the people," has been expanded to include "also the patriotic national bourgeoisie, and even certain kings, princes, and aristocrats who are patriotic." (4) All one has to do to get anointed "patriot" is to join the "anti-U.S. struggle."

It would appear that Mao's "internationalism" is pure and simple "anti-U.S. struggle." While this is central to Mao's concept of "international solidarity," it is not the whole of the story: most assuredly not insofar as his non-Chinese adherents are concerned. It is to these we wish to turn.

A SHORT CUT TO THEORY?

Elsewhere (4) I have analyzed in detail Mao's rise to power from the revolutionary he became in 1925-27, through the military genius he became in his protracted guerrilla warfare against Chiang Kai-shek, to the state-capitalist ruler he is now. What is known as "Mao's Thought" inspires guerrilla warfare as substitute for social revolution and thrives, in easy, short, mathematical-type catechisms and slogans as a sort of guerrilla short-cut to thought as if theory, like a city, can be outflanked.

It is here that the "non-ideologist"—be he pragmatic "Westerner" or "mystic" Easterner—stands enthralled. It is here that the petty-bourgeois revolutionary's desire for a short-cut to power finds succor. So characteristic of our state-capitalist age is the administrative mentality (out for quick solutions from above where

(Continued on Page 6)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

At Berkeley

Students vs. Regents

Within a week of each other, two contrasting calls for re-organization of the role of the student occurred at the University of California at Berkeley. The Meyer Committee, appointed by the Board of Regents of the University to review university regulations of student conduct and student organizations, submitted its report to the Regents. Following this, leaders of the Free Speech Movement called for the formation of a Free Student Union.

The Free Student Union, currently being organized on the Berkeley campus, was reported in the press to be similar in organization to a trade union and could use a student strike as one of its weapons. The chief organizers of the movement have had their experience in the more spontaneous organization, now dissolved, the FSM.

MEYER REPORT MOVES STUDENTS TO FIGHT IT

The regulations recommended by the Meyer report are aimed at taking away many of the rights won by the Free Speech Movement and at keeping decision-making an administration monopoly. Non-university persons, will not be allowed to distribute material on campus. The chancellor will have the right to deny the use of university facilities to non-university speakers. The chancellor will be empowered to discipline students as he sees fit without any responsibility to students or faculty. Student government is subject to the rule of the chancellor.

It was this Meyer report that moved the students to form the Free Student Union to fight it. It was a realization that the Board of Regents was trying to take away all that the FSM had fought for, and won. The students now have to give serious thought to the fact that they are no longer fighting the administration alone, but the Regents and all the outside influence they bring with them.

TWO WORLDS APART

The potentialities for the role of the student that the Free Speech Movement has set forth in the Free Student Union, when contrasted to the role of the student as laid out by the Meyer Committee, is the contrast of two worlds.

At Berkeley there is no argument that the first act against the students — taking away the right to distribute literature at Bancroft and Telegraph — was due to outside pressure of the business community, notably by William B. Knowland, whose paper was being picketed by students protesting discriminatory employment practices. The university claims to be free from outside pressure, and uses this as an excuse for not letting students take positions on issues of the day specifically as University of California students; yet it is the outside influences which are dictating how the University should regulate student activities. This then is one world, their world, the infamous, industrial-military-government complex that President Kerr expounded and against which the students rebelled.

The world of the Free Student Union has a much greater potential for the development of the student. The right to participate in the important events of our day is something which the Free Speech Movement was seeking to establish. The Free Student Union has the possibility of following in FSM's footsteps. We will follow its development. It is not just a matter to obtain the right to participate in off-campus activities without on-campus interference. The question of no student control of what occurs on campus has also to be dealt with.

FIGHT IS CONTINUOUS

A few weeks ago the FSM, as such, was ended and many who were active in it said that they are glad that the organization had not stayed around after it had accomplished its goals. However, the Regents and the University administration have shown that they have no intention of letting any of the attainments of the FSM stand. They instead see fit to continue to circumscribe the students' activities to what they consider the proper channels. And even the "proper channels" can at times be improper, as the Berkeley administration's action in nullifying the graduate students' decision to rejoin student government showed. It has become obvious that the fight is not something which ends with one activity, but is a continuous activity.

The question which must now be posed, along with those of what concrete activity is to be taken, is the one which asks: Is activity itself enough? Involvement of students on all levels of decision should involve more than the decision to participate in a given activity. It must involve the participation of a vast number of students in the serious working out of a comprehensive philosophy of the movement. It is only with this as a basis that the Regents and administration can be met.

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Bureaucracy and Protest at Oberlin

Editor's Note: Almost a third of the student body at Oberlin College recently paraded with torches, when the Trustees by passed the students' request for a more active role in running their college. Below is a report by two of the participants, who detail what preceded the demonstration and what is likely to follow it.

By Dennis Hale and
Peter Miller

Oberlin College, with an enrollment in 1965 of 2400 students, is a small liberal arts college founded on a recovered swamp in northern Ohio.

Since its inception in 1833, it was in the forefront of a number of radical causes ranging from abolition and prohibition to the acceptance, on equal grounds, of Negro and women students. Some of its original students were rebels from Lane Seminary in Cleveland who bolted from their own school when its administration would not allow them to discuss abolition.

Oberlin's first business manager was one John Brown, and Oberlin College owned the farm from which he launched his raid on Harper's Ferry. This spirit attracted the money of the Tappan brothers, two prominent Eastern abolitionists, and the talents of the country's greatest revivalist, Charles Grandison Finney, who became Oberlin's finest President. It also attracted a varied and exciting group of faculty and students, who soon came to exercise nearly complete control over the College's policies.

Yet within recent years the once decentralized power structure at Oberlin has fallen into the hands of a few administrators, the faculty having willfully given up its power to use its time in the pursuit of the varied and complex pleasures and problems of academia. The general

desire for institutional efficiency has led, at Oberlin as at many other schools, to a large, self-justifying bureaucracy, jealous of its power and convinced of its importance. Oberlin is not yet a "multiversity," but it has its own Clark Kerr's.

In 1959 Professor Robert Kenneth Carr of Dartmouth became President of Oberlin College. A respected scholar, liberal, opponent of HUAC back in the days when HUAC was still dangerous, the faculty looked to Carr as the perfect college President.

In the spring of 1961, Carr told students that no work would be started on the new dormitory construction program until the next fall, when students would be consulted in some formal way about what kind of dorms they wanted to live in. Students returned to campus in the fall of 1961 to discover a massive men's dormitory half completed. The reaction was immediate.

A Committee of 42 was formed, and sent a petition to President Carr signed by 1800 students, demanding that "no contracts be let, nor further decisions be made regarding the building program until current plans and fundamental issues have been reconsidered." President Carr met with representatives of the Committee of 42, but refused to make any concessions except the placement of two students on a six-member Dormitory Advisory Committee. The dormitory program, however, was continued as before, and is scheduled for completion in 1966 . . .

The year 1963 saw a number of other developments. Student protest over the dormitory and social rules issues, and the Pres-

ident's smug use of the in loco parentis argument to justify his actions, threatened to become more radical . . .

Thus, the coming of the present protest has been long expected . . . Discontent culminated in the creation of the Student Congress, a three-hundred-member assembly with representatives from every dormitory and private house. The Congress made many specific proposals concerning educational policy, dormitory regulations, and social rules, yet its main proposal was, predictably, a radical revision of the power structure, via a "community council," vested with wide powers, consisting of six faculty, six students, and three administrators.

The Trustees arrived on campus Friday, March 26, for one of their three annual meetings, having received copies of the Congress report. An "Interim Committee for Action on Congress Proposals" was set up requesting formal entrance into the trustees meeting, to be followed up by a general negotiating session (no faculty member or student has been allowed formal entrance into a Trustee meeting for 133 years).

Although the President was not in favor of admitting students (he referred to the Student Congress as "shrill" and accused it of using Nazi tactics on the student body), the threat of demonstration was present and the Board acquiesced. Once admitted, however, student representatives made no significant gains.

What is likely to follow? It's difficult to foresee. The faculty has expressed its willingness to work with a student committee to hash out the Congress proposals, and the President will probably go along. The faculty will probably suggest (for the second time) that there be a third co-op; the Trustees (for the second time) will probably circumvent that decision . . .

We are all walking on egg shells here. If the students get the feeling that it isn't worth it, they will not protest. The alternative to fighting back is, in most cases, nihilism and apathy. It would be indeed tragic if the colleges, which played a large part in the reawakening of the "silent generation," should grow frightened of their own product. More tragic would be the defection of the faculty.

A crisis is coming in American education, and it is in the interest of every educator in the country to take a good, long look at himself. If he fails to instruct the nascent student rebellion and guide it toward constructive goals, both student and teacher will be engulfed by the computer. At many crucial moments in history, the established "good men" have opted for "law and order" instead of taking the more difficult and dangerous path of revolution. The faculty of the University of California at Berkeley is the first defection, after very promising beginnings. The faculty at Oberlin is wavering. They have yet to face the inevitable crisis.

RUMOR

Have you heard that L.B.J. is now considering sending 20,000 troops to Moscow to prevent a Communist take-over there?

Reader
Detroit

Mao Sides With Nasser on Israel

(Continued from Page 5)

only a radical reconstruction from below will do) that it is here that even some who would be "Marxists" find it possible to co-habitate with state-capitalists, chauvinists, betrayers of the proletarian revolutions—all for "instant power" and "instant Communism."

With the anti-U.S. imperialism slogan, they have never had it so easy, since at no time in history has U.S. imperialism been more detested. And not only abroad but right here, as the opposition to the U.S. war in Viet Nam shows. But this also shows the second America, the U.S. of the Negro Revolution and the labor strikes, the America which is out to reconstruct the warmongering one on totally new foundations. It is this other America that refuses to be taken in by the anti-U.S. struggle—or any struggle that tells you only what it is against, and not what it is for.

Too many revolutions have soured after power was gained and principles forgotten. It is high time to end the division between theory and practice, and to face reality not one-sidedly, or with readiness to accept substitutes (like nationalized for private property), but with demands that, in place of any property form, the self-development of the individual become the motive force of society. There is no other way to achieve full freedom, neither in any single country nor in the world as a whole. The spurious argument that, since U.S. imperialism's aims are global, its loudest opponents—the Chinese Communists—are ipso facto, "true internationalists" must be sent to rest alongside the notorious theory of "the lesser evil"—in the dustbin of history.

Footnotes:

- (1) The quotations from the Chinese press are culled from the article "China and Arabs" by Dorothy Woodman in the New Statesman, April 23, 1965.
- (2) Donald S. Zagoria in Survey, January 1965, wholly devoted to "International Communism: The end of an epoch."
- (3) All the quotations on Korea and Asia are from Peking Review, March 5, 1965.
- (4) See the new chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung", in Marxism and Freedom. (Ad on p. 7)

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U. of Kansas Students' Sit-In Wins Civil Rights Concessions

Obviously, the most important story in Kansas was the massive sit-in in University of Kansas Chancellor W. Clarke Wescoe's office and the accompanying mass arrest and temporary suspension of 114 students on March 8.

The events leading up to the K.U. Civil Rights Council's decision to embark on such a radical and unprecedented action stretched out over several years of negotiations with the university administration to force the fraternities and sororities to end discrimination. These negotiations had made little or no headway . . .

NEGROES CHANGE COUNCIL

To get to specifics, at the CRC meeting on Sunday night, March 7, the group simply decided that it had had enough. A concerted effort by some of the more enlightened and sophisticated leaders of the CRC to involve a larger percentage of the campus' Negroes in the organization paid off. At that meeting the white officers, Neil Stone, President, and Carol Borg, Vice-President, voluntarily resigned and Nate Sims, Walter Bgoya, and George Unseld, all Negroes, were elected to take their places. This changed the complexion of the CRC from a stereotyped "white do-gooders club" to a dynamic, vibrant struggle by Negroes for their rights.

At that meeting it was decided to sit-in in the Chancellor's Office in order to get the administration to commit itself on a program of seven specific demands. These included abolishing racial discrimination in fraternities and sororities, establishing a board to deal with discrimination in organizations and off-campus housing, having the university sever all ties and withdraw recognition from any organizations which refuses to sign a statement indicating that they do not discriminate, prohibiting the School of Education from assigning teachers to segregated schools, having the campus newspaper no longer accept advertisements from housing and business establishments that practice racial discrimination, and signing without any further stalling the All Student Council "Human Rights" Bill No. 7 which had been passed long ago.

A flurry of activity through the night mobilized the students for the action which began at 10:30 a.m. the next morning. Meetings were held in the pre-dawn hours in Negro fraternities, K.U. dormitories, and off-campus housing. Leaflets listing the grievances and the demands were prepared for distribution.

The hallway in front of the Chancellor's Office was packed from the beginning. Students sat and studied, engaged in whispered conversation or simply remained contemplative and silent. Reporters from several area newspapers and the wire services were all over the place . . .

POLICE JAIL STUDENTS

5:30 p.m. came and the campus police and county sheriff's officers, about 25 in all, began to lead the students, one by one, into three waiting buses. There was no resistance on the part of any student. The buses were filled and the students were transported to the county jail, which quickly filled to capacity, and then to the city jail a few blocks away. CRC leader, Nate Sims, went around to all the buses to see that all was well and relay

communications between prisoners. The mood was jovial, and many of the students participated in civil rights songs. By 7:30 p.m. all the prisoners had been processed.

A Lawrence Negro minister, Rev. Garnet Henning, had signed appearance bonds of \$25 for all the students and they were released. Some of the students had actually been jailed, but, as the cells filled, the remainder had to wait in the booking room and the hallways . . .

It was decided that the students would participate in a protest march to the Chancellor's residence as a show of strength . . . and be ready for a sit-in on the following morning, Tuesday, March 9 (but) Tuesday morning the door to the office was locked and guarded by administrative officials to prevent another sit-in. The number grew until by 5 p.m. there were an estimated 500 demonstrators and spectators in the hallway.

STUDENTS WIN POINTS

At this point Nate Sims announced Wescoe had come to some sort of an accord and would address the students if they assembled in front of Strong Hall . . . Wescoe tried to belittle the merit of the complaints and demands and maintained that he had already taken sufficient action. However, on condition that the demonstrations would stop he reinstated the 114 suspended students. He announced that he had signed ASC Bill No. 7, that "fruitful negotiations" would begin immediately, and that he would set up a Human Relations Committee to deal with the problems . . .

As reported in the March 22, 1965 issue of The Kansas Free Press, published monthly at 1401 1/2 New York Street, Lawrence, Kansas, 66044. Single copy 50c.

Book Review

Poetry from a Negro Ghetto

In This Corner Sam Cornish and Verses. Fleming-McAllister Press, Baltimore, 1964.

The cover photo shows Sam Cornish not as a boxer, as the title suggests, but as a young thin black man who resembles Jimmie Baldwin with spectacles, reading by a grimy wall. Inside, Sam Cornish's poems of the grimy-walled Negro ghetto remind one of Baldwin's sensitivity but lack the intensity of his message. Cornish cools it; the March on Washington is "an uncertain inauguration," and civil rights picketing is gently satirized.

Yet Cornish protests almost in spite of himself. The very sordidness of his city images is a petition against the slum: "These streets are perversions/of stone porches and bruised brick . . . over tires sand and glass/where a path wears itself between weeds/and grass here the trash and fences trap/the people on narrow passage ways/of sleeping dogs and prowling cats." How long, he seems to ask, will sleeping dogs lie, will the black cats merely prowl?

CORNISH'S milieu isn't limited to the ghetto. He strolls over into Bohemia: "I am the wizard/of the weekend party, /stop in I will give you/truth over ice in the room/of folk songs/and watermelon rind." Sometimes he leaps into surrealism: "dead men claim children gather angel's/hair from Christmas trees/litter the streets with teeth and candle wax." Or he can fall in love and fall out: "we wander in coffee seeking all the why/of forget."

The individuality of the poems emerges not in technical, formal brilliance but in persistent, acute

Easter Demonstrations Protest Vietnam

IN WASHINGTON,

New York, N.Y.—"These big shots are not letting the people over in Vietnam make their own decisions, and the poor people here in the U.S. are not allowed to decide things for themselves either," declared Mrs. Pearce, mother of five and housewife, active in the Cleveland Community Project.

Going on to compare President Johnson's promised millions of dollars for the Mecong Delta with his U.S. "war on poverty," she stated: "I don't believe the money they pour into that country goes to poor people; the big shots keep most of it for themselves. We can see that here with the war on poverty, where everybody but the poor gets to decide. We are the people who make the country, and we should have the right to say what to do with it."

20,000 PROTEST
The occasion was the April 17, 1965, March on Washington, where over 20,000 people from all over the U.S. gathered to protest Mr. Johnson's war on Vietnam. Arriving by bus, train, and car from places as far removed as Alabama and Massachusetts, they marchers picketed the White House, heard speeches (including Mrs. Pearce's and Senator Greuning's, I. F. Stone's, Straughton Lynd's and others), and then marched to the Capitol to petition the Congress "to act immediately to end the war."

Represented in the crowd were SNCC workers from the deep South, wearing their characteristic blue coveralls, students on Easter vacation, distinguished-looking professors and men in clerical collars, mothers pushing carriages, artists and Bohemians, young and old, Negro and white. As the enormous crowd surged onto the Mall leading to the Capitol, those in the front

ranks were treated to the inspiring sight of a seemingly endless line of men, women and children, walking 50 abreast, and moved by a sense of human solidarity and seriousness of purpose.

The song they sang was the Civil Rights anthem, "We Shall Overcome," and to this reporter it seemed more appropriate on the lips of these than on the cynical ones of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the author of the slaughter in Vietnam, as well as the author of that much-ballyhooed Selma speech.

The March was organized by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and sponsored by many peace groups and, significantly enough, Civil Rights groups like SNCC, one of whose leaders, Bob (Moses) Parris, also addressed the rally. The presence of Civil Rights and trade union delegations at the March pointed up the growing awareness in America that "domestic" and "foreign" struggles are related, and that we cannot win freedom here while the U.S. government is crushing it elsewhere.

—N.Y. Correspondent

IN TEXAS

Austin, Texas—Our demonstration at the LBJ ranch, although not as successful as we had hoped, was a success. About 150 people participated totally, although the maximum number involved at any given time was 100.

I feel that any demonstration in opposition to the war in Vietnam is good in that it shows that there are Americans, and perhaps many of them, who do not accept Johnson's statements concerning aggression from the north and terrorism against the civilian population by the National Liberation Front. Any attempt to challenge the "double think" that is being put out by the Administration is valuable.

I completely agree that condemnation of U.S. foreign policy does not mean that we are "for" the other side in that we uncritically accept their actions. I do feel, however, that in any struggle there is always one side which is more progressive than

the other. Therefore, while I do not wish to emulate North Vietnam and definitely do not consider it a socialist regime since it is by no means a highly industrialized society, I do side with them in the struggle against American imperialism. Any step by the controlled nations of the world to become free to determine their own destinies is a step forward. It is far easier for the people of a country to get democratic control of the government which controls them if that government is centered in their own country rather than being centered somewhere else.

CIVIL RIGHTS EDUCATES

I feel that part of the reason that there is as much opposition to the war in Vietnam as there is, is that the civil rights movement has shown the people involved in it that they can't trust the official "line" of the government. The people involved in civil rights have been forced to run up against the power structure on many occasions.

I recently have heard several speeches by members of SNCC on the subject of democracy and all men controlling those things which affect their lives. If this feeling is typical of all people deeply involved in civil rights, then I think that the civil rights movement can maintain its integrity. If people are not thinking along these lines and are willing to accept "gifts" handed down by the power structure then they will be absorbed.

In other words, what is required is an analysis which leads one to struggle to take the power out of the hands of the few and put it in the hands of the many, where it belongs. If people feel that the problems of society can be solved from the top down, then they are in fact compounding one of the major problems of our our society.

There is definitely a need for a theory of liberation, a unity of thought with action. I hope that the ideas that I have heard expressed by a few of the SNCC people are the ideas of many of them. If they are, then the civil rights movement has a good chance of remaining viable and not absorbed.

—Student, Texas.

The whole history of Mao proves him to have been a fighter, not against "revisionism," but against "dogmatism," the present revolutionary-sounding statements that thunder out from Communist China notwithstanding. Mao's accusation of Khrushchev as a coward who moved over from "fear of revolution," and Khrushchev's expression of "sadness" that the "Chinese comrades" could join the reactionary "atom mongers and madmen," are no more than tools forged to serve the narrow purpose of power politics. This is not to say that the ideological battle is without influence on the power struggle, and, moreover, has a logic of its own. But we must not let the fact that both contestants call themselves Communist hide their class nature: both are capitalistic to the marrow of their bones. State-capitalism changes the form, not the content, of these totalitarian regimes . . .

— Except from Chapter 17,

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Labor, Freedom Movements

(Continued from Page 1)

fidentially" by the police commissioner of the Detroit suburb of Warren, Mich., at the request of Dallas County Sheriff Clark of Alabama.

The notorious mounted posse, turned loose by Clark against the Selma demonstrators, was first organized by him seven years ago "to handle labor strikes" in Dallas County. He mobilized the posse back in 1958 to drive white Alabama women strikers out of Selma during the United Packinghouse Workers' strike against the Ziegler Packing Co. plants in Bessemer, Tuscaloosa and Selma.

In similar fashion, the common enemy was revealed nine years ago when the Alabama courts tried to suppress the Montgomery Bus Boycott by invoking the anti-union law that was passed to break the Alabama coal miners' strike in 1921.

CONTRADICTION ELEMENTS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Because the entrenched labor leadership, over the last decade, have refused to grapple with the key question of supporting the Freedom Movement in the streets and in the plants of the South, they have not only failed to organize the growing number of unorganized workers, they have actually presided over a decline in the numerical strength of the Union movement throughout the country.

The peak year of Union strength for American labor was 1956, when some 17 million workers, or one-fourth of the total labor force, were Union members. That was the year of the AFL-CIO merger. That was also the year of emergence of today's great Freedom Movement, and it revealed the taint of White Citizens Councils and Klansmen in southern local unions. Because the national leadership refused or was helpless to root this racist taint out of the labor movement, the corruption showed its face anew in northern locals as well.

Since then, the unemployment rate has risen while speedup and sweatshop conditions have increased. Though the total labor force has grown, since 1956, by over five million workers, Union membership has shrunk by more than three-quarters of a million. It is only the strength of the Freedom Movement which has so far saved the labor movement from greater defeats.

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was forced into existence by the sweeping momentum of Freedom demonstrations, particularly since Birmingham in 1963, the section formally outlawing job discrimination will not become effective until July 2 this year.

The rank-and-file, however, both within the Union movement and the Freedom Movement, have already shown that they do not intend to leave this question either to the wording of the law or to the promises of the labor bureaucrats. Already in Cleveland, this spring, there have been picket lines protesting the lily-white hiring practices of the construction unions on federal building projects. It was on such a demonstration last year, in Cleveland, that the Rev. Bruce Klunder lost his life, crushed beneath a bulldozer. The movement does not intend for that sacrifice to have been in vain, nor for words to be taken as deeds.

UNION SHAKE-UPS

Two major revolts that saw the ouster of long-entrenched bureaucrats, from their presidential seats—James B. Carey from the International Union of Electrical Workers; and David McDonald from the United Steelworkers—

show the new temper of the rank-and-file and the new directions.

In the case of Carey, he appeared to have been re-elected last December by about 2,000 votes, but, on the complaint of rank-and-filers, a Labor Department recount showed that he had actually lost by over 23,000 votes. This was the first challenge to Carey in the Union's 15-year history. It was based upon growing rank-and-file opposition to his dictatorial control which resulted in a loss of strength from the 1956 peak of 397,000 to 265,000.

Although in words, Carey was among the most militant on the AFL-CIO executive with regard to civil rights, in deeds he abandoned all production workers within the Union, Negro and white, by his capitulation to the Automation layoffs and speed-ups of the major corporations, and by his failure to organize and upgrade on a single standard the new plant expansions in the sub-standard South.

The revolt against McDonald, and his defeat by I. W. Abel, was even more sweeping because the United Steelworkers of America is the most powerful of unions. It is also the Union where the threat of Automation and the employment and upgrading of Negro workers are the two most crucial questions of open tension and concern.

At the time of the Rev. Reeb's murder in Selma, and of Viola Liuzzo's murder on the Montgomery-Selma highway, Walter Reuther presented a UAW check to the movement in which they lost their lives. But workers in the shops in Detroit said he could not "buy" a clean record that way, when he has ignored for years the demands of Negro workers in the UAW to end discriminatory practices in the auto shops north as well as south.

THE DAYS AHEAD

Among the signs of the times are such new developments as:

1) Civil rights demonstrators from Selma, Ala., on a "reverse freedom ride" organized by CORE and SNCC, arrived in Syracuse, N. Y., early this month, to protest tokenism in Negro employment at the huge Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation.

2) More than 65 pickets, most of them from Oberlin College, were arrested in Erie, Pa., some two weeks ago, as a result of a sit-in at the main entrance of the Hammermill Paper Co. to protest the company's plan to build a \$25 million plant in Selma, Ala. The Company has since reportedly assured that the new plant would not discriminate in its hiring practices.

3) In Atlanta, Ga., last month, leaders of local unions, civil rights organizations and religious groups formed an Alliance for Social, Economic and Political Progress to coordinate their various organizations' activities for "the attainment of full and equal rights and opportunities as citizens and workers for all Americans."

Above all, it is the new beginnings of rank-and-file activity in exposing and opposing the hollow role of the old labor bureaucracy that gives promise of a new unity between the labor and Negro struggles. Indeed, all great turning points in United States development have been reached only when these two great struggles coalesce to transform ideas and organizational activity into the attainment of new human relations of freedom.

It is, unfortunately, the merest of beginnings and far, far from a real movement. But it is a beginning.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Dominica

The people of Santa Domingo rose up in arms against the military dictatorship in their country that, with the help of the oil interests of the U.S. and finally military support, had thrown out their duly-elected President Bosch. No one could call the bourgeois liberal, Juan Bosch, a Communist; moreover, he was not in Santo Domingo, but in exile in Puerto Rico. What is more important, no one could call the armed and unarmed civilian population an army, much less one from a foreign country. Therefore, the military dictator, Wessin y Wessin, hurried to strafe the capital and conspire with U.S. imperialism on what excuse could be used to overthrow the popular revolution that had moved so speedily to power this April 24th that even some regular army forces joined the rebels. Within hours the city was in the people's hands in Santo Domingo.

The following day, high ranking Army officers approached Donald Reid Cabral, who held power in the name of the military clique that overthrew Juan Bosch in 1963, and informed him that they would not order troops to fire upon the rebels. Cabral was forced to resign.

WESSIN Y WESSIN SEES DAYS NUMBERED

To all intents and purposes, a genuine popular revolution had succeeded in overthrowing the puppet regime of civilians appointed by Wessin y Wessin at the time he overthrew Bosch in Sept. 1963. At that time, Wessin y Wessin, angered by the democratic measures being introduced by Bosch, had said, "As far as I am concerned, Bosch is a Communist." A measure of his veracity is that, today even the U.S. State Dept. calls the charge a lie.

During the first few days of the revolt, Wessin y Wessin stood aside with the Air Force under his command, watching which way the wind would blow. When it became obvious that the old regime was gone and his own days were numbered, he used his American-supplied F-51 fighter planes to strafe the Presidential palace and the Duarte Bridge. His plans included sending his American tanks into the working-class quarter of the city and taking over. He was repulsed and a good number of civilians were killed. His tanks fired three-inch guns into Ciudad Nueva, the working-class stronghold.

WASHINGTON ANSWERS DICTATOR

It was at this point, when he saw that even with military force he could not win, that General Wessin y Wessin called Washington. 20,000 U.S. troops invaded the island by May 8.

This counter-revolutionary U.S. invasion of marines, paratroopers, and every other paraphernalia for securing occupation of an independent country, soon numbered 30,000! Thus has President Johnson — he of the Texas drawl and the undeclared wars — outdone even the originator of the "soft voice and big stick" policy — Teddy Roosevelt, of the infamous gunboat-diplomacy-policy at the turn of the century.

At first the excuse was "to protect American lives"; then to "prevent a Communist takeover." The facts are, that not a single U.S. civilian had been killed or injured before the U.S. Marines landed and started shooting up the rebel workers of the country. It was Dominican Brig. Gen. Wessin y Wessin who sent out the hurry-up call to Washington that he could not protect Americans. What he was afraid of was that he could no longer protect his own military dictatorship from the wrath of the people of the country.

Washington obliged and came to the protection of his dictatorship, and, of course, its own imperialist interests.

U.S. PRETENSE OF "SELF-RULE" ENDS

No wonder ex-President Bosch was in no hurry to return to his country. He complained bitterly: "The President of Santo Domingo is Johnson. He is our chief, our boss." He termed the American intervention just as immoral as the ruthless stamping out of the Hungarian Revolt by the Soviet Union and said Santo Domingo has become the Budapest of the Western Hemisphere. This is certainly true.

The landing of U.S. troops in the Dominican Republic by L.B.J., who snapped, "I will not have another Cuba in the Caribbean," ended, once and for all, any pretense that the U.S. Government will permit any Latin American country to rule itself unless its leaders meet with approval in Washington.

The arrogant, to-hell-with-the-consequences,

attitude taken by the U.S. President in the name of fighting a non-existent "Communist menace" seems to be a sample of the "new society" he is creating for us, a society where the American people are supposed to accept blindly the controlled news information put out by Washington and the C.I.A. Their own "revelation" that there are exactly 55 Communists involved is scarcely sufficient cause for occupation.

AMERICAN BRASS' LIES REVEALED

James McCartney, Associated Press Correspondent on the scene in Santo Domingo, called the U.S. military officers in charge of the campaign of terrorism, a bunch of liars, and went on to prove it (Detroit Free Press Sat., May 8, 1965). He saw U.S. Marines working with Wessin y Wessin to violate the cease-fire, saw U.S. troops used to operate "check points," saw them taking rebel prisoners, taking patrols out into rebel territory, expanding the "corridor" of access to the American sector — all in violation of the rules, and all denied with a straight face by the American Brass.

Dominica is essentially a Negro Republic. Oppression and exploitation have always worn a white face there as they have elsewhere in Latin America. During the last 30-year-long dictatorship of Trujillo, \$800 million were stolen before Trujillo was assassinated. He left the country in such a mess that they are still trying to recover their national wealth from the private Swiss bank accounts of Trujillo and his military associates.

The Catholic Church, of which Wessin y Wessin is an honored member, and the Texas Oil Co., have played a large role in preventing true democratic regimes from operating within the Dominican Republic. Laws passed by Bosch, separating the Church and the State, played a large role in his overthrow in 1963.

U.S. ACTION BREEDS COMMUNISM

Military dictatorships, such as that of Wessin y Wessin, are the essence of the meaning of the word counter-revolution, which can pave the way for nothing but the totalitarian brand of Communism. Latin Americans will give up all hope of ever establishing democratic stable regimes if all they have to look forward to is U.S.-installed military dictatorships.

The Organization of American States is being destroyed by the mad effort to get them collectively to take over the occupation of Dominica. The important states with democratic regimes like Mexico, Chile, Uruguay, Peru and Venezuela object to the high handed U.S. invasion, while the U.S. State Dept. gathers in the votes of the dictators of Haiti, Costa Rica and Guatemala.

Outside of the fact that the OAS charter specifically forbids any nation intervening in the affairs of another nation — and even if one were willing to disregard the fact that the U.S. "member" of the OAS never bothered to consult the organization before the invasion — it still remains a fact that the Dominican people want none but themselves to decide their own fate.

LBJ'S ENDLESS BAG OF TRICKS

It is precisely for this reason that, along with its troops, the U.S. brought its political advisers to convince its puppets there to establish "an alternative" government. Thus the latest trick in President Johnson's endless bag of tricks is to disregard the constitutional government of the leader of the popular revolt, Col. Francisco Casamano Deno, and have their own instant-government, run by a new military junta headed by Maj. Gen. Antonio Imbert Barrera "to save the Dominican people from Communist dictatorship."

It will not do. President Johnson is fooling no one, not even the OAS. He may very well have delivered the death-blow both to this creation of American imperialism and to the "more progressive" Alliance for Progress. He certainly has helped put an end to the hope of the Latin American people that there is some way to gain freedom other than Castro's way of alliance with Russia, or China — or De Gaulle. That is to say, alliance with another Big Power.

Pres. Johnson's show of the big stick in nearby Santo Domingo, as in far-away Viet Nam, is all part of the preparation for the nuclear holocaust with other nuclear powers, and that is all we would be countenancing if we allowed ourselves to be fooled that "little wars" will keep the big war from coming. Gunboat diplomacy must be stopped now!