

3 Eyewitness Reports

Flames of Revolt in Cities Reveal American Hypocrisy IN NEWARK

Newark, N.J.—It all started with a cab driver being beat up and the Negroes started gathering in groups. The cops came and broke up the groups with their billy clubs. Then everyone got together and they stormed the fourth precinct.

What made the people really mad was that the state troopers caught a man about 20 to 29 (he drinks a lot, you know, a wine-head) walking through this restaurant. These state troopers drove by at full speed, at 50 miles per hour, and shot him in the back of the head and just kept going straight up the street. After that some of these men gangs, not boy gangs, raided Sears and Roebuck's.

COPS SET OFF LOOTING

The main thing is that nobody was looting stores at first. But when the cops started banging people on the head, they started throwing bottles and stuff and some went and busted out store windows. At first nobody did anything.

It started with the younger crowd, ten-year olds, going to their favorite stores. They went in, and then everybody else got

the idea to go. But looting was not what started the whole thing.

We got bed springs and as the cop cars came around the street the bedsprings were thrown out in the street and the cop cars could not ride over them. When they tried to back up we threw springs behind them.

Then we started throwing rocks because we had no ammunition to shoot back. The cops were shooting people down as fast as they could.

The white man says that if the Negroes take over the city they will eventually take over the country because the power is in the city. They are trying to remove the Negroes from the city. That's what was behind planning the Medical Center. Negroes will be forced to move out of the city because no one wants to live in the projects. The projects are worse than the ghetto. **JUST GETS WORSE**

This has been happening all the time and things are just getting worse. They know nobody wants to move to the projects and that is how they are trying to get the Negro vote out of Newark, because central Newark is over 90% Negro and the few whites that do live here mind their own business.

IN DETROIT

By Charles Denby

Detroit, Mich.—On Monday, July 24, the second day of the revolt in Detroit, a skeleton crew of workers appeared at the Chrysler Mack plant gate for the morning shift. Some were saying it was no use going in, because the news had reported all auto plants closed until further notice. Several of the supervisors were standing with the workers, and said, "Let's go in, maybe you fellows will get paid for four hours."

After punching our cards, we noticed there was less than 20% of the department there, and when the whistle blew to start the shift, the company said all of us were going to work on one floor. **SMOKE AND FLAME**

No production was running and we could look out of the windows and see billows of black smoke

shooting skywards, and then suddenly the red flames following the smoke. Every four or five minutes this would be repeated in different areas of the city.

We didn't know where the foremen were until an hour later, when a Negro foreman came up and said they were in conference with the plant superintendent, and that some of the white foremen were frightened stiff.

The two he mentioned were the worst in the plant, and hated by most of the workers. He said those two had been in there begging to go home, and when the superintendent refused them, one said, "You know, I am not liked by most of those young Negro workers, and have fired quite a few of them in the past two years. I am expecting a mob of them will be waiting for me outside if I have to stay here until quitting time." The second white foreman said, "I have already been threatened by them before this (Continued on page 3)

IN MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee, Wis. — We are under curfew here in Milwaukee; unlike Detroit, there is much reaction in the white community. In the early hours of the morning on July 31, I happened to take a walk through the inner core, where the "riot" started.

At that time it was strangely deserted; I only saw several shattered windows and glass lying all over the street; but when I proceeded to Wisconsin Ave., the main street, I encountered a white mob.

CROWD REACTION

People were saying that "we can't let those black so-and-so's walk all over us, we have to

protect the interests of the white father." A half hysterical woman was screaming obscenities. Then several policemen, including a squad-car, began to break it up.

Later in the day, during a curfew break from 4 to 6 p.m., I walked downtown again. Wisconsin Ave. was deserted except for policemen at every intersection, rifles at the ready, looking at the roof-tops. A block over, on State St., the border of the sealed off area, national guardsmen stood everywhere with rifles and bayonets.

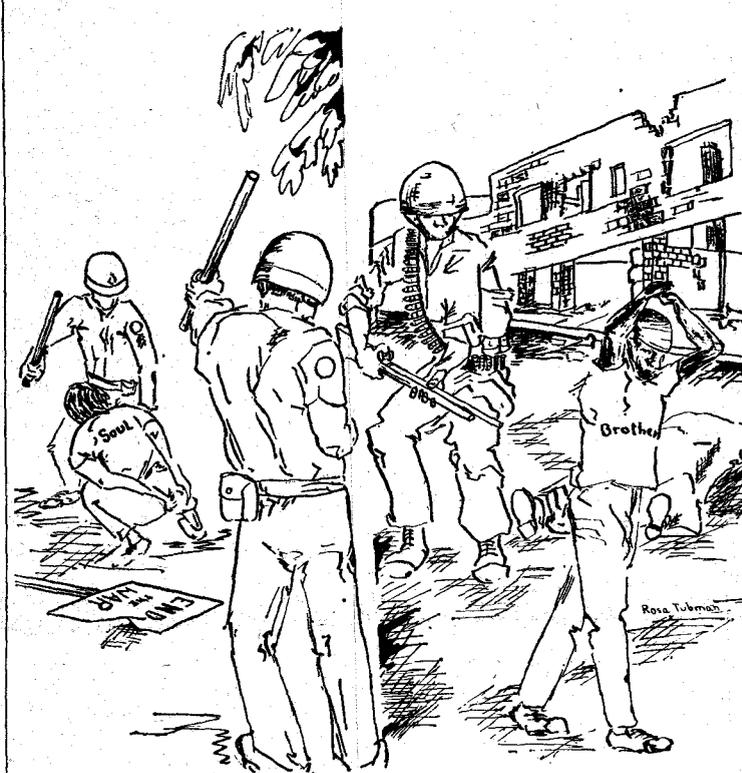
The whites of Milwaukee have been moved to fear and indignation; they could not be further away from comprehending the (Continued on page 3)

Fury of Negro Revolts Matches Determination for Freedom

Detroit was the place where the Negro Revolt, which had covered the length and breadth of the land with increasing fury all summer long, burst to entirely new heights of intensity and revealed entirely new forms of development in the six days from July 23 to July 28.

As against the two years it took for 40 explosions to mature between Watts, 1965, and Newark, 1967, there were 40 outbursts in the single week between Detroit and Milwaukee. And official sources had to admit that there were no less than 193 more

Battlefields of the Second America



See Anti-War, p. 6; Revolts, pp. 1, 2, 7.

Editorial

'Law and Order' from Barrel of Gun

"Abolish the slums!" was so clearly and loudly the demand of the Negro Revolt in every single part of the country—North, South, East, West—that even LBJ couldn't pretend not to have heard it. In words, the President even claimed that that was part of his "war on poverty." Hadn't he asked for rat control, and hadn't Congress denied him even that piddling sum?

The trouble with that fairy tale is this: where, as President, he must plead with the people and thus is double-tongued, as Commander-in-Chief, he need not plead. He orders, and his orders were clear and unequivocal:

1) Shoot first; the questions can wait for later. It is true that by then some people will have become corpses, but "law and order" will have been restored.

2) Shoot at anything that moves; if that turns out to be only a cigarette light, and the innocent victims are men, women, and children, still "law and order" has been restored.

3) Shoot up a whole building if a sniper is suspected anywhere. It is true that by then not only will fear have been thrown into the beleaguered ghettos, but it will also have encouraged self-styled "patriots" to take the law into their own lawless hands. But thus will terror rule, and "law and order" prevail.

The crackle of a federal tank, under orders; the barrel of a racist cop's revolver, not under orders and lacking a search warrant; the barrel of a National Guardsman's machine gun, under orders, but gone wild—all these combined to "restore law and order" in Detroit this July 28th.

"Law and order" meant 43 lay dead; some 1,500 were wounded; 4,000 were jailed with such impossible sums of bail demanded (up to \$100,000!) that constitutional rights were nullified.

Though no "foreign invaders" had landed anywhere in the United States; though no insurrection against the state—"constituted authority"—was in progress; though only one side was thrice armed, the city was, to all intents and purposes, under occupation. "Emergency measures" turned out to be a pseudonym for martial law.

THE HUMAN SIDE

What did happen was the burning down of the black slums. What Detroit Negroes attacked was white property, not "whitey," as such. On that score, both appropriations and sniping were bi-racial. As distinguished from other revolts—and that was the new stage of black revolt—what happened in the shops was solidarity of white and black labor, with the have-nots, and against the have-it-alls.

(Continued on page 4)

Victor Serge's "Birth of Our Power" Page 5

ready" to explode at any minute.

VOICES FROM BELOW

To the question of "Why" it happened, the Negroes in the ghetto have some fundamental answers:

In Newark, a 42-year-old Negro in one of the tenements said, "By looting, they ain't taking what they ain't paid for. We've been paying for that stuff for over a thousand years, ever since we was born."

An 18-year-old Negro youth put it this way: "We want the right that we ought not to be beat on the head all the time just because we're black."

And a woman summed it up: "Whitey ain't about to get up off of anything unless you make him."

In Detroit, a Negro, watching the men, women and children run by him on 12th Street, put it still another, perhaps more profound, way: "Why did it happen? There's too much stuff wrong all over the country. Too much wrong, period."

A PEOPLE'S WRATH

In Detroit, whole sections of the city were razed. The most hated section of all — 12th Street, where the gouging merchants were the most infamous, and where the local CORE chapter had been picketing the worst offenders, one by one, for over a year — was destroyed, block after block, in the first three days.

The explosion was sudden. The build-up was years in the making.

As against Newark, where over 50 per cent of the population are Negroes who live in one of the worst ghettos in the entire country, Detroit's over-30 per cent Negro population has no single ghetto. Negroes live scattered all over the city and almost 40 per cent of the city's Negro family heads own their own homes. But in areas like 12th Street, 150,000 were jammed into an area that should accommodate 30,000 to 40,000, according even to city housing officials.

As against Newark, which has everything from the highest number of mothers who die in childbirth, to one of the highest rates of unemployment — almost all of it among Negroes — Detroit had special programs for training the unskilled, medical programs, Head Start programs, and recreation programs. But in areas like 12th Street there was no less than 11 per cent unemployment, and even the skilled could not get a job anywhere in the building trades.

THE "MODEL CITY"

Michigan is the state where the existence of a Civil Rights Commission is "guaranteed" by the state constitution — a fact constantly boasted by liberal Republican Governor Romney. And Detroit was the city where this CRC, as well as the mayor's own Human Relations Committee were all — right up to the day (Continued on page 8)

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Lowndes Co. Shows Revolt Gains

I recently returned from a trip back home to Alabama. In Lowndes County, where the Negroes are well organized, it appears that they have made more progress than most other rural communities in the South. There has been integration of the previously all-white high school. And today they have three white women teachers at the Negro high school, who are teaching for the Head Start program. These women are native Lowndes County people. One of the Negro teachers said, "They seem to be one of us, so far as their action towards the Negro teachers are concerned."

SHERIFF RESIGNS

I was sitting in the house the day after arriving in Lowndes County, when a special news bulletin flashed across the TV. It stated that the sheriff of the county had resigned. He gave as the reason the fact that no crimes were being committed in the county. I thought this rather strange, because reports throughout the entire country claim that crime rates are higher than they have ever been in history, and I felt this is probably true, although they usually make it appear that Negroes are the leaders in committing the crimes.

Then the announcer said the sheriff stated that he received a small amount of salary from the state and county, but that he got his main salary from the arrests he made. Since there was no crime in the county, he was not earning a living, and had to look for some other employment.

The leader of the civil rights movement in the county told a mass meeting that what the sheriff said was partly true. It is not that there are no crimes in the county. There are the same number as always.

But today the sheriff cannot walk into the Negroes' homes when he feels like it, ransack them, and when he finds anything he calls a weapon (even if it is a kitchen knife) arrest the Negro and take him to jail. This was what happened before. Now he has to bring a warrant, and have a reason to search your home.

He cannot arrest a woman for wearing slacks and lipstick as he did five or six years ago. He cannot arrest the family that lives the closest to a "moonshine" still when one is found in the swamp or hills.

MOVEMENT WON GAINS

The movement has forced the whites to apply the law somewhat equally. So it is true that the sheriff is not making the arrests and money that he did years ago, even though the rate of crime is the same, or could even be up some, if whites were arrested for the crimes they commit in the county. No one is being realistic or sensible when they say nothing has changed in the South.

All the activities in the county seem to involve the Lowndes County Christian Movement. The anti-poverty program is controlled through the peoples' movement, as is Head Start. One would be amazed to see how those Negroes have raised their consciousness along political lines in the past two years through their own self-activities and holding regular mass meetings every Sunday night for the past two years.

I spoke at one such meeting on the Historical Revolutionary Development of the Negro, Past, Present and Future. The church was so crowded some were standing outside. Many commented that this is the kind of talk they needed from the beginning. Some said they had never heard anything of our past before. A Negro teacher said that he had majored in history when in college and had never been taught anything like what was said that day.

REJECT RACE SEPARATION

There seems to be a division in the thinking of some of the people in the movement between the Black Power concept and integration. It never seems serious, because the facts are that the progress made would have been impossible around a philosophy that preaches separation.

It is not true that nothing has changed in the deep South as it relates to the Negro people. One must recognize that there is a frustration in the minds of Negroes over everything — economic, political, everything. It is all a part of a single pattern. The Negro Nationalists are called radicals today. But I think they are conservative because their action will inevitably take them into an unconscious coalition with the politics of the extremist whites.

We have to take an historical view. If we do this we will discover that this kind of frustration is not new in the Negro community. It has always come at a period when there have been great expectations followed by disillusionment, where the gap between aspirations and progress made has been very wide indeed.

Capitalism Covered Over as Progress in S.A.

Mexico. — The American Sulphur Company became "Mexicanized" on July 2—66% for a Mexican or private syndicate (43% for the Mexican Government and 23% for private investors); 34% is left in the hands of the American company.

No mention was made of changing the working status of the Mexican worker. This is typical of what nationalization means in Latin America.

EFFICIENCY?

The Banco Nacional de Mexico recently urged the government to give more attention to the redistribution of national wealth to help industry utilize its full capacity and make production more efficient. Quite an abstraction is that word efficient. It simply means that all that is being produced cannot be sold at a profit.

According to the report, the "slow progress in increasing per capita income" is due to the high birth rate and mortality control. The population rose from 22.8

million in 1946 to 42.7 million in 1965. Also the report says that occupational patterns changed during the 1940 to 1960 period. Industrial workers increased from 640,000 in 1940 to 2 million in 1960, but farm workers grew from 3.8 to 6.9 million.

Coupled with this is the increasing number of manufacturing industries that have been given total tax exemptions for new machinery, raw products, imports and all income taxes for five years.

BIG BUT

Labor Minister Blanco has said the government's labor policy is based on "the maximum possible advantages for workers but based on the economic possibilities of the involved firms." Practically this means that more strikes will be declared illegal by the government. According to the Mexican constitution, unions are one of the four sectors that comprise the government.

I wonder if this is what George Meany had in mind when he praised the American Institute

Italians Hit U.S. Actions in Vietnam

Milan, Italy — The U.S. invasion of the demilitarized zone of Vietnam met with an immediate and spontaneous reaction in Italy. At Milan, only a couple of hours after the news of the invasion was received by radio and then through the afternoon newspapers, people began to arrive in front of the U. S. Consulate, at union and party halls, at various places where they meet publicly.

A few hours later all of them marched to the Piazza del Duomo where the annual, national bicycling race should have begun (bicycling in Italy is a sport that has as much importance as football does in the U. S.).

STOP RACE

The demonstrators refused to let the race begin, making it clear that peace in Vietnam was more important than sport. The newspapers state that around 7,000 people were united at the Piazza. Most of them were probably there to see the bicyclists leave the city — what chaos — but the demonstrators won and the race was put off.

That the Italian government was uncertain about what position to take was shown by the fact that the police beat only four demonstrators to the point that they had to be taken to the hospital, and no one was arrested. Recently, in Italy, such few casualties in these demonstrations are very unusual.

A demonstration similar to that of Milan was made at Rome. The next day, at Genova, 25,000 workers went on strike and marched through the streets for three hours. In many other cities workers stopped working for an hour or so. At Palermo, Sicily, six persons were seriously wounded while they demonstrated in front of the U. S. Consulate and the U. S. Information Service. It would be impossible to list the number of cities in which demonstrations were planned.

In the meantime, the Italian government refused to comment on the situation. A discussion in Parliament was scheduled, but the government stated that it had not yet had sufficient time to "inform itself" on the question, and it seems that any official declaration will be put off for some time.

for Free Labor Development for its achievements in Latin America and urged it to continue its good work. He said, "Latin American standards of living will not improve until the social structure is changed, and this change can only occur through a democratic process of which the free labor movement is a part."

ARGENTINA—During the week of the Arab-Israeli War the U.S. oil interests began looking for new oil sources in Latin America.

A few days after this announcement, the three big state-owned firms decided they might become joint capital ventures. The firms are the government's oil, water and gas companies. The Argentine government plans to sell 49% of its shares to private businessmen as part of its plan to change to an economy based on free enterprise.

The newspaper Correo praised the Argentine policy which will provide economic stimulants to private investors and identifies it as a true nationalist policy.

We thank You

We want to thank all our readers who contributed so quickly and so generously to help us replace our stolen office equipment, and relocate our offices after the break-in at our old offices early this summer. Particularly because most our readers are not "affluent," the response overwhelmed us.

It was proof to us that this paper does, indeed, belong to its readers, that contributions—from \$1 to \$100—and messages of solidarity were received not only from freedom fighters, workers, and intellectuals all over the United States, but from readers in Europe, Latin America, and Canada, as well.

If you forgot to send your answer to our SOS, be assured that your contribution will still be much appreciated.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

We'll Be Free - or Die

The worst has not been told about race hating and calling the Negro a second class fool. Whites just can't see why the Negroes are burning and stealing like they are. They don't seem to know that the Negroes are tired of waiting on promises that should have been met a long time ago.

The white men say it will take two or three years to pass a bill for the Negro. But if it is against him, they pass it overnight. They think the white man must take the lead in everything and the Negro must be put behind him. You can see for yourself how they took Congressman Powell's seat from him in one week.

WILL NOT BOW

It may look strange to many people, when Negroes start a fight to gain some of their rights which they should have had long time ago. But they will never get Negroes to bow down and do as the whites say. Negroes have seen too many fights among white people.

Whites think Negroes do not pay attention to these things. But they are wrong. We have not forgotten the trouble white people had with their children burning the stores in Birmingham, Mich., the killing of the President for nothing, and the killing of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo.

They have got to learn that the Negro they bring to the White House cannot lead the Negro on the street anymore.

TIME IS NOW

Negroes are tired of so many promises and never getting any further than riding the bus in peace. The time has come where the Negro must fight to hold onto the little right that he has got through fighting. Some have gotten killed so that a few might live to see a little peace for the young children.

We hear people say that you have to fight to win wars. That is just what the Negro is doing here in America to win his freedom.

NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

- 1—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—
By Raya Dunayevskaya, African Revolutions and Western Ideologies 25c Per Copy
- 2—Workers Battle Automation—
By Charles Denby, Editor of NEWS & LETTERS. Workers in auto, steel, coal and other industries tell their stories directly from the line 25c Per Copy
- 3—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—
By Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram, and others. An account by participants in the Freedom Rides to Mississippi 25c Per Copy
- 4—Indignant Heart—
By Matthew Ward. The autobiography of a Negro worker in the South and in the North 25c Per Copy
- 5—The Young Marxist-Humanist—
A search by today's youth to find a philosophy equal to the challenges facing America and the world. 25c Per Copy
- 6—American Civilization on Trial—
Statement of the National Editorial Board that traces the roots of Marxist-Humanism from the Civil War to the modern day Abolitionists 50c Per Copy
- 7—News & Letters
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, edited by Charles Denby, Negro production worker, and published 10 times a year. National Editorial Board Chairman, Raya Dunayevskaya, is author of Marxism and Freedom \$1 Sub
- 8—The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution—
By Mario Savio, Eugene Walker and Raya Dunayevskaya 50c Per Copy
- 9—Also available from News & Letters: Marxism and Freedom
By Raya Dunayevskaya. New paperback edition contains added chapter 17, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung." \$1.98 Per Copy

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters,
415 Brainard,
Detroit, Michigan 48201

Please enter my subscription to NEWS & LETTERS, 12 issues for \$1

Enclosed please find \$..... for the following:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

NAA Election Aftermath Brings Black-White Unity

By Kute Carrway

Los Angeles, Calif. — U.A.W. Local 887 held an election farce recently. The usual heavy handed hodge-podge of union politicking resulted in a questionable victory for incumbent President Hank Lacayo.

Live discontent and unrest gave opposing candidates a substantial number of voters. With less than 30 days to campaign, high apathy among the workers and with Lacayo's blue slate machine in the highest gear of corruption, opposition votes totaled 1,200 against Lacayo's 3,000 (out of a possible 26,000).

PRO-COMPANY

After taking the election with a shady vote count that is being contested, Lacayo, who plans to use his serpentine abilities in politics, began his "cheat 'em again" policy on a grander scale. He announced in a local daily, "The union will be going easy (as if they ever did anything but) on grievances. The company (North American Aviation) is in serious straits." This is the "responsible" position of the union, he told his workers; it is in your "best interest."

The workers didn't buy; and Lacayo quickly retracted the statement — but his retraction only appeared in the small union paper, (remember his political future), where company and union have the best understanding.

Immediately after the new release, senior plastic fabricators were given janitorial assignments and blue slate union stewards watched and snickered right along with company officials. What could the workers do? No grievances were to be filed on such "petty" disputes as job classification.

MOVE AGAINST WOMEN

Having gotten away with this the company began implementing its plan to get rid of all female workers, breaking the seniority clauses of the contract in the process.

Male workers with less seniority than females were transferred while female workers with more

seniority were put out of work. The union gave smug sanction and agreed to "forget the contract!"

Union reps went to investigate the facility where males were being transferred. The female workers were shown pictures and told the work was too heavy and dangerous for women. The pseudo-concern failed to dupe the female workers.

WOMEN SCORE

The women countered, "If the work is that dangerous, then why are safety precautions not taken for the men? Don't they have accidents? As for the work being too heavy, men on restriction are working there. Ability, not sex, should be the determining factor. The conditions under which a job is performed is the company's responsibility. NAA's deficiencies should not deprive a woman of a job!"

WEAK SUPPORT

Lacayo attended the Detroit convention. He too wore a hat proclaiming allegiance to the production worker. Lacayo helped initiate the weak proposal for a production worker's committee to speed up the grievance procedure.

How workers were to be selected to serve on the committee or how much authority this committee would have was not specified. The right to strike was kicked around and out, inasmuch as this prerogative is still in bureaucratic hands. Discrimination per se was not mentioned. There was reference to female workers being laid-off; nothing was solidly resolved.

This is interesting. When black workers protested because of NAA's discriminatory practices against women and minorities, the black workers were punished (illegally) and extra harshly—mostly because they were black.

BLACK HELP WHITE

However it must not be overlooked—the black workers were also punished because they made white workers cognizant of the fact that the union does not represent any production workers. When Caucasians began screaming Lacayo only then realized that he should have listened to the black workers last September when they fought against discrimination. Now all the workers know him for what he is and he has his hot little hands full!

Welfare Strikers Take on N.Y. City Hall

New York, N.Y. — The present struggle between the Social Service Employees Union and the City of New York appears to have started on June 19, 1967, when the present work-action began. In fact, however, the union has been fighting for survival since January. The city government has been, and is, determined to destroy my union at any cost in deceit and human suffering.

In January the city was given an extension of the contract deadline. Nearly a month later the union was forced into a three-day work stoppage by lack of progress.

PROMISE ENDS WALK-OUT

This walk-out ended with the promise to submit all issues unresolved to fact-finding. By the end of May it became obvious the city had no intention of bargaining.

On June 19, the union ordered a "work-in", which consisted of

doing nonsense jobs and refusing to see clients or handle new cases. Participating workers were threatened, harassed, and suspended. Those who avoided suspension were given no-payment statements.

The city offered to settle on wages, but the union refused to go back without a complete contract. About 700 case-workers have been suspended. The union has 6,000 of 8,000 case workers in the department, and over 80% are still participating in the action after more than five weeks.

LOCK-OUT WORKERS

Soon the city began to lock-out participating workers, and the lock-out was extended city-wide by the end of the second week. The union is being blamed by the city and most of the press for causing hardship to clients, but the city escapes public censure.

City leaders continue relentlessly on with their campaign to destroy the SSEU and end the pressure which my union has exerted upon the morally corrupt governments here, in Albany, and in Washington, D.C.

After five weeks of striking, the

Divisions Hurt Truck Workers

New York, N.Y. — Associated Transport, with its largest New York-area depot in Brooklyn, is typical of trucking companies. But being larger, it can afford to pay better and have slightly better working conditions than many smaller companies.

The unions there (Teamsters' and International Longshoremen's Association) are also fairly typical and exemplify many of the faults of the American union movement.

RACIST UNIONS

To begin with, they are racist. The shape force, or extra workers on busy days, includes a number of Negroes. But although shapers (except students) are supposed to join the union after 16 work days and get a chance to become a regular as soon as there is an opening there are only one or two Negro regulars. In other areas of New York, like the Garment District, where large numbers of Negroes handle heavy freight, their wages are between one third and one half as much as whites.

The Teamsters and the ILA do get reasonably good pay for some of their members, and the stevedores at AT fall into this happy category.

But high pay produces a certain amount of apathy among the rank and file, and for those members who cannot be bought off, there are more sophisticated means to keep them in line. Thus, the only notice of a union meeting I have seen since I began working there was for 11 a.m. on Palm Sunday — with a rank-and-file composed predominantly of Catholics.

BAD CONDITIONS

As a result, though the pay is good, the wash rooms are filthy, the drivers have to shape up, managerial personnel who know nothing about conditions on the loading platforms ride the men on the daylight shifts (the foremen are generally pretty decent since they at least know what is going on), and a good part of the time there is not even a shop steward on duty.

We're on Microfilm

Back issues of New & Letters are now available on microfilm through University Microfilms, Inc., 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48107.

union was given a new offer, but this proposed settlement included penalties against the 29 most active unionists.

OVERRIDE LEADERS

When the SSEU's executive board approved the offer by a 17-14 margin, after a stormy five-hour session, the union membership overrode the officers by a 2 to 1 margin. Our membership voted to fight for survival and to preserve an active, responsible welfare union.

The city is cooperating with a sell-out AFL-CIO union to destroy SSEU and replace it with the same ineffectual, do-nothing union which the case workers threw out in 1964.

SEES VICTORY

The SSEU experience has shown that a conscious and alert membership can preserve the integrity of its organization and continue to battle both the city and reactionary labor leadership from the AFL-CIO. This small unaffiliated union has taken on the city of New York, has held its own against opportunists and scabs, and is still strong and resilient. We are now more than ever confident of victory.

On the Line

Workers in Auto Are Also Seeing a Long, Hot Summer

By John Allison

Local union negotiations are now beginning. All Chrysler locals have submitted their local demands to management people at their home plants. Local union demands always reflect long-standing grievances that steward and shop committeemen could not get relieved because the contracts need correcting.

The national negotiation table is known as the Big Table. The local union negotiation table is known as the Little Table. We have always before received pressure from Solidarity House to settle our local demands after the Big Table has signed the contract. But things are not the same this year.

BAD BEGINNING

We are being told by the Big Table now what we can and cannot talk about at the local level. Right from the start we are getting off to a bad beginning.

Workers are saying they are not willing to wait for the next set of negotiations to take care of pressing problems that need to be answered now.

There was a time that we played a little game in the shop known as Robbing Peter to Pay Paul. This is to say, one group would get help in one set of negotiations, and the next group

would have to wait for next time. So it was in the old days.

YOUNG WON'T WAIT

But now we have young workers in the auto shops who are not going to wait. These young people are saying one very simple word: NOW. At this point the struggle is to keep on the Little Table the real problems of working conditions, production safety, and a clean place for workers to eat their lunch.

Class war reveals itself in a very real way because management people who are not vice presidents — the white collar workers — sit back and wait for the workers to strike to get their demands, knowing full well they will get more from management than the workers do, and without a fight of their own.

The capitalists punish the workers and reward their own kind.

In the GM local there were many strikes over local agreements after the contract was signed. We expect to have a long, hot summer this year.

Flames of Revolt in Cities

IN MILWAUKEE

(Continued from page 1)

truth; there is much talk of "niggers" and "black devils"; witness Governor Knowles calling the men involved in this revolution "Hoodlums." But then, what can one expect of a man in his capacity, a representative of the power structure?

'AGAIN TONIGHT'

"I'm going to start fighting again tonight. I believe in my freedom so I'm going to keep fighting for it." These are the words of Dotson, a man taken prisoner by the police. They are not the words of a hoodlum; they are the words of a revolutionary.

The NAACP made an apathetic attempt to express its deep sorrow for what had happened, then made an even more apathetic attempt to get the establishment to sponsor teen-age patrols in the predominantly Negro areas. It is doubtful whether anyone listened to them.

Even the bourgeois press had to state over and over again that there was obviously a complete lack of communication between the black and white communities of Milwaukee. The only white man that showed any commitment at all was Fr. James E. Groppi, who called the curfew and the city administration "stupid," and who was arrested for trying to go into the sealed off area to speak with the revolutionaries, presumably to try to calm them down. Father Groppi is advisor to the Milwaukee NAACP youth council.

MORE THAN MONEY

It is to be hoped that there will be many investigations into Negro problems; there may even be hope for many material improvements, such as housing, educational facilities, equal job opportunities, etc., motivated by the fear of economic loss which is, in turn, brought about by the present revolution.

This will all be well and good, but it will never be enough. What people in white communities, such as the one here in Milwaukee, must learn is that there are people outside of the white race who are also human beings, and who should be treated as such, bar none.

IN DETROIT

(Continued from page 1)

riot started, and this will give them an excuse to harm me."

FEEL OUT WORKERS

The superintendent told them to go out and see what the Negroes and young workers felt towards them. My foreman walked up and said, "You and I have always gotten along O.K. I know we have had minor arguments, but when it was over I always forgot it, and I feel sure you did too. Now I know this riot is not because all colored people are bad; the young whites are just as bad, just as guilty of crimes."

He wanted to know exactly what everyone that worked for him felt about him, especially the younger Negroes. While he was saying this to me, practically every foreman had one or two Negroes cornered off asking them the same thing.

The following day those two foreman did not come in; and in fact they stayed away the entire week. Another surprising thing was that practically all of the white workers remained out for several days including those who had come in on Monday. This despite the fact that not one word of hostility arose between them and the Negro workers in the plant. They were afraid of the young Negroes in the streets.

FEAR-FILLED FOREMEN

Some workers would tell the foreman that they had heard that a mob intended to invade the plant during the day. You could see the looks in the white foremen's faces; then the Negro would rush off laughing and tell others what he told them. One Negro foreman came up and said that if the kidding of those foremen did not stop we were going to have some serious heart cases before quitting time.

It has been a week since the revolt's been over. Not one foreman in our plant has raised his voice at a worker, and they seem to be leaning over backwards to some of the Negro workers. One guy said, "Man the destruction was unbelievable; but considering what it did for us about changing the foremen's attitude, it should happen every month."

Editorial

'Law and Order' from Barrel of Gun

(Continued from page 1)

To try to deny this, to make the revolt appear purely racist, the power structure—from Democratic Vice-President Humphrey to Republican Governor Romney, plus the liberal Establishment—have had to quote Stokely Carmichael. He, however, was in Havana; the action was in Detroit. He was talking, not acting. Those who were the actual participants in the revolt made their actions stark and clear: Down with the black slums. Let's not have two nations, one filthy rich and the other miserably poor. Let's have one nation with totally different, truly human relationships.

To the extent to which, as against the Negro masses, the elitist black nationalists did operate in the ghettos, whether that was in Cambridge (Md.) or in Detroit, in Wichita or Elgin (Ill.), in Newark or Milwaukee, they were just trying to get credit for that which the masses themselves did, did spontaneously. They revolted against the class system wearing a white face rather than against "whitey" where he was not part of the exploitative system.

The simple truth is that it is the Government—national, state, city and farm; the police, the prisons, and the courts—and not the "outside agitators"—which breed racism and evoke the wrath of the people. Outside of this reality, and the unvarying tale of police brutality, the greatest breeder of racism is Congress, rushing headlong into multiple investigations, not of the criminal system which produces racism, but of its victims.

THE CRIME OF THE CONGRESS, WITH AN ASSIST FROM THE PRESIDENT

Even before the outbursts from the black urban ghettos reached their climax in Detroit, the Senate tried to rush through the anti-riot bill, already approved by the House. It may still do so, and write fins to the most elementary democratic right of travel by making it illegal to cross state lines (state lines within these allegedly united 50 states) "to incite to riot." The people who "rioted," however, were not brought in across state lines. The rebellions were not only indigenous to the state, the city, but to the very limited slum area to which they had been restricted all their lives. This is precisely what they rebelled against, the ghettoization.

So far removed are the members of Congress not only from the ghettos, but from the lives of the overwhelming majority, from life itself outside of the Congressional corridors, their own plush homes and those of their "business friends," that the competition was on in Congress for discovering "conspiracies," "un-American" ones; rackets, "crimes" and guns, American ones, and, of course "outside agitators."

Allegedly it was to stop this asinine and vindictive search and turn attention to the real "socio-economic reasons" of revolt in the cities, that the President established his own special "Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders." The lie was given to that one when the first "witness" was none other than J. Edgar Hoover, he who got his lawless spurs in the infamous Palmer raids back in the 1920s in the first post-world war hysteria; he who has long since become a law unto himself as FBI chief, he who, this very year, found "conspiracies" and "subversives" even in staid civil rights organizations and in the "New Left."

In any case, it didn't stop the hearings by the Judiciary Committee headed by the arch-reactionary racist, Senator Eastland of Mississippi, and the creation of a sub-committee to be headed by that "rackets-buster" racist Senator McClellan of Arkansas. Or the red-baiting House Un-American Activities Committee Subcommittee headed by that other racist, Willis of Louisiana. Even that paragon of virtue who misappropriated all those political contributions for private use, Senator Dodd of Connecticut, who has a drive of sorts on for a gun control bill, got in on the act.

And all that is but the beginning. Wait till all the "reports" are in, new reactionary legislation passed, further "training in riot control" "practiced"—then watch how bourgeois democracy has gone the totalitarian way and prepared for World War III simultaneously with putting down "civil disorders." "Law and order" from the barrel of a gun, and from the legislative hopper, will coalesce to give reality to the nightmarish mirage of fascist totalitarianism.

What can stop this horror from realizing itself?

WHO WILL DO IT?

Today the vitality of the Negro people, full of purpose, has attacked only the symptoms of oppression—the white landlord in the slums, the white merchant, the white middleman.

This is not because they do not know who Mr. Big is. Rather it is because they do not see white labor ready to join them in their determination to undermine the whole system. They know better than the elitist leaders that, without white labor, the system cannot be torn up by its roots.

The urgency of the times demands that white labor, not as a sometime thing, not as the exception, solidarize itself with black labor. In that way, and in that way alone can blind revolt become social revolution.

The black masses have already laid the groundwork for this, and shown themselves in the vanguard in these crucial ways.

In 1956, with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, their self-organization showed itself in every phase of their activities—from the daily mass meetings to the organization of their own transportation.

By 1960, when the sit-downs at lunch counters initiated the Negro Revolution in a way recognized by white youth as well, a new force was born: a whole new generation of revolutionaries, white as well as black.

The following year, with the Freedom Rides, we witnessed a third force for revolution, "Womanpower, Unlimited."

These three forces—workers, youth, women—coalesced in the urban revolts which reached their climax in Detroit because here, for the first time in years, outside and inside the shop, there was the first appearance of white and black solidarity. It is but the faintest of beginnings. But it did appear.

The dialectics of liberation will assure, with no matter what false relapses and deflection by racism, its forward movement toward ending black slums and brilliantly white imperialism, black poverty and white profiteering, exploitation of black and white. Only then will the social revolution unfold itself and not just against the middleman, but against the system itself, and its moral decay.

R.D.

Readers'

THE NEGRO REVOLT

The only thing I can think about is the Negro Revolution. At work I have to hold myself in check to keep from screaming, "Long Live Liberty" or some such thing.

I detest all violence. But I have lived among Negroes, seen their slums, the conditions under which they are forced to live. I have got roaring drunk with them on cheap wine, sitting on stones in dark alleys, and I have talked with the untrained who never laid eyes on a college classroom about weighty social problems, and I thought I was even beginning to understand a little.

I think I can see the reasons and necessity for this outburst—certainly I have a better understanding of the situation than those maniacs who are running this country to the dogs, those politicians who are beginning to rave about "Communist Conspiracy!" and other drivel of that kind which has become standard, and only proves at best that they don't know what's going on.

Writer
Chicago

* * *

The fact that there were few acts of violence directed against the whites makes welcome news. If we took interviews with some members of the Negro population, which we heard on TV, as typical, we would conclude that "Death to the Whites" was the main slogan.

The question of whether it could happen in Britain is now being discussed. We have our share of white racialists.

H.M.
Scotland

* * *

The workers in my shop were discussing Newark, and we all agreed on one thing: that town needed a riot. Everywhere you walk around there, you see men out of work on the street, and the housing is even worse than Harlem.

Hospital Worker
Bronx, N.Y.

* * *

America sure has a long way to go.

African Student
Detroit

* * *

When people talk about "law and order" they are talking about one kind of law for the whites and another kind for Negroes.

Take the over 40 deaths that resulted from the riot here. If you read the papers or listen to TV and radio, you will learn that the important people who got killed were the two white firemen, the white policeman, and the white

woman killed in the Harlan Hotel. The others aren't even important enough to mention by name.

They did mention the first white woman who was killed, but then they learned that she had been taking some Negro friends home, and after that, you would have thought she was a Negro herself.

It was the same in Newark. The fireman that was killed was the only one they seemed concerned about.

Negro Worker
Detroit

* * *

The revolt in Detroit was a very heartening experience for those radicals who still believe in integration. It showed that all the poor must unite if we are to beat this system.

R.T.
New York

* * *

I'm proud of my people in Newark and Detroit for revolting. Too many are apathetic about their conditions.

But I'm afraid that all they'll get for their trouble this time is an anti-riot act.

Negro Student
Detroit

BLACK POWER

Is that school in Nashville that's in the headlines right now for supposedly using OEO funds to teach "hate" by any chance the one that was written up in N&L last fall, with those unforgettable pictures of the Nashville ghetto?

Reader
Pittsburgh

* * *

Editor's Note: Yes, Fred Brooks' story of the Nashville Freedom Schools appeared in N&L, October, 1966.

* * *

The same U. S. Congress whose members condemn "black power" seems to believe strongly in white power. Washington, D.C., is not allowed home rule so that white power can be preserved, as a majority of the voters there would be Negro.

Somehow, Southern Congressmen, who are committed to white power, are allowed a strong voice in ruling the District of Columbia, which is largely Negro.

If Congress doesn't believe in white power, they should take steps to change these things. Shouldn't the nation's capitol be a model city?

Reader
Florida

* * *

What does Stokely know about working in a shop? He's never worked in one. None of these young black nationalists have. They're mostly all college kids, and they don't know anything at all about our problems. Maybe the younger

workers have that kind of fire in them—but our fire is against management, not against race.

Negro Worker
Detroit

* * *

I'm not saying I'd follow Stokely in anything he does—but I have to admit I like the way he puts it on the line.

Young Worker
Detroit

* * *

The new today is that strike in Newport News, Va., where white and black workers were beating up scabs together. Stokely can't fit that into the category of Black Power, with the so-called "white community" going one way and the "black community" going another way.

Old Friend
Philadelphia

* * *

I read in the paper about the strike of the workers at the Newport News shipyard. The police chief said that, "Negroes and whites were fighting us together like they were brothers."

If this can happen in Newport News, Va., it can happen anywhere, cause Newport News is a city with a long history of racism and segregation.

Activist,
N.Y.

CAPITALISM'S GIFTS

The USA, the richest and most productive country in the world, has as its greatest export to a starving world, not food, not tools, not shelter, but arms and ammunition, and if these are not "consumed" (i.e. used up in a war and destroyed by the enemies) then indeed, production here at home slows down and profits look dim for the future. This industry survives by war.

Socialist
San Francisco

* * *

The Government is boosting its intention of raising old age pensions next November. It is tying the trade unions more firmly to the State and making every effort to strengthen Capitalism in Britain.

The signs are that despite everything, the number of unemployed will be higher in the coming winter than last winter.

Observer
Scotland

S. F. BREAK-IN

It would be of great service to us if you could direct special attention in your paper to the raid that was just pulled on our San Francisco office. Asking your readers to contribute or subscribe to The Movement would help get us out of the bind we are in.

I'm sure you are hip to what having the subscriber list stolen and the address stencils thrown around the floor means (putting them back in ZIP-code order has set us back a week). We must also duplicate all important documents and mail and keep the copies in a safe place.

I don't think I need to point out that this can happen to you.

Terrence Cannon
The Movement

449-14 St.
San Francisco, Cal. 94103

Editor's Note: It did.

News & Letters

VOL. 12, NO. 6

Aug.-Sept., 1967

NEWS & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Telephone: 833-1989. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy 10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan.

Views

THE ARAB-ISRAELI COLLISION — AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MIND OF MAN

"The Arab-Israeli Collision" by Raya Dunayevskaya is the only acceptable position to emerge from the tons of tears, ink, smears and stink on this issue.

People like me who identify subjectively with Israel, and yet are politically educated to objectivity, were forced to dig deep into the social forces dominating the warring countries in order to emerge from the morass with a clear understanding of the basics which are operating, submerged under slogans which are concealants for reality.

Please send me a bundle of 50 copies to pass on to people who need to read it. Enclosed is \$25 — use the rest toward your new office.

Old Friend
San Francisco

When I read your Political Letter, I experienced a great feeling of empathy. No nationalistic pros or cons where human beings are concerned.

What have we to do with nationalism, as for instance some people holler for China, for Russia, for North Vietnam, for what have you? What does it matter whether the worker, the human being, is Arab, Israeli, Chinese, Russian or any other nationality?

The point is that they are all suffering from exploitation and outright slavery, perpetually having to sacrifice their lives for some absurdity and that this condition must be absolutely abolished from the earth.

Poet
Milwaukee

Now that Israel has won such great victories, will the Arabs let her live in peace? It is sad to think that we have to wait on what the Big Powers are going to do. Victorious or otherwise, it is still not Israel that makes the decisions, but the Big Powers, and all that maneuvering in the UN. And what will they do now that China has the H-Bomb? The world situation couldn't be any worse.

Garment Worker
New York

As a Jew and a Marxist-Humanist, I am only too much aware of the physical material power of prejudice — anti-Jewish and anti-Negro. Prejudice can be the motive for economic strangulation, in which case it is an active, hostile force.

However, the refugee problem of 1948 and in the aftermath of the recent war shows that the Jews can be as prejudiced as the Arabs. One side is no more criminal than the other — they both are.

The class politics they are playing, which possibly will lapse into guerrilla warfare, can only be termed a colossal tragedy for both the Jews and the Arabs.

Student
Latin America

We see in the Afro-Asian countries today the same chauvinism, irredentism, and great power involvement that existed in the Balkans sixty years ago. One must ask: Is mankind doomed to repeat the tragic past in the "emerging nations?"

To mention another example of this repetition, let us move away from the Balkans. We

ask: Are the pogroms in Indonesia against Chinese utterly different from the Russian pogroms against Jews?

In this critical world situation one asks: Where is proletarian internationalism? Is there a party on the left that has not forgotten it?

A. Margulis
Philadelphia

Many claim to be socialist and start a state, but are caught in an economic vice they can't get out of. The fact is that many people were leaving Israel before the war because it had fallen so short of its promise.

The Arab people gave no support to their leaders or they wouldn't have been run over in four days as they were. I don't think there's any feeling in that part of the world among the masses that they have achieved any degree of real freedom.

Skilled Worker
California

According to the press, the Communist Party has lost a lot of Jewish members in London, Glasgow, and Manchester. It is almost certain that some non-Jewish members will leave. There is a serious decline in membership apart from this.

The big powers that made the Middle East war possible, are now all appearing as the nations that can bring peace. The position is deplorable. We have a lot of work to do.

Harry McShane
Britain

The State has no right to exist. Ergo, Israel has no right to exist. To say that Israel has as much right to exist as any other state is a very useless point, which seems to discredit Marxist-Humanism as a liberation tendency, and masks the secondary point that Israel is imperialist by its very presence in a political non-vacuum occupied by Arab nationalism...

Anarcho-Pacifist
Chicago, Illinois

I liked your last philosophic letter on the Middle East so much—inasmuch as it had no time for the unified nationalistic facade, the veneer covering the underlying class-divided reality of both sides—that I passed it on to a friend, and would like to order another copy.

Professor
Canada

I was so anxious to get the Arab-Israeli Letter read widely that I went to the showing of McBird here and sold it to the audiences coming out. I sold out the whole bundle I just ordered from you. Please send me another bundle to sell at the anti-war rally here next week.

Marxist-Humanist
Los Angeles

Did you notice the tortured "reasoning in The Militant on the Middle-East? The Trotskyites argue that to be against the Arabs would "align" radicals with "Life, William Buckley, George Meany and Lyndon Johnson."

Can you tell me what they conclude about their alignment with the kingdoms of Saudia Arabia, Jordan, and Libya, the sheikdom of Kuwait, and how about the "so-

cialism" of Syria's Ba'ath Party that had its beginnings in fascism, and that of a Nasser which called for the "annihilation of Israel?"

Their "logic" escapes me.

Journalist
New York

I liked the latest Political Letter very much. Please send me ten more copies. I'd like to sell them at a meeting on the Middle East being held by the Trotskyists...

Student
Philadelphia

EDITOR'S Note: We wish to thank all those readers who not only sent in contributions toward their own copies, but ordered additional copies for friends—and enemies? as well.

The threat of guerrilla warfare in the Middle-East seems an attempt to carry out the promise to make it another Vietnam. It is clear that the Arab countries are not going to agree to direct negotiations with Israel. One gets the impression that if the U.S. could be involved in another Vietnam, it would bring great joy to Kossygin and his colleagues.

A considerable amount of attention is being paid by the press to the civil war in China and the situation in Cuba. It looks as if we are on the eve of great changes and new alignments.

In the meantime, hundreds of delegates are travelling to Russia in order to celebrate the Russian Revolution. What they have in common with that great event is a mystery to me. Of course, nothing will prevent them from taking the free trip.

Observer
Glasgow

COMMUNISM'S GIFTS

I saw some very revealing facts on the Soviet government in the February issue of Liberation magazine... which condemns Russia for selling \$110,000,000 (!) worth of military equipment to the Iranian government under the "benevolent" monarchy of the Shah. Under his "White Revolution" small children are still working in factories for as little as 25 cents a day while the Shah has huge real estate and corporate investments, 10 hotels, airlines and shipping companies, etc.

The Soviet Union also has sold to Dow Chemical Co. several tons of magnesium metal which is used to make the casings for the napalm and other bombs that are used to burn and destroy the people of Vietnam. It is inconceivable that the Soviets are not aware of this. Yet they pose as the protectors of the Vietnamese people.

Student
Wisconsin

The recent Congress of the Czechoslovak writers heard some very interesting speeches from a few participants. Those I have in mind may never be published as they are a "dangerous" indictment of the ruling system. If you are interested, I will send you some. I was able to read one and thought all the time, "What a proof of the Marxist-Humanist standpoint being right!"

Correspondent
East Europe

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Victor Serge, Revolution's Author

BIRTH OF OUR POWER by Victor Serge (Doubleday, N.Y. 1967—\$5.95)
Translated from the French by Richard Greeman.

The appearance of an English translation of Birth of our Power by Victor Serge is as timely as today's headlines. This documentary novel of the cities of Barcelona, during workers' abortive uprising, and Petrograd, in the aftermath of the great Russian Revolution, comes like a breath of fresh air. Pressed down by the mustiness of the old generation which has lost all recollection of social revolution, unfelt by the young generation that lacks the experience, the breadth, the suffering and the triumph of a successful proletarian revolution, and covered over by the current popularity of "short-cuts" to revolution, the epic-making events of 1917 have very nearly receded from memory.

All the more welcome therefore is this excellent translation from the French by Richard Greeman. At no time is the reader conscious of reading this exciting documentary novel in anything but the original language. Both the power and the fast pace of the novel carries the reader forward so that he seems to be present at all events as they occur, in the cities where they take place, and in dialogues of rare intimacy with people one has met, be he the Spanish hero, Dario, or the conglomeration of people in a concentration camp in France — three Wobblies from America, two Zionists from Poland, "with the oriental ugliness of pyramid builders, and high, red, sugar-loaf skulls shaved like those of fellahs," along with a great number of Russians, "Bolshevik suspects" — or the Red Guards in Petrograd under seige.

It is history-in-the-making, not "historicity." The masses are seen individually as they busy themselves uprooting, liberating — and dying. It is this which invests the novel with an excitement that refuses to lose any of its force simply because it is "documentary." Having been a participant in these revolutions, the narrator, as the author himself, Victor Serge, a writer of great talent, knows how to "fictionalize" history, although the molds of the traditional novel have here been broken down. From the very first paragraph, the very first chapter, "This City and Us," Serge unites not only people and history, but brick and mortar, past and present—with a little glimpse of things to come:

"A craggy mass of sheer rock—shattering the most beautiful of horizons—towers over this city... Hard, powerful upheaval arrested in stone, affirmed since the beginning of time... We would have loved this rock—which seems at times to protect the city, rising up in the evening, a promontory over the sea (like an outpost of Europe stretching toward tropical lands bathed in oceans one imagines as implacably blue)—this rock from which one can see to infinity... We would have loved it had it not been for those hidden ramparts..."

Those hidden ramparts held the names of freedom fighters who had lost their lives. Yet neither tragedy nor symbolism appear there as mere mourners: "Some of tomorrow's corpses were laughing raucously... our heads held high filled with the music of ideas."

Death stalked the battlefields — Frenchmen, Canadians, Australians, Serbs, Belgians, Russians, New Zealanders, Hindus, Senegalese — "in the war blood of all men is brewed together in the trenches." Yet this city which was not at war on any battlefield was filled with class struggles and dreams of world revolution.

Suddenly, there is news of the February revolution in Russia; it gives new impulse to the planned revolt in Barcelona. Dario "made us explain the Russian events to him while he wrinkled his brows like a schoolboy having trouble following the lesson. Then, suddenly erect, joyful: 'I've got a feeling we're going to catch up with the Russians! That would be beautiful, Europe burning at both ends!'"

The recognition of each other "by the way... we had of tossing ringing coins of ideas into any conversation" becomes prelude to action as recognition of what workers' power is:

Someone wants the incredible truth repeated; that it has really happened. Someone demands, his hand outstretched: "Well, and the Czar..."

"No more czars."

Like a breeze—the final eddy of a hurricane uprooting oaks on the other side of the ocean—that makes the leaves tremble gently in a wood, the same breath of inspiration makes these men tremble with excitement. And we carry on this dialogue of shadows:

"The army?"

"With the people."

"The police?"

"No more police."

"The prisons?"

"Burned..."

"The power?"

"Us."

Yet there is no romanticizing of the events that followed, not only of the brutality with which the revolt is put down but even of the revenge by the proletariat who murdered the police after the police had murdered Dario. Nor does Serge attempt to "skip over" the abortive uprising by the feeling that "nothing is ever lost." This despite the fact that "nothing is ever lost" reappears as an actuality in the Russian revolution. But those who did not die in Barcelona and the narrator who escaped to France escaped, not to freedom, but to a concentration camp.

There, too, even when an epidemic breaks out to decimate their number, and each day when they awake, the question is of who died the night before — the infirmary simply being referred to as the "morgue" — the dream is of revolution:

"When there are six of us around a table, we have the experience of all the continents, all the oceans, all the pain and the revolt of men: The labor parties of New South Wales, the vain apostleship of Theodor Herzl, the Mooney trial, the struggle of the Magon brothers in California, Pancho Villa, Zapata, syndicalism, anarchism, Malatesta's exemplary life, the individualism and the death of those bandits who wanted to be 'new men,' Herveism, social democracy, the work of Lenin—as yet unknown to the world—all the prisons..."

(Continued on page 6)

YOUTH NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

Vietnam War Comes Home

There were about 20,000 of us who assembled at a neighborhood park in Los Angeles. It was June 23 and Johnson and Kosygin had just finished part one of the summit. Johnson had proclaimed that both men wanted peace for their grandchildren, but there would be no peace in Los Angeles that evening.

The President was flying in to address the President's Club—a group of Democrats who donated \$1,000 to the Democratic Party to eat with Johnson.

PLAN PROTEST

The anti-Vietnam War movement in Los Angeles had been planning a protest demonstration to coincide with the Johnson visit for more than a month. City officials refused to allow a rally in front of the hotel where the President was to speak, but agreed to a rally in a nearby park and a march past the hotel.

The chief of police, the "civilized" successor to the notorious Chief Parker, proclaimed that some 1,500 policemen would be at the scene ready to deal with any law breakers.

At the park the demonstrators first listened to new generation rock bands and folk singers. A brief rally followed with Muhammad Ali and Dr. Benjamin Spock among the speakers.

MARCH BEGINS

The march began about the same time as the President arrived in Los Angeles. We were escorted along the route to the hotel by dozens of police.

By the time we arrived, Johnson had already been taken into the hotel. In his place were squadrons of police dressed in helmets and carrying billy clubs. Other police were on motorcycles and still others in squad cars—all with helmets and billy clubs. Overhead a large army-type helicopter circled.

We stood in front of the hotel some 40 deep, with the line stretching for several blocks. We stood this way for an hour or so during which it was quite difficult to move from one spot to another. The whole march was stopped.

At this time the relationship with the police was almost friendly with some people talking or joking with them. During this time neither I nor those near me, and we were almost directly in front of the hotel, heard any announcement that the demonstration was illegal and must disperse. What we now did hear was an order to policemen—code C. This meant that the police were to take off their neckties and put on gloves. Even

after this there was still a friendly atmosphere and joking about code C.

CROWD ORDERLY

There certainly were some who were interested in civil disobedience, but the vast majority were interested in making their presence known to the President by standing in front of the hotel, an act which somehow was ruled illegal. But the police preparations were now to become clear—it was not to arrest a couple hundred people who might stage a sit down in front of the hotel, it was to teach the anti-war movement of Los Angeles a lesson. A new chief was in power; 20,000 "law breakers" were to be dealt with. The Vietnam War was coming home.

POLICE ASSAULT

A group of motorcycle police drove along the front of the crowd until they came to the portion directly in front of the hotel. They turned their motorcycles directly into the crowd and were followed in by a rush of billy club swinging cops.

They jabbed clubs into demonstrators' back, stomachs and ribs and pushed them off the street and sidewalk. It was impossible to move—and most demonstrators wanted to get away.

The most defenseless people were the ones picked out for especially brutal treatment. A woman had fallen to the ground while being pushed back. She obviously was no threat to anyone, but had just fallen in the first push. She was surrounded by policemen who hit her over and over on the shoulders and head. Another man was trapped between policemen and separated from the demonstrators. Three policemen took advantage of the opportunity to hit him again and again until he dropped.

We were driven in all directions. Some of us to a main boulevard where we were again pursued by police, pushed and hit. The police continued their "work" until the area around the hotel was completely clear for several blocks.

THE REAL LESSON

We had been taught a lesson, but hopefully a different one than the police wanted to teach. I believe that there was a sort of radicalizing process which occurred among the demonstrators (almost all white). There was now perhaps a hint of realization about the true role of the police.

If the crowd had been a Negro one, more than clubs certainly would have been used, but at least the white community could begin to glimpse the reality of the Negro-police relationship. Perhaps a black-white unity on the question of police might begin to develop.

Conflicts Arise in Summer Job

I am working in a factory this summer which manufactures plastics, stabilizing rods for jets, and shells which are sent to Vietnam. I am against the war in Vietnam, but here I am making shells that will probably kill many people.

I feel I just have ideals when I can afford to have them, otherwise it is all right to let them fall by the wayside.

FIRST FACTORY JOB

Working in a factory is an entirely new experience for me. I have met people—everyday working-class people. Most of them have dropped out of high school. When I first started, they reminded me of robots. They didn't think; they only did what they were told.

I think the machine is beginning to affect me, too. I'm beginning to get like them, trying to beat the machine which I never can unless I turn it off, and it is very frustrating. It is like a trap.

There is one person I think might escape. He has it rough, since he has a wife and two children, and is 26 years old. He quit school when he was 16 although he could have gone to West Point if he had wanted. Now he is going to finish high school and then go to college to study electronics.

I hope things work out for him. He's had his share of tough breaks. Most of the workers here have had rough lives—divorces, money problems, sickness, over and over again.

WE'VE MOVED

The new office address of News & Letters is: 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201.

Dissent Stirs In High School

Virginia—I go to a predominantly white, upper middle class high school which is not an ideal target for agitation. I've tried a variety of tactics with very modest success.

By starting a political science club I engaged a few semi-intellectuals in desultory discussion of theory. A student power petition got over 100 signers, but none have shown inclination to more militant action.

Our new underground paper is concerned with more immediate issues than political theory or student power. It has been well received by other students and has attracted the attention of the local press.

The power structure here has also tried a variety of tactics:

- (1) Our principals have practiced selective censorship, e.g., they forced us to listen to the Legionnaires and a Russian bureaucrat, but have prohibited anti-war leafletting by students.
- (2) School officials have tried to buy off dissenters, e.g., they appointed me to a "student advisory council."
- (3) When left content has threatened to give meaning to the empty forms of bourgeois liberty, the school administration has destroyed the forms, e.g. before printing they told us we could distribute our high-school underground paper; after seeing it, they banned it.
- (4) The moneybags have harassed us, e.g. they fired a sympathizer for doing our printing.

Progress is nearly imperceptible, but I think a few students are becoming more militant on immediate issues and less hostile to Marxist theory.

Underground Editor
Virginia

Victor Serge, Revolution's Author

(Continued from page 5)

Ideas are the steel armor which protects them from utter destruction and, finally, does bring them freedom when the armistice is signed and they are repatriated to Russia in exchange for the French hostages. Even here, even in the moment of triumph upon the arrival in Petrograd, it is not the myth of revolution, but its reality that we face:

"We found not the passionate mobs going forward under new flags to struggles begun anew each day in tragic and fruitful confusions, but a sort of vast administration, an army, a machine in which the most burning energies and the clearest intelligences were coldly integrated and which performed its task inexorably. And that task was to strain ceaselessly, for commonplace, often invisible achievements, with forces which, each day, seemed to be the last; to live and to persevere day after day; it was also to make an exhausted country, on the point of falling back into inertia, rise above itself; it was, finally to resist and to conquer everywhere, at every moment, transcending all logic."

The daily labors, the simple routines that become challenges to survival have their humor as well. Here they sit one day, the survivors of lost and won revolutions, huddling together in an old castle that they cannot heat and suddenly:

"Old Levine's footsteps echoed on the floor of the grand salon, plunged in darkness. He entered, his arms loaded with heavy greencovered books which he dropped softly next to the stove. Silent laughter illuminated his ruddy face. 'The laws are burning!' he said."

The friendly warmth in front of which the young woman was stretching out her hands came from the flames devouring Tome XXVII of the Collection of the laws of the Empire. For fun, I pulled out a halfburned page, edged with incandescent lace. The flames revealed these words forming a chapter heading: Concerning Landed Property . . . and further down: . . . the rights of collateral heirs . . ."

"It was only then, after thirty harassing hours, that I remembered the letter I had received the previous day. I had carried it through this unknown city, hereafter ours . . . All at once it seemed to me that Dario was about to walk in, to shrug his invisible burden off his shoulders . . . then to turn toward me, his palms open, his eyes full of mischief, 'Well, old man, what was I telling you. You see that we can take cities! and it's not over yet, and we will take the world!'"

This dramatic moment does not, however, end the work, instead: *"I skimmed over those four pages of writing once more, at a glance, and I stumbled upon one line, no different from all the others in the forest of symbols, which said: ' . . . ever since they killed our Dario . . .'"*

The chronicler of revolutions, the artist who has broken the mold of the novel, even some of the prose that haste fragmented—all of these combined to transform the reader into a participant. That is the great achievement of *Birth of Our Power*. No one, old or young, worker or intellectual, American, European, Arab or African, Jew or Chinese, should miss this singular opportunity of living or reliving that revolutionary era, which is neither lament nor prophesy but just is.

RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

Detroit, Michigan—June 22, 1967

City Guide and Southern Rot

Montgomery, Ala. — The 23rd of June Peace March in L.A., which the police broke up, was my first first-hand experience in what capitalism is really like; today, the capitol buildings of Alabama, my second.

I am sure you are familiar with all the details of the building — the Confederate flags, the water-fountain with cups for Negroes to drink from so that they don't "pollute" the water, etc. And, of course, the guided tour.

THE GLAD HAND

To begin with, our hostess beamed at us and joyfully told us how we were so fine-looking, etc. — the "good element" in short, which made her disbelieve all the things she saw and heard about California in the mass-media. (Ours is a "rather" bourgeois-looking group.)

And of course we were given the usual rigamarole—about the illiterate and "happy" (her exact expression was "well behaved")

Negroes, the educated Negroes who know better than to vote for such "agitators" as Negro candidates; about the carpetbagger-Negro misrule after the Civil War (which, according to our tour director is the reason why there is now segregation — "poor administration").

How no Negroes have been in the legislature since then, about all the horse manure that had to be scraped out of the building in 1874 (I seem to notice still quite a bit of it, though from quite another source than Negro horses); and, most disgusting of all, how "whites don't vote for Negroes and we outnumber them!" (pseudo-democracy at its best); how the Negro population (except for the educated ones) is increasing so much more quickly than the white etc., etc. ad nauseum.

As I said, I know you are familiar with all of this, but it affected me so much that I can't delete it.

High School Student
On Tour

Two Fundamental Analyses
By Raya Dunayevskaya

China, Russia, the U.S.A.
STATE-CAPITALISM AND
MARX'S HUMANISM
ONLY 50c (Bundles of 5: \$2.00)

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Special paperback edition, only \$1.98. (Hard cover, \$5.) Available also in Italian and Japanese translations.

Order from: NEWS & LETTERS, 415 Brainard,
Detroit, Mich. 48201

Name
Address
City State Zip

The student journal of political affairs

THE ACTIVIST

A provocative journal of controversy, scholarship, inquiry and dissent—for those who are still attracted to the creative and cantankerous, the imaginative and radical.

One year's subscription—\$2
5 issues, occasional pamphlets

Send orders to The Activist, 27½ W. College,
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

As Others See Us

Two Reviews Pose Pamphlet's Essence

(We reprint two recent reviews of our most recent pamphlet, "State Capitalism and Marx's Humanism, or Philosophy and Revolution." The first is from the British publication, "Solidarity", Vol. 4 No. 7; the second from "The Call" of India, Vol. 13, No. 11 (April 1967).)

"Philosophy and Revolution" by Raya Dunayevskaya, published by the American "News and Letters" Group, is much more pertinent to our day to day struggles, and, in spite of my minor differences here and there, I wholeheartedly recommend this little booklet to all serious students of politics.

It sets out to examine the relevance of Marxist theory to modern (state capitalist) society. Raya makes no secret of her devotion to Marx, but emphasizes that Marx's work cannot be a substitute for an examination of existing society.

She recapitulates her important contribution to the history of Lenin's philosophical development* from the elitist author of "What Is to Be Done" in 1902, to the democratic Lenin of "State and Revolution" and "April Theses" in 1917. (Few revolutionaries ever allow for the development of Lenin's ideas. How many "Solidarists" could defend their political views of 12 years ago?)

Raya illustrates this development by examining the differences between Lenin and Bukharin, two positions that polarized into whether the worker is "subject" or "object" in society.

This is no academic discussion, for Raya sees the struggle of modern man for freedom (i.e. his striving to be the "subject" of history) as the specific feature of today's battle against the bureaucratic society. Every epoch produces its own revolutionary opposite. Lenin's contribution in his epoch was that the population to a man must run production.

*This whole subject is dealt with much more fully in her "Marxism and Freedom," \$1.50 from "News and Letters."

Early Black Power

Chicago, Ill. — The publication of a biography of James T. Rapier, Afro-American Congressman from Alabama, fiery editor and human rights campaigner, was announced by Mrs. Margaret Burroughs, executive director of the Museum of African American History.

The book will be called Black Power in Old Alabama, and will describe the opposition in Alabama to slavery, secession, the Confederacy and the Klan. It will tell how Blacks and Whites in that state joined into a political coalition to bring more democracy, industry and schools after the Civil War.

Author of the book is Eugene P. Feldman, museum director of research and publications. Feldman, a widely published author and teacher of history at the Encyclopedia Britannica Academy of Chicago, also teaches African and Afro-American history at the Christian Action Ministry Academy in the same city.

Mrs. Burroughs said that the museum needs help to bring this book out and explained that it is now on "pre-publication" sale for one dollar. She said that "people buying this book in advance will help us greatly in this important project." Send orders to:

Museum of African American History, 3806 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60653.

The arrival of automation dresses this demand in new clothes.

Can it be coincidental that this is the period when Marx's humanistic essays are "rediscovered"? asks Raya. "Once the Russian tanks began to shoot Hungarian revolutionaries, no one could any longer separate the philosophy of freedom from the struggles of freedom. At the same time, the new forms of self-liberation—Workers' Councils, Councils of Revolutionary Youth and Intellectuals, all fighting for de-centralisation of state power, for freedom from Communism—could not be pressed back into old moulds. Now that a river of blood separated Communism from Humanism, the Communist opposition to the young Marx's writings had as much an academic air as 'the empiricism of a machine gun'."

A brief section on China as a newly arrived state capitalism follows. It leads logically to the rejection of supporting state capitalist aims in Vietnam (whether of the Russian or Chinese variety). As for the struggle against the American aggressor, Raya makes the point that the Negro Revolution has done more to rock U.S. capitalism than all the thunderous statements of China and her disciples.

Capitalism is summarised as: the abstraction of the worker, his alienation from his creation and himself, his perverted relationship to man and things, the reification of man himself, and the fetishism that enables commodities to determine social relations.

I found the appendix, a critical analysis of Rosa Luxemburg's "Accumulation of Capital," written by Raya Dunayevskaya 21 years ago, of particular interest.

I don't propose to go into detail here; suffice to say that the falling rate of profit tendency is correctly seen by Raya as the central force of capitalist development—from which arises the bureaucratic society, and the workers' reaction so engendered.

I find this much more satisfying than Cardan's theory which sees bureaucracy as arising from ideology ("bolshevik" or otherwise) rather than from the productive process. Bob Potter

... Raya Dunayevskaya tries to recapture the integral unity of Marxian theory at its very foundation: in the humanistic philosophy. Her contention is that: Not only Marxian economics and politics are throughout philosophy, but the latter is from the beginning economics and politics. Marxian theory emerges and develops under the impact of the historical dialectic which it expounds. In her own words: "The todayness of Marxism flows from this: No philosopher has had a grander concept of humanity than did Marx, and yet no philosophic conception was ever rooted more deeply in the first necessity of human society—labour and production."

Though we agree with her theoretical conception of Marxian Humanism we disagree with her characterisation of the Soviet Union and the East European countries, her interpretation and characterisation of the upheavals in Eastern Europe and related matters.

In spite of our differences on these points, we present this article to our readers in the hope that they will profit by it and themselves try to re-examine Marxian theory in the background of the latest situation and draw conclusions for practical political action for the current period. For Marxian theory is an interpretation of history and defines, on the basis of this interpretation, the political action which, using the historical possibilities, can establish a society without exploitation, misery and injustice.

We invite our readers to participate in this discussion by putting forth their interpretation of Marxian theory in the background of the historical reality in process.—Editor, "The Call"

Paperback Edition Only \$1.75
(Also available in hardcover: \$5.95)

An International Symposium on SOCIALIST HUMANISM

36 essays, edited by Erich Fromm

Includes Leopold S. Senghor of Senegal, Raya Dunayevskaya and Herbert Marcuse of the U. S., Adam Schaff of Poland, Lucien Goldmann of France, Iring Fetscher of Germany, Karel Kosik of Czechoslovakia.

Published by Doubleday & Co., Inc.
Copies available from News & Letters

'Black Power' Confab in Newark Sets New Program

Newark, N.J.—The Black Power Conference held July 20-23 in Newark, N.J., was attended by over 1,000 people, young and old, from all over the country and some from the West Indies. There were black nationalists, moderates, militant civil rights workers, and conservatives.

The groups present ranged from the NAACP and SCLC to CORE, SNCC, and the OAAU. There were also many who just came as themselves.

It cost \$25 to attend (which no worker could afford) and it was held in the affluent white business area and not in the black community of Newark. It seemed that the Old Guard would run it. But it was held in Newark just one day after the Revolt was ended — much to the discomfort of the mayor and Governor Hughes — and enough militant youth came to change the whole character from what had been planned.

UNITY AND SURVIVAL

The main theme was unity and the survival of the Black race in the world. The conference was divided into 14 different workshops, running at the same time, ranging from Black Power in Politics to the Arts. The workshops usually ran smoothly, but at times were bogged down

Set Resistance

Many of us on the West Coast who are planning to give up any deferments and to refuse to cooperate with the Selective Service have formed an organization, The Resistance, and are organizing for collective action for the fall.

We are convinced that there are enough men seriously opposed to the war that a significant, political effect would result if we stood up together and refused to cooperate with the system that perpetrates murder in our name.

The price of our refusal — which we are prepared to pay — will more than likely be a jail sentence. But compared to the price the Vietnamese people pay daily for refusing to 'cooperate' with the American government, our price is small, indeed.

For information, contact: Steve Hamilton 2502 Telegraph Berkeley, Cal.

Subscribe to News & Letters \$1 a year

by faction fights and plain disorder.

Except for one incident the conference was very peaceful. That incident was the throwing out of white newsmen from a press conference by one faction. Within one minute of the incident the whole block was blocked off by over 200 cops, all with shot guns and wearing helmets and with reinforcements on the way. All it proved was that the racist cops were ready to repeat the previous massacre on a larger scale.

The conference ended with proposals calling for the overthrow of the present government by force if needed; the releasing of all participants in the Newark revolt and dismissal of all charges against them; the boycotting of all boxing and the Olympics by Black athletes until Muhammad Ali is reinstated as champion of the world; the damning of any religion based on a white God; and the defying of birth control for Negroes.

PLAN SECOND MEET

The conference was successful in getting most of the people who attended pledged to work towards the goals set forth in the resolutions; and as a result several new groups have been started.

Also, it was agreed to have another conference next year to be held in the mid-west, at which time the groups that have been started will report on progress made.

Mission Impossible

Detroit, Mich. — Riots are caused by conditions rather than race, but it just so happens that the conditions which produce these riots are faced mostly by Negroes: unemployment, slums, and inferior education.

And it seems that riots really work, because the city and Federal governments refuse to do anything about these conditions until after the riots.

THE MISSION

The Mission that the people of America face is to build one America, an America where every citizen is given a fair and equal chance to develop to his full potential, an America where all people stand with each other instead of against each other.

It is a mission in which America's white citizen must realize that the Negro is indeed a whole human being and not three-fifths of a man.

No matter how many white people believe in equality (and indeed some do for they have dedicated their lives for the Negro cause) the Mission will not be finished until the vast majority of white Americans do.

The conditions that produce riots are the conditions that must be eliminated before the Mission Impossible can become Mission Possible.

I hate to think of the Mission as a failure. By the way, did you ever hear of the greatness of Rome?

L. S. Negro Student from the South

AN ENDURING PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD OF A GREAT STRUGGLE OF OUR TIMES

—THE DELANO GRAPE STRIKE



CAPTURES THE LIVING SPIRIT OF A MOVEMENT

PHOTOS BY GEORGE BALLIS; TEXT FROM THE PLAN OF DELANO ***\$2.50 from Farm Worker Press, Box 1060, Delano, Cal.

BASTA!

Notice to Subscribers

Due to circumstances beyond our control, we were unable to publish the June-July issue of News & Letters. All subscriptions will be extended one issue, assuring all subscribers that they will receive the correct number of issues to which they are entitled.

Fury of Negro Revolt Is Measure of Determination

(Continued from page 1)

of the outburst — busily taking the pulse of the black ghettos, and all agreeing that nothing like Newark could happen here. But no one, including the labor bureaucracy, had bothered to be anywhere near where the people were.

Nothing tells better how total the opposition of the Negro community is to the power structure as a whole, and to all the hangers-on within the Negro community itself, as that the explosion in the "model city" was the greatest of any city in the United States.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Every outburst, from Harlem in 1964 and Watts in 1965 to Newark and Detroit, has been sparked by a police action. And every single outburst has been met with even more brutality.

The summer began with the wanton shooting and beating of students at Negro colleges in Nashville and Texas.

In Newark, police fired indiscriminately into homes and apartments, killing and wounding many. Heavily-armed state police and National Guardsmen, with fixed bayonets, overran Negro homes in Plainsville in a "search for stolen weapons" and ended their storm-trooper-like raids only when authorities feared the wrath of the residents would burst again.

In Detroit, despite the much-ballyhooed initial delay in a "use of force," there were hundreds of beatings reported, prisoners were herded into compounds and kept for days without toilet facilities or food, homes were invaded without search warrants, and eye-witnesses accused police of looting and fire-bombing several Negro stores that had been left untouched by the Negroes.

The cold-blooded murder of three unarmed Negro youths by police and National Guardsmen under cover of the outburst was finally forced into the headlines a week later. And the out and out murder of still another teenager a few days after that. No less than 37 Negroes were killed during that one week, including a four-year-old child who lay on the floor of an apartment being riddled with bullets.

In this "model city" of race relations, the liberal Democratic mayor and his liberal police chief, Girardin, had consistently refused even to listen to the years-old plea of the Negro community for a city civilian review board.

When the wrath of the Negroes exploded, it was vented not only against the police in their own neighborhoods, or even the police in general, who were the prime targets of the snipers. In Detroit, Negroes made a direct attack on police stations, themselves.

WHAT WAS NEW

Many other things were new in the Detroit revolt.

Unlike other cities, here the rebellion spread from the ghettos into almost every direction. Before it was over, property damage was estimated at no less than half a billion dollars.

Unlike other cities, here the repossession, as well as the sniping later, were integrated. As one reporter on the scene put it: "It was just like Negroes and

whites were shopping together. Only they weren't paying for anything."

Unlike almost all other outbursts, Detroit's was not so much against "whitey" as such, as against the white landlords, white merchants, and, of course, the white police. Where, in Watts, "whitey" had been pulled from cars and beaten, in Detroit, Negroes stopped in the midst of their activities to warn whites away from certain areas where they might run into trouble.

While this does not mean there was any special "love" for whites, the strong class sense in Detroit showed itself both in the factories (see story by Charles Denby, page 1) and in the streets. For while the everywhere present signs of "Soul Brother" saved many Negro stores from the torch, Negro merchants who had also gouged the community were not spared. In fact, one Negro-owned drug store that had been picketed by CORE the week earlier was among the very first to go.

'OUTSIDE AGITATORS'?

Nothing so tells how deep is the cancer of our racist capitalist society than the inability of the "experts" to understand why it happened with such fury in Detroit, and their search for "outside agitators" to explain it, as if people need to be "taught" to revolt against intolerable conditions.

Whether it is Nashville's deplorable educational system, or Mississippi's literal starvation conditions, or Chicago's police brutality, or Newark's unemployment, one thing is sure: it is the real conditions of the Second America, and not any "outside agitators" that cause the explosions.

THE NEXT QUESTION

The question to be answered is not WHY, but will the outbursts in the cities really change what's wrong?

The outbursts have made it impossible for anyone to deny the existence of the Second America that wants the ghetto done away with. But the truth of the matter is that cancerous capitalism cannot do away with the ghettos.

The truth is that the imperialist war in Vietnam makes it impossible for the middle-road liberal to conduct more than a skirmish on poverty. On the contrary, it sets into operation the counter-revolution, as is seen in the fact that racist Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee called as its chief witnesses the same racist police chiefs most responsible for the explosions they are "investigating." (See Editorial, on page 1.)

This does not mean that the Negro Revolt has accomplished nothing. For one thing it has found its own voice — and made that voice heard around the world.

No one will ever again be able to talk of "affluent America" without remembering the potbellied children of Mississippi, or the bloodied heads of unemployed Negroes in Newark, or the sadistic cop who reached for the jugular vein of an alleged "looter" in front of his wife in Detroit.

Above all, the counter-revolution will be forced to think twice before going all-out.

It is nevertheless true that this form of rebellion does not overthrow capitalism, tear it up by its roots, and build something new as it destroys the old. For that, the Negro Revolt needs to know not only what it is against, but what it is for — and it needs an alliance with all the freedom forces out to build a new, truly human society.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Organized Opposition to Mao Grows

The continuing revolts against the regime of Mao Tse-tung have left the major cities in China in a condition which makes Detroit, after the outbursts, look like a Sunday school picnic grounds.

In February, even Chairman Mao had to admit that his "Cultural Revolution" had lost direction, gotten out of control and had become a danger to the stability and economic health of the country. He called upon the Army to intervene in the struggle between the Red Guards and the various other organs of Communist power in China.

This left the organs of Army power the sole arbiter in the so-called "revolutionary three-

way alliance" whose job it was to wipe out anarchism and to carry on a "rectification campaign" among the followers of Mao. The main trouble with "Mao's Thought" on the question seems to be that the Army is no more united behind him than are the Party or the "Red Guards." Open dissention has broken out in the Army with the city of Wuhan as the center of Army resistance. Reports from the city speak of "bloody clashes" in which over 250 persons were killed and over 1,500 injured. Canton has been described as a dead city due to the clashes in the streets. In Wuhan, thousands of railroad workers are on strike and Mao has called upon "the misguided masses

to rise up and rebel" against his wide-spread opposition.

Two high officials, Hsieh Fu-chih, Minister of Public Security, and Wang Li, a Maoist intellectual, were sent to Wuhan to make peace with the warring factions. The two were paraded through the streets in dunce caps and sent back to Peking.

Seat of the resistance in Wuhan has finally been given a name by Peking, which claims that the "hoodwinked masses" are starting to withdraw from an organization called "the million mighty army" which, if nothing else, indicates that millions of workers and peasants have been organized into a powerful opposition to Mao.

WAR JUSTICE

The U.S. Army has acquitted two officers while sentencing three enlisted men in the killing of a Vietnamese peasant.

First it acquitted Capt. Paul Ogg and later, Lt. John L. Patrick Jr., for the incident growing out of an April 4 patrol action in which Lt. Patrick's group picked up 42-year-old Nguyen Chi, a peasant. He was held prisoner on the basis that he was in Viet Cong-held territory and was considered to be of military age and thus a Viet Cong.

The enlisted men convicted were Sgt. Walter Griffen, Specialist Raul Garcia and Pfc. David L. Woods, who claimed that they overheard a radio conversation between the captain and the lieutenant in which Capt. Ogg told Patrick to take the prisoner out and shoot him, which the enlisted men did.

The captain was let off with a reprimand and a \$450 fine. The lieutenant was set free on the basis that he did not give a direct order and the enlisted men were sentenced to 10 years in prison.

FRENCH STRIKE

In May the French working class solidly united behind its four major labor organizations, called a 24-hour general strike which closed down 80 to 90% of all French industry. In Paris 150,000 marchers demonstrated from the Bastille to the Place de la Republique, the traditional route of working class demonstrations.

The issue at stake was the demand of DeGaulle for further special powers for six months to deal with problems in the social and economic field. In the strike all unions made common cause with the

left opposition parties opposed to the regime of DeGaulle.

Under the Gaullist constitution the broad dictatorial powers granted to DeGaulle makes Parliament a rubber stamp for his policies. A vote of censure is impossible without the support of a segment of DeGaulle followers, which is not likely at this stage.

INDIA

A ninth state, Madhya Pradesh, has rejected the leadership of the Congress Party of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, which now controls only eight of the 17 states in the country.

The Congress Party, founded by Gandhi, has since independence from Great Britain, failed to make the basic reforms, reduce death from starvation or substantially improve the lot of the common man. The resentment of the masses is reflected in the growing defeats the party has suffered at the hands of the masses of discontented and starving people.

ARMS PEDDLERS

The real extent to which U.S. arms are peddled to countries that do not need them, and who pay for them out of funds that could be better used to improve the economic life of the people, is not known due to military secrecy and controlled information. We do know that Turkey, for example, has received \$5 billion in arms over the past 15 years.

We know that the Defense Dept. maintains a sales force headed by Deputy Ass't. Secretary Henry Kuss to promote U.S. arms sales abroad. We also know that the huge profits from these sales go to giant U.S. corporations. General Dynamics has collected over \$1 billion on overseas sales of its fighter planes. We

also know that Latin American countries have no need for fleets of military planes, naval vessels or huge military establishments.

In Europe and the near East, every time a sale is made to one country, its neighbors demand a duplicate order and the endless race goes on — to profit U.S. munitions makers.

RAT CONTROL

The control of rats seems to be a very minor problem in a world beset with so many major problems, but in fact it symbolizes the rottenness of capitalism and it has now become a political issue. Congress failed to provide the piddling \$40 million called for by the Administration for rat control and thus to make at least a pretense of helping the urban ghettos.

Over 14,000 persons last year reported being bitten by rats, with probably twice that number unreported, and over a billion dollars in rat damage to food and goods has been reported.

Since it is the poor who are affected, both black and white who live in the rat-infested slums, the refusal of Congress to aid them can only be considered as politically motivated. It is only when fire drives the rats out into the better neighborhoods that the community becomes concerned and says, "We must do something about it." LBJ's attempt to blame the riots in part on Congress' failure to pass the rat control bill isn't going to get him off the hook. What the Negro revolts have shown is that a good deal more than a rat control bill is needed. Nothing short of the abolition of the ghettos will do, but LBJ is not about to sign capitalism's death warrant.

The anti-Semitism of Russian Communism came to the surface in the last years of Stalin's life not alone because of Israel, but, above all, because he had to contend with the true internationalism of Russia's returning soldiers—workers, peasants and intellectuals—who had seen "the West" and now asked what is so different about Russian Communism. Whereupon Stalin discovered that the new "enemy" was "Zionism", the "rootless cosmopolitans" . . .

Excerpt from

The Arab-Israeli Collision, the World Powers, And the Struggle For the Minds of Men

By Raya Dunayevskaya

Order from: News & Letters
415 Brainard
Detroit, Michigan 48201

Price: 25c

WE'VE MOVED

The new office address of News & Letters is: 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201.