

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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## ON THE INSIDE

- Debray's "Revolution in the Revolution?"—p. 5  
Marxist-Humanist Youth Group—p. 6  
Vietnam - LBJ's Myths—p. 4

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Lowndes County, Ala., Is Changing

A couple of weeks ago a worker in my shop went down with some others to Lowndes County, Ala. to pay off the purchase of 200 acres of land by the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights. The money for Lowndes County was raised to buy land because of the situation that had developed in the county.

The whites were forcing Negroes off the plantations, especially those who were renting land. They were trying to force them out of the county because it was the first time since reconstruction that any Negro had been able to register to vote. At this time Negroes were a 85% majority and the whites felt there would be a revolutionary change in the county if all the Negroes registered to vote.

#### TENT CITY ON HIGHWAY 80

So this was the basis of Tent City. When they tried to force people off the plantation and tried to force them out of the county, the people moved onto eight or ten acres of land belonging to a Negro farmer, who put up tents on the side of Highway 80.

This stirred up quite a controversy, not only in Lowndes County, but nationally. S.N.C.C. and Stokely Carmichael were politically conscious enough to understand this. This is where both became famous.

There is something about buying this land that is important. Just after the Montgomery Bus Boycott or during the boycott, all the whites in Lowndes County signed some kind of agreement among themselves that they wouldn't sell Negroes any land at any terms, or at any price.

#### WHITES WON'T SELL TO NEGROES

It became possible to get this 200 acres from a white owner because he did not know he was selling it to Negroes until it was paid for. This was sort of historic in the sense that these whites have not sold one acre of land to any Negro.

The people living there had tried to buy land from whites in the last few weeks and everyone was turned down, and every white told each person trying to buy he would not sell them an acre of land for a \$1,000, when the price is running from \$75 to \$85 to \$100 an acre.

The purpose for buying the land was that now the people do not have to run out, chased out of the county. Now the people who are told to move off the land will have some place to go. The worker said that the people in Lowndes County felt more than happiness when the deal was completed.

The worker explained what he meant by saying that he didn't mean to attack SNCC or minimize what it had done to make people not be afraid to stand up for themselves. But Stokely also kept talking about separation, with Negroes over here and whites over there, and how they were going to take over the county, and he would be the prosecutor, jury and the executioner once they won the elections. Because of this the whites and some Uncle Toms were able to split the thinking of people in Lowndes County, and it wasn't only the middle class Negroes who didn't agree with all the talk about separation and separate states. Instead of winning the elections, the Negroes lost, and all the whites won in a country that was mostly Negro.

#### LOWNDES COUNTY IS DIFFERENT

Now it is different. For example, a poverty grant was used to start a school in Lowndes County which was held in three churches. Of the people attending, the most oppressed people got \$25 a week and \$2 for each child. All these people were attending regular mass meetings and they were making dollar contributions at every meeting to help pay for organizing people in the county.

What is new from last summer is that for the last 30 or 40 years there has been a white woman as superintendent of the Negro schools. She ran the schools in any manner she wanted. In all those years not one thing has been done to these school houses, really just shacks. Two years ago pictures of the schools were published in papers in the North. The people in Lowndes County showed these newspapers all over, saying these people now know what you mean when you say separate but equal. As a result of these actions the County has built three new modern high schools. They also have school buses now.

The other thing that is new was what happened to a man who is an Uncle Tom. This man had prevented the people from using his church for meetings during the civil rights movement. He also had a store which had been the central meeting place of the people in that area.

Now the store is practically empty. No one goes to his place anymore. Instead they go to Mrs. Dott's store. Mrs. Dott is a white woman. She and her husband live in the county and during the height of the civil rights activity in Lowndes County her husband organized an interracial baseball team, Negro and white. He adopted two Negro children. During the graduation of one of the sons from one of the Negro High Schools, the principal, who is very much an Uncle Tom, gave the adopted son a pin for being an A student. The

## Black Mass Revolt Poses Choice: Freedom For All—or Police State

By Rachel Woods

The report of the Presidential National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders released early this month that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal" was no news to black Americans. The only surprise was the frank admission by the panel of 11—nine of whom were white, all considered "moderates," and the majority politicians with white middle-class constituencies—that it is white America, "white racism," that is responsible for the black mass revolt that is shaking the nation.

Not even the blunt statement that we are moving to "a kind of urban apartheid with semi-martial law . . . and a drastic reduction in personal freedom for all Americans, particularly Negroes" came as any shock to black Americans, no matter which part of the spectrum they are, from black militant to black moderate.

#### THE SAME, THE SAME

It was, in fact, the moderate Dr. Kenneth Clark who has been studying reports on riots since 1919, who stated the real truth of the Commission's Report most bluntly: "I must in candor say to you members of this commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction."

For all the sense of urgency the Commission tried to put into its report, the head of the Commission, Governor Kerner of Illinois, must answer for the fact that his own major city, Chicago, rivals the most backward town in Mississippi for the very racist practices the report condemns. Where the report urgently recommends enactment of an enforceable Federal open housing law, neither Chicago's already existing open-housing ordinance, nor its building codes for slum clearance, have ever been enforced. Nor does Mayor Daley show any intention of ever doing so.

Where the report urges the creation of two million new jobs, six million new units of decent housing, uniform welfare standards, and income supplements—the pitifully inadequate current poverty funds have been slashed at every level. Only two days after the Commission's report was released, cutbacks were announced in Commission-member Mayor Lindsay's own two largest Negro areas—Bedford Stuyvesant and Central Harlem.

#### NEED POLICE REIN

Where the report condemns police actions, which have triggered every single riot to date, and where even a special Governor's Commission had urgently recommended a civilian review board for his city, the very day the report was released, Mayor Adonizio of Newark again rejected the idea as one to which he was "unalterably opposed."

All over the country—despite the report's strong condemnation of moves to equip police departments with mass destruction weapons—police are amassing terrifying arsenals that include everything from Stoner rifles, shotguns, and blinding tear-gasses, to armored tanks and helicopters.

In short, white racism shows every intention not only of continuing "the same inaction" to the conditions it has spawned, but of intensifying them, in every direction.



See Orangeburg Eyewitness Report, Page 2

#### Black and White

## New Jersey Ford Workers Walkout; Fight Shop Racism

MAHWAH, N.J.—On Feb. 13, at the Ford plant in Mahwah, work on the night shift was going along as usual—hectic and speeded up. At about 10 p.m., a white body-shop foreman, known both for his racism and the way he rode the workers' backs, called a production worker a "black bastard" when he refused to do somebody else's job as well as his own. The resulting walkout lasted more than three days.

The insulted worker walked right off the job and went to his committeeman; a white worker went along with him as a witness. "What are you going to do about it?" they asked the committeeman. The committeeman met with the supervisor, who said: "You haven't got any proof; we're not even going to discuss it."

Guy who were listening yelled out to the rest of the body shop: "We're not getting anywhere with this. Let's all go to the union hall." The entire body shop and many workers from the other sections of the plant joined the walkout as the word spread, completely cutting off production on the night shift.

#### DAY SHIFT JOINS

At the union hall, Local #906 President Resnick told the men he would talk to management the next day. When, at nine o'clock in the morning the word spread to the day shift, more men walked off the job in protest.

Meanwhile, Resnick got nowhere with the company, which refused to negotiate and denied that the white worker's testimony was adequate proof. The racist foreman remained on the job alone.

For the next three days, there were always at least 50 workers literally camping out in the union hall at every hour of the day and night. Over and over they re-

peated their one demand: fire that racist foreman.

"Resnick must know we're serious when he sees we won't go home," said a body-shop worker. "Every time something like this happens, we just file a grievance and go home. But this time, we're going to fight until we see something done."

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#### NAACP AND CORE

Resnick went back up to his office, leaving the meeting in disorder. Then the men decided to call in people they knew in the NAACP in Englewood and Newark; someone else suggested they call CORE.

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued on Page 2)

**WORKERS JOURNAL****Lowndes County, Ala., Is Changing**

(Continued from Page 1)

white man walked up during the graduation, took the pin away from his own son, and told the Negro principal to put it on two other Negro students, who had better averages. This floored the whole audience. That has been this white couple's attitude all along.

**BLACK MAJORITY IS DECREASING**

Another thing that had changed was that up until this time there was a Negro majority of about 85%. Now it is only a 65% majority. What happened is that many of the young Negroes in the county go to the cities and move away looking for work. Many of the older people in the county go to Montgomery looking for jobs, though they still live in Lowndes County.

Another major factor is that hundreds of whites have moved from Montgomery and from Birmingham out into the county and are living in trailers. The purpose is to get these whites to come out and live, and after six months they are a citizen of that county and able to register to vote. They may still have their home and job in Montgomery or Birmingham, but as long as the trailer is there and they say they are living in it, even if just for the weekend, they are a registered citizen of the county. So now Negroes are only 60-65%.

So you see, the worker continued, the talk of separation defeated the purpose of what people were really looking for, which was a complete change, a revolutionary change. This appeared to be what SNCC too was working for, but when they began to talk about a separate state, well, it is pretty much a classic joke among Negroes when you get to talk about setting up separate states. It is just like a phrase. People talk about these things but they have very little faith in it. They don't have faith in anyone carving out a separate country within a country.

The whole problem is that Negroes are concerned, like any other citizen, trying to get some human feeling for people within the country. This is true for the men in the shop, and it is true in Lowndes County. They are trying to humanize the people who have been brutalizing and doing a whole lot of stuff. Not only just to Negroes—they do it to anyone who is less fortunate. If you don't have power to keep the stick off your back, they will bring it down on your skull.

Separate states don't mean freedom, but what they are feeling now in Lowndes County is that if they keep fighting, there will be changes, revolutionary changes for both black and white. This was the first crack in the white power structure. More changes are sure to come.

**"Quebec To The Workers" Is Call of Strikers and Student Allies**

MONTREAL, Canada — Public officials of the town of Mount Royal and officials of the 7-Up company were treated to a little "happening" on Feb. 27, when some 2,500 strikers, workers, students and strike sympathizers demonstrated their solidarity with two striking groups.

Among others, U.G.E.Q., the Quebec-wide student union, supported the action, though at our own college its leaders are more concerned with something called "sensibilising the mass of students" than committing themselves on real issues.

**7-UP STRIKE**

The 7-UP plant is right across the street from the town line of Mount Royal, and 105 distribution employees have been on strike for eight months, as the company has ignored seven court injunctions for refusing to recognize the United Brewing and Soft Drink Workers Union.

The demonstration began at the 7-UP plant where some of the more militant types hurled bricks and fire bombs into the building. Then the group marched to the town hall of Mount Royal, and decided to go say a little "Bonjour" to its well-bred citizens.

Instead of the usual "Quebec to the Quebecois," the marchers chanted "Quebec to the workers," a kind of welcome sound.

**STRIKE UNITES**

It was not so much a French vs. English affair, but rather workers and students confronting the well-to-do. These strikers have brought people of widely differing backgrounds and viewpoints together, and this could possibly broaden participation in future struggles.

**Way of the World**

By Ethel Dunbar

**The Educated Also Need Judgment**

It seems it is important to some people today to make life miserable for everyone in this country. They think they are better than anyone else.

Some people with an education think that no one is as good as they are. Some white people think that they are better than the black people, just because they are white. But nobody is made of better flesh than anyone else.

**NEED JUDGMENT**

Just because these people have a little bit more than another person, have more education, or are white, they think that they are the greatest and must be honored. But without any real knowledge or judgment, they will be lost when they try to tell common people how they must live.

But don't get me wrong when I say that you must have more than education to get along in this world. When you know that the labor of common people is the source of all wealth, and when you have done some of all work, then you can say that "I am the greatest."

To me the northern white is getting worse to the colored people than the southerner was in the past. When the black people were on the southern land, the white

**EYEWITNESS REPORT****Orangeburg Murders; Black Student Mood**

(ED. NOTE: The following statement is from an interview with a student at Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C. With other Negro students from Claflin and adjoining South Carolina State College, he participated in demonstrations during the week of Feb. 5 aimed at integrating a bowling alley owned by Harry Floyd. On the evening of Feb. 8, Orangeburg police and South Carolina state highway patrolmen fired on a group of students. Three students were killed.)

Thursday, Feb. 8 was a tragic day. The night was still; the students were uneasy about the support the state and local authorities had given Floyd. The students were on the campus; they had built a bonfire in the middle of the street—a side street. They were just gathered there, perhaps 100 to 200 students.

Now the papers stated there was a riot. There was no such thing. The fire department came and then the policemen started coming. When the policemen came—the local authorities and the state highway patrol—they immediately took up a position on a knoll and began firing. All the students turned and began to run.

**STUDENTS SHOT**

I was right in the midst of things. I heard the shots, and couldn't believe it. It was terrible. I was so startled that I refused to fall on the ground. I said to myself, I know they would not shoot into a crowd of students as they are retreating—after all, we were harmless. But this made no difference to the state highway patrol or local policemen. They fired anyway, and three people died.

They were shot in the back. The 37 students who were injured were shot in the back or in the

man did not care how close you lived around him, just as long as you worked for him. But in the North, the white people are talking about guns and bombs in order to destroy the whole black race from the face of America and especially in the state of Michigan.

**REMEMBER IT ALL**

They can't stop talking about the riot that occurred in Detroit last summer. But they have forgotten all about the burning, bombing, and killing they have done to the Negroes for just marching for their freedom.

The whites don't seem to know that Negroes are tired of not being treated as human beings by the white people. Since the Negro can't have any kind of business in the white neighborhood, the black people feel the whites should not live in the black neighborhood.

There are some good whites who speak well for the colored people. Whites like Father Groppi, who tell the truth about all things. Whites like this and blacks know that no matter how others try to keep this struggle for freedom down, this society will be changed.

legs. The papers stated that there students were shot in the back. There was an exchange of fire. Surely if there were an exchange of fire some of the policemen would have gotten hurt or some of their equipment damaged. But this did not happen. I say it was murder.

The police brutality was terrible. A young lady was returning to the campus after transporting one of the wounded students to the Orangeburg Regional Hospital. At the entrance to the campus a policeman in a squad car stopped her. The policeman got out of his car and walked back to her car. He opened the door, pulled her out and roughed her up, and was about to hit her with his nightstick. The only thing that stopped him was Dean Hammond of State College.

One young man went to the hospital to inquire about his brother, who had been shot. The cops beat him so bad that he looked worse than his brother. The cops beat him for asking them a question.

**STILL A CRISIS**

The shooting caused a lot of resentment and bitterness among the students. Some students were reluctant before to take a part, now they are one hundred percent for the cause. The students are very quiet now; they seem to be waiting for an opportunity. I do not feel the crisis is over. It could be a week, or two weeks, or it could be three months from now. But if it doesn't happen before the summer, Orangeburg will be in for a long hot summer, a deadly summer.

I'm not saying the situation is going to be reversed. But three Negro students were killed, and nothing was done about it. The Governor keeps saying that the shootings were justified. Forty

This will not be the situation the next time.

The white man here thinks we are looking for a handout. But we don't want a handout; we want is a fair and equal chance at the opportunity that the white man has.

I spent five years in the service in 12 foreign countries, and I could go anywhere I wanted to go. So why should I come back to my own country and be discriminated against? I'll say this: unless there are some changes—some radical changes—in the South in the next year and a half to two years, the South will be in a world of trouble.

**NO RESPECT**

We do not necessarily want to burn Orangeburg. We don't want the things we want through destruction. But I've found out, over and over again, that the white man doesn't really respect the Negro. If we say, "Let's go to the table and talk about it. Let's work out a reasonable or logical solution to the problem," no, he doesn't want to do that. He says "You got this and you got that. What else do you want? You can't expect a radical change overnight."

But it's been 14, 15 years, and he still hasn't done anything. We get more progress when we go downtown and throw a brick at his store or light a match to his business. Then he wants to talk peace.

Why then? Why couldn't this have been done at the table? He really doesn't respect the Negro unless we're violent. And when this happens he says the Negro is destructive. He makes us destructive. He is responsible.

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**Editorial****Labor Can Be Destroyed if Laws Are Passed Against Black Revolt**

Under the smokescreen of the Negro revolt, politicians on the state and national levels are putting together legislation that can be used to destroy the labor movement in America.

Because the question of the black mass revolt has produced an avalanche of publicity and an emotional response that can blind some to the full extent to which laws can be put to use, it is more important than ever to keep working class principles and facts straight.

Reactionary anti-labor politicians can have a real field day by putting laws on the books they say are to preserve "law and order" and are meant to "control rioting and other civil disturbances" — supposedly meaning that it is "only" directed against rioters. The simple fact is, and should never be forgotten, that any law passed applies to everybody. There are no exceptions—except where police and politicians choose to make exceptions.

And they don't make exceptions for workers who are in a strike situation; who are on picket lines. This has been ruled a civil disturbance by the courts, and if present laws are passed they could destroy the right of workers to strike or to even set up a picket line. Look at the wording of one law: in a period of civil disturbance, it will be illegal for three or more persons to congregate, and it will be illegal to influence another to break the law.

This means that if there is a strike situation, the court could declare it a civil disturbance. And if a union officer or rank-and-file worker would ask for a picket line of more than three persons, or join a picket line with three persons on it, he would be breaking the law and could be fined and thrown in prison.

Black workers know it very well. White workers everywhere ought to know it very well also. The difference could break the union.

**Black and White****New Jersey Ford Workers Walkout; Fight Shop Racism**

(Continued from Page 1)

Since the workers could not legally picket on their own, they wanted pickets from an outside group so they could refuse to cross the picket-line and encourage others to do the same. That way, no "instigators" could be singled out by Ford and brought up on charges.

Friday morning several workers visited offices of NAACP and CORE asking for picketline support. At National CORE an official told them that CORE could not openly support the walkout because they were trying to get a grant from the Ford Foundation. In spite of this, they were able to find a few individuals from both groups who set up picketlines at 3:30 p.m. As soon as the pickets appeared, plant security came out in force to intimidate workers and picketers alike. Even the Big Brass from Fords made personal appearances.

**STAY OUT**

Besides the guards, the head of personnel, several department supervisors, and the chief of plant security were standing in the road frantically trying to wave workers into the plant. Company guards took movies of workers who turned away and wrote down their license numbers. But in spite of all this intimidation, 450 workers—the largest number so far—refused to cross the line; production was again shut down.

Within an hour there were more people in the union hall than seats. "Now that we're all here, we've got two demands: get rid of that foreman and no discipline against us," said a day-shift worker. Everybody cheered. Resnick came late in from Newark and said that he didn't know anything but that it didn't look like they were getting anywhere. "Which side are you on, anyway?", "Where is Local 906 in all this?", men yelled.

Resnick sat down and the plant committeeman took the floor. "I just came from the plant and I say go back to work right away because the company is splitting us up. If we go back they'll negotiate, but I can't promise any-

thing. If you don't go back, there will be firings."

A lot of guys started yelling: "If we go back now we are nothing!" "What do we need you for?" "Don't go back!" Resnick chimed in: "I heard the company is getting out production. I'm with you, but you don't have a majority. You'll have to go back sometime. I'm only one man; what can I do?" "Nothing," replied a loud voice, "you never do nothing."

**RETURN TO WORK**

The meeting broke up when the workers decided not to go back until Monday and to go back together with no doctor excuses. Resnick called a "mass rally" for Sunday, but only about 100 workers showed up. On Monday night, when the men went back, it was a little quieter in the body-shop. The foreman kept his mouth shut. When one worker was called for his disciplinary hearing, the rest of the body-shop went along to listen, and the line had to be shut down. Ford took one look and said: "All right, no hearing. Back to work." No disciplinary action was taken against any of the men.

**HUMAN RESPECT**

"We want to be treated like men. The issue here is human respect," said many workers. A white worker from the day shift told the story of his first day at work: "the foreman refused to shake my hand—I don't need to know your name. You're just a number to me. Now they call my friend a 'Black Bastard.' It's all the same thing."

"If the company won't come to terms when we're out, and production is stopped, they won't come to terms when we're in and the line is moving," said a worker at the Friday night meeting. Everybody saw that the leadership couldn't win their fight for them, nor the courts, nor CORE and the NAACP.

"The only people we can trust in is ourselves," concluded one worker. "The local officers told us there would be firings, but when we stuck together and threatened production, Ford didn't dare."

**Mexican Report**

MEXICO — A Cuban-Moscow sponsored magazine here was going to publish the complete works of Ernesto Che Guevara. As of Jan. 6 the magazine (*Politica*) announced that it was ceasing publication due to coercion, threats, economic boycotts, withholding of paper (all newspapers and magazines are only allowed to use legal paper—this means that only paper bought from the government agency is legal), police inquisition, continued harassment of the collaborators, writers and printshop workers.

The magazine began publication in April 1960 during the administration of President Adolfo Lopez Mateos. It campaigned against the government party candidate, Gustavo Diaz Ordaz.

In the final issue dated Dec. 31, the magazine's Director-General said in his editorial "that freedom of thought and expression do not exist, contrary to what the government affirms demagogically." He also said that the magazine would appear again "in some form" after "adequate economic solutions" are found.

The Director-General was the former chief here of the Cuban government news agency, Prensa Latina.

\* \* \*

**ARTURO JAUREGUI**, Secretary General of the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization (ORIT), said "Latin American countries paying homage to their economic development and the fluctuation of the foreign trade overlook the legitimate economic rights and social rights of the workers."

The governments are afraid of inflation and pay too much homage to their economic development policies. Based on these policies the governments do not permit major wage hikes.

He also said that slumps in export trade are a grave detriment to these countries and that the workers are the first to suffer from the effects of these slumps.

It seems clear that Latin American governments are a class distinct from the wishes, well-being and control of the workers. Would workers be the first to suffer if it were otherwise?

**Giumarra Tries To Break Grape Strike in Delano**

DELANO, Calif.—The Giumarra Corporations, feeling the effects of the picket line in Delano, and the intensive boycott activity in New York, have renewed their attacks against the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee by attempting to break their picketing activities.

This has taken the form of physical violence and the beating of strike members, the open display of guns by Giumarra foremen and a massive legal attack against the union. They seem to be planning wholesale arrests of the picketing strikers.

The Farm Workers' leader Cesar Chavez and picket captain Epifanio Camacho have been ordered into court on "contempt of court" citations for violating the extremely restrictive picketing injunction which Giumarra obtained last summer. In addition 300 "John Doe" picketers were cited. The strikers face jail sentences and heavy fines.

The Giumarra complaint attempts to link "mysterious fires" with threats supposedly made by Camacho, and further claims that union defendants threw dirt clods at a Giumarra foreman.

**GUMARRA FIRED** When a recent fire destroyed a Giumarra packing shed, the multi-millionaire growers stated publicly that they were sure the union was not implicated. The

**On the Line****Phasing Out Plant Will Leave Workers Unemployed**

By John Allison

We are beginning to see the real horrors of a dying plant as we watch Chrysler Highland Park machining plant being phased out. This moving out of the production lines at the Highland Park plant began some two years ago, with all operations to be transferred to the Toledo Machining Plant in Perrysburg, Ohio, and the Highland Park plant to be converted into offices for white collar workers.

A few of the lines were moved out, but the phasing out slowed down a bit last year. Now, the process is being speeded up again, and it seems like plants No. 4 and No. 5 will be gone before summer is over. The push rod job has already been moved out, with the dual master and wheel cylinder and some small piece production items slated to go soon. This leaves plant No. 6, the torque converter line, and this appears to be kept for a while longer at Highland Park.

**SENIORITY PROBLEM**

There are about 1,000 workers involved in plants No. 4 and No. 5, and this brings up the real big problem of seniority. For unless Detroit workers sell their homes and relocate in Ohio, their seniority goes up in smoke. The present contract does not answer this question.

Remember the Packard and Hudson workers were left wards of the city and state. The auto manufacturers remind us of the way the coal miners treated the col miners in Pennsylvania and West Virginia when they closed mines and the miners had to go on welfare to keep themselves alive.

Everyone knows there is a shortage of skilled help, and yet, skilled tradesmen who are laid off at the Highland Park plant cannot take their seniority to the Toledo plant. Workers are realizing they have been had by Chrysler Corp. and sold down the river.

by the United Auto Workers union.

**HUMAN TRAGEDY**

This problem was put off in the recent contract agreement. And now when we are faced with our most important problems, we have no strike threat to help us solve some of the human problems that flow from this kind of tragedy.

Another big reason why Michigan workers are afraid to make the move to Ohio is because homes near the plant are priced out of this world for white workers—and can't be had at any price by non-white workers. Despite the company's promises and meetings held with Ohio politicians who swore that adequate housing would be available for all, the promises and oaths of the company and politicians came out to mean in this case just exactly what they have always meant before — nothing, a big zero.

But this is not all. Chrysler Highland Park plant has many women workers, women who have been at the plant since the early 1940s, and who are at the retirement age of 55.

**WOMAN WORKERS**

These women are a real problem for the company, which would dearly love to get rid of them, and they also give the union officials nightmares, because they are high seniority workers whose rights have got to be defended. Nobody knows how this is going to be handled, but there is some talk of an agreement that would waive the 30-year-work period part of the pension formula. This could get the women out of the plant with a pension.

Only it will be important how the agreement is worked out, because the company may tie the waiving of the 30 years to the same date that the phasing out of the Highland Park plant is completed. If this is agreed to, it is certain that there will be many women workers who will be out of both a job and a pension, because several years could easily pass between the time the women are laid off and all the work is phased out of Highland Park.

Actually, the Toledo plant can't possibly absorb either the jobs or workers remaining at Highland Park. The corporation moved other jobs from other plants in the country to Toledo when a job priority came up, and there is just so much space there. In addition, with more Automation in the newer Toledo plant, there are a lot less workers needed on jobs compared with the number they have at Highland Park, producing the same work.

Meetings between the company and international union representatives are being held to try and iron out these problems, but it seems that whatever is done will only be a piecemeal basis — if even that. The management people are so busy making money they have little time for anything else. And the UAW is so busy explaining what they didn't get in the new contract they have little time for anything else.

VIVA LA HEULGA!

## Editorial

**Battle For The Cities Ends  
U.S. Myths About Vietnam**

Lyndon Baines Johnson is commander in chief of the United States and of South Vietnam. That is precisely what is wrong. He and his spokesmen have been spinning myth upon myth about Vietnam. But the lie has now been given to all their pronouncements by the National Liberation Front's battle for the cities. The capture of South Vietnam's second largest city, Hue, the massive disruption of Saigon, the attacks on no less than 34 other urban areas—all have stripped naked U.S. claims and have begun a new stage in the civil war-imperialist war.

Where the U.S. said that the tide had turned and the Vietcong could only use hit-and-run guerrilla tactics, they instead launched a series of coordinated attacks within 36 population centers.

**SUPPORT OF URBAN POPULATION**

Where it had been stated that the cities' populations were secure and supported the Saigon government, the attacks required the support of large numbers of urban inhabitants for the movement and hiding of large numbers of the Vietcong. Both weapons and food had to be stored in Vietnamese homes.

Where the U.S. had proclaimed that, with the election of the Thieu-Ky clique, democracy was being born, their reaction to the latest offensive revealed still another lie. All Thieu and Ky could think of doing was to jockey for position to protect themselves and to try and throw out each other. After all, the spoils of the American-sponsored war are very great.

Their first act was to arrest any non-National Liberation Front opponents to whom the people in the cities might turn. Therefore the militant Buddhist monk Tric Tre Quang, the peace candidate who had almost upset Thieu and Ky in "their election," Dzu, and the trade union leaders of Saigon whose membership had struck before and might again, were all arrested—"for their own protection."

**USE TERROR TACTICS**

Their next response was terror tactics. The Ky-appointed police chief of Saigon proceeded to march a Vietcong suspect down the streets of Saigon and then shoot him in the head for all the world to see. So little support does this government-by-terror have that the military mayor of Hue had to put on civilian clothes and hide while the attacks on Hue occurred. And, as the South Vietnamese and American troops proceeded to recapture Hue, they also proceeded to loot its houses.

Our shoot-from-the-hip commander says we are saving the Vietnamese land and people. But fully ten per cent of South Vietnam's population are refugees; 500,000 alone were created in the battle of the cities, when the U.S. chose to bomb portions of Saigon and all of Hue in order to dislodge the Vietcong. The Johnson-directed Westmoreland-Thieu-Ky "team" can plow through more than \$25 billion per year but seems unable to provide more than a bare subsistence to the one and a half million refugees.

**'DESTROY TO SAVE'**

To the hundreds of hamlets which we have "destroyed in order to save" can now be added the second largest city of Vietnam which we decimated over a 25-day period. The National Liberation Front is reported to have more troops surrounding Saigon today than at any time—including the period just before massive U.S. involvement when South Vietnam had almost collapsed. Will we also have to destroy Saigon in order to "save" it for American imperialism's world ambitions?

Another part of the big lie is being exposed in the United States. Senators Fulbright and Morse are demanding a full review of the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Their probing has cast great doubt on the government claims that our ships were subject to an unprovoked attack. The U.S. naval destroyers may well have sought an incident, if any did occur. In any case it now seems quite obvious that the U.S. used the incident as an excuse for our first major escalation of the war in February, 1965—bombing North Vietnam.

The news of the battle of the cities is not just the exposure of the chain of U.S. myths. Even if the attacks were conceived and planned in Hanoi, they had to be carried out in the heartland of U.S.-occupied South Vietnam with the participation of South Vietnamese. It is the participation of the urban population which signifies a new stage in the civil war. The Vietnamese worker and student involvement in the cities opens the door for the development of a thoroughgoing civil war. The masses' full participation will be the only assurance that Vietnam will not be an unfinished Civil War to throw the United States out, but a full one to both throw the United States out and reconstruct a new Vietnam.

**WORLD WAR III**

Meanwhile the danger of World War III still hangs on the actions of LBJ. Will he dare use "tactical" nuclear weapons to save an isolated Marine outpost? Can 100,000 more troops be expected to "pacify" where 500,000 could not, or will he decide to invade the North? He should not be allowed to make the decision which will quite possibly launch a nuclear world war.

This is the time for the anti-war movement in the United States to do more than coordinate the work of existing committees. The broadening of all the anti-Vietnam war forces depends not so much on additions as on a unifying philosophy such as Marxist-Humanism which is openly opposed not only to the main enemy—U.S. imperialism and its Thieu-Ky puppets—but to all big powers, including Russia and China.

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**Readers'****WAR AND PEACE --- AT HOME AND ABROAD**

How can one preach non-violence to the populace and at the same time give the cops and soldiers and the law the right to use violence? The populace cannot use non-violence and words against a body that is prepared to use violence to stop them from fighting for freedom.

Governments have things all figured out to maintain their parasitical power and tyranny. They make Generals and Chiefs and the high-paid titles and place them at the top in privileged positions to brainwash the masses to obey them . . .

The feeling of individual self-respect and individual identity is beginning to sweep the earth. People are beginning to see that what they have been brainwashed for centuries to believe—that their one function and duty is to live for someone else's pleasure—is absolutely idiotic.

E. L.  
California

I saw an excellent film recently—*Far from Vietnam*. It was filmed by six French cinema producers and directors, and was excellent. It was not really anti-American, but very anti-war.

It made its biggest point in showing how the U.S. is trying to stand in the way of a natural revolution in Vietnam—and you could not help thinking that here is the U.S. trying to suffocate a revolution in Asia, when, in fact, it's faced with a big home-grown revolution right in the U.S.: the black one.

Observer  
England

I see that people in the peace movement, both liberals and so-called radicals, are only worried about Vietnam and the genocide practiced there.

Well, I would like to ask them about the genocide right here in America. I ask them what about the killing of young black men for no cause or about things like the Cummins prison farm.

They tell me that is not as important as Vietnam. If this is the way they feel, how can they be serious about peace at all?

How can they condemn killing and mass murder in a foreign country and not their own. If they can not see that one leads to the other, then there is no use for them at all.

White Housewife  
Los Angeles

The leading bourgeois economist, Eliot Janeway, was interviewed on TV here the other day. He said that contrary to the classic pattern of boom during a war and bust after the war, we are now having what he calls a "dollar bust" right in the middle of a war.

The reason is that the Government is using up too much of the country's wealth for the war. When asked why the Vietnamese War is different from other wars, he answered, "Escalation by Stealth." That meant that the Congress could not prepare properly for a war economy, what he calls "all-at-once-it-is."

Janeway said that in regard to making war, LBJ has "got more absolute power in that

way than any absolute monarch had in the bad old days."

The economist went on to say, "Dean Rusk talks about dominoes in southeast Asia. The domino's right here." When the interviewer put in, "We're the big domino, aren't we?" Janeway nodded in agreement.

They may have meant this to apply specifically to the economy, but it can be extended to American capitalist society in general.

Not only do we have a great mass upsurge among black people, students and other youth, workers, and warresisters, but we have economic crisis and an unsuccessful war. Surely these are common preludes to revolution.

A. M.  
Philadelphia

About 50 youths attended an SDS High School conference here last month, but there was no representative from the Negro high schools, and only one youth from a Mexican-American high school.

A discussion on a High School Bill of Rights was pretty quickly displaced by a kind of disorganized discussion on how to remove the Superintendent of Public Schools, Crowther.

Then we saw a Cuban movie about Hanoi, which showed the bombing of Hanoi by American planes. It was a good movie, but I couldn't go along with the atmosphere of joy when an American plane went down—it was too one-sided altogether.

High School Youth  
Los Angeles

The "credibility gap" is so gaping by now that all Washington has to do is swear that something is not so, and everyone at once knows that it is.

The minute McNamara swore that nuclear weapons were not being considered in Vietnam, I was sure that they were there already, and the military was just waiting for the word to push the button.

Nurse  
Philadelphia

Four years ago I watched the Goldwater Convention on TV and felt chills at what I was witnessing. Suddenly the history of how a Hitler could come to power in a democracy like the Weimar Republic became very real.

Now I feel the same chills with almost every news report I see or read. A professor wrote a letter in the New York Review that cries out to any who will listen:

"Most Americans have no idea of what they and their country look like to the outside world. I have seen the glance that follows them: tourists in the streets of Mexico, soldiers on leave in the Far East, businessmen in Italy or Sweden. The same glance is cast on your embassies, your destroyers, your billboards all over the world. It is a terrible look, because it makes no distinctions and no allowances. I will tell you why I recognize this look. It is because I am a German. It is because I have felt it on myself."

Even the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders reports that we are moving to a semi-martial society. I have

never been one to yell "fascist" at every reactionary who came along. But I cannot shake the feeling that our country now could move to fascism.

The only "comfort" I muster is the knowledge that fascism is the last resort of the power structure, and that it would mean the threat to their continued rule is so imminent that a revolution to establish a truly new society was really on the order of the day.

Detroit

**PHILOSOPHY CLASS**

We had 32 students attending our first class here in the series of open discussions on Lenin's Notes on Hegel's Science of Logic, and at least half a dozen called later to ask questions, and report on what they are reading for the next discussion.

It really is the first time anywhere that people have sat down to study these Notes together, and I think we all recognize what an historic class it is.

We want as many as possible to know about the series. Will you please put an ad in the next issue for us?

D. G.  
New York

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** See page 7 for schedule of classes in both New York and Detroit.

**BLACK DIALOGUE**

We felt that the meeting for Stokely Carmichael at the Sports Arena was pretty poorly attended—about two or three thousand at best. The Arena is not exactly in the "black community," and they could have had Wrigley's Field for a third of the rent the Arena cost.

It was supposed to be a meeting to raise a defense fund for Newton, who is accused of killing a policeman, but the Black Panthers from Oakland, who sponsored it, nixed almost all the plans the Black Congress here had made to raise funds, as soon as they arrived. For example, one TV station had paid to cover the meeting, but the Panthers cancelled that.

The most significant thing to me was that most of the black people who came were very young, and no doubt had to work very hard to get the \$2 admission that was charged.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

Stokely must think he is king or God. He is invited to speak in a town. But when he comes, he puts down the existing groups for not doing a more militant job. He is not really out for black unity or liberation. He's just playing at being super militant. In the struggle for freedom we have no use whatsoever for this.

Black Militant  
California

Father Groppi's talk here was very good. About 1,000 to 1,500 people heard him. Mostly church people and mostly middle-aged. I was quite surprised how absent were the "civil rights people." We sold copies of *Black Mass Revolt*, but we were the only ones selling anything, which means that the "radicals" also cut

# Views

him. I would judge that less than 100 black people were there.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

There are some horrible sections of Queens here where the people who don't want low rent public housing in their neighborhood speak of how the "lower class of people" who would live there would ruin their neighborhood. They speak of dope addicts, etc., etc.

It seems that today to be poor is not only a sin, but a crime to be punished by living in the slums of Manhattan or Brooklyn or Queens for the rest of your life.

And to be poor is to be Negro or Puerto Rican, I suppose. As if there are no poor whites in N.Y. any longer.

What struck me very funny is that every day you hear of people being arrested on narcotic charges in "Nassau County," a white residential, middle class, section right outside the city limits. I get the impression that the narcotic sellers live out in the suburbs on the money they make from the users in the city.

Of course they make better neighbors since they have money.

Disgusted  
New Yorker

## WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS - - - AN EXCHANGE

I am quite eager to read News & Letters but my attempts often are frustrated by my inability to comprehend the reasoning behind your articles.

For example, in the January issue, the second paragraph of "Worker's Journal" — which was devoted to the UAW sell-out—quotes a worker saying, in response to an observation that teachers receive salaries equal to those of auto workers:

"I have news to tell them, automobile making in this country today is just as important to society as teaching. So why is it our wages should be second to their wages? Those in teaching and other professions could not last one day on these production lines in auto factories."

This remarkable piece of intelligence raises a few questions: who, pray, said that auto workers should be paid less than teachers? Was that an issue in the strike and settlement?

Why is automobile making "just as important to society as teaching"? Does "society" need more cars to further clog up the roads, create more highway taxes, belch out more smog, needlessly kill more people, or do we need "in this country today" more and better quality education?

Finally, why should "those in teaching and other professions" be castigated for their supposed inability to "last one day" on production lines? Obviously teachers are trained to teach, and despite their subjective identification with the status quo, they are, objectively, wage earners — and often abysmally paid.

Auto workers, of course, work on production lines; and

### AN APPEAL

On Oct. 28, 1967, I received my draft notice and on Nov. 16, 1967, I refused induction into the United States Army because I could not honestly allow myself to become something that I had been against all of my life.

This country asks me to go 9,000 miles to fight in a war against people who were fighting for the same things that I was fighting for in Nashville, Tennessee: freedom, justice and equality.

As you probably know, the government decided that they would prosecute me for violating the Selective Service Act. So far, we have been unsuccessful in all of the pre-trial motions. The case has been set for trial on March 12 and 13, 1968.

At this point we must make a desperate plea to the community for funds. Checks can be made payable to: Fred Brooks Draft Defense Fund, 972 38th Ave. North No. 8, Nashville, Tennessee 37209. Thanks in advance.

Fred Brooks  
Nashville, Tenn.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Fred Brooks is the leader of Nashville's Liberation School, which was cut off from OEO funds last summer after a local police official told a Senate committee in Washington that it was teaching "hatred of whites." Brooks, a senior at

if working conditions are rotten—as they also are, incidentally, in teaching—it is not a matter of teachers on production lines, but a question of obtaining better conditions and wages by fighting for more militant unions.

Certainly too many auto workers also identify with the establishment — that is one problem that is real and that needs to be solved.

Considering the implications for a political party that finds it necessary to feature this sort of illogical and gratuitously anti-intellectual statement in its party newspaper, it must be asked whether or not that party, after presenting its members and friends with numerous examples of this sort of thinking, can hope that they will somehow master even the most elementary type of logic.

And how, then, does that party presume to explain dialectical reasoning, or pretend to teach its members the philosophy of Lenin and Marx, or the intricacies of Hegel's thought?

Or is this all really political purism masquerading as revolutionary ideology?

—A. Wallach  
New York

• • •

I was very glad to read the letter commenting on my column and to know the writer is an eager reader of News & Letters. I was sorry his attempts often are frustrated by his inability to comprehend the reason behind the articles, but I can easily understand why, and so could most production workers.

We are against the idea most middle-class intellectuals hold that there should be a separation between mental and manual labor. Workers

Tennessee State A & I, was summarily dismissed from school, and reclassified 1-A by his draft board. His case is being fought as a "test case."

### NEW READERS

It was impressive to read the report in the Feb. N&L directly from the Japanese youth about the demonstrations against the Enterprise, and to realize that the thousands that massed as Sasebo included so many "ordinary citizens" that even the Japanese government had to acknowledge it.

How fantastic it is that in this day of satellite communication, if it were not for the "little" papers like yours, we would still never know what really goes on around the world.

Student  
Chicago

\* \* \*

Recently, I have come into possession of a copy of News & Letters and find it both intriguing and exciting.

I believe your journal to be one of the very few relevant things going and would like very much to get into it more deeply.

Graduate Assistant  
Pennsylvania

\* \* \*

It is so refreshing to encounter exciting ideas presented in an exciting way.

High School Student  
California

### THE POOR DIALECTIC!

## TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,  
Author of Marxism and Freedom

### Shortcut To Revolution Or Long Road To Tragedy?

Revolution In The Revolution?

by Regis Debray, Grove Press, N.Y., 95c

Jean-Paul Sartre was so impressed with Regis Debray's booklet that when the author was arrested in Bolivia, Sartre held that the reason behind the arrest was not any alleged guerrilla activity, but the authorship of a book which "removes all the brakes from guerrilla activities." Long before Debray's arrest, followed by the brutal murder of Che Guevara by the Bolivian military junta, the Cuban government had no less than 200,000 copies of *Revolution In The Revolution?* printed of the original Spanish edition. Since then it has undergone many translations and has become a must for all would-be Cuban type guerrilla fighters. The young French philosopher is, indeed, Fidel's alter ego, and, very obviously, Castro considers this booklet an accurate presentation of his views.

### INSURRECTION OR REVOLUTION

Nevertheless, the very title of the book is quite deceptive. This is not a book about revolution either "as such" or "within." The Russian Revolution of 1917 is, for example, never once referred to as a revolution, but is called "the insurrection." Nor can the reader find a single word in the work that would inform him that that "insurrection" was the last, not the first, act of revolution, whose spontaneity as well as organization, dialectic of objective events as well as of theory, self-development of millions of people tearing the old society up by its roots in general strikes and battle of ideas, in anti-war struggles and in two revolutions, all led to the success of the insurrection.

Instead, spontaneity as well as organization—be it the mass type like Soviets or "the Party"—objectivity as well as theory seem to be dirty words. In their place we get the glorification of one, and only one, activity, guerrilla war.

But here, too, there is deception. Glorification of guerrilla warfare encompasses only Latin America (actually only Cuba). Upon it alone "the irony of history has willed... this vanguard role;" it alone has evolved a "new style of leadership." The leaders of all other guerrilla wars, including the Vietnamese, are consigned to "the past." The booklet burns with missionary zeal "to free the present from the past."

### THE POOR DIALECTIC!

A greater deception than either that contained in the title of this pretentious little booklet, or in the alleged narrowing of the "terrain" of guerrilla war to Latin America, underlies the contention that, as against the abstractions of theory, this essay is based solely on "experience," facts, "the concrete."

As if a phrase like "the irony of history" was no more than the latest cigarette commercial — "Beats me. I don't know why. Taste just never quits." — Debray continues to sing the praises of details, especially military details. "Everything is a matter of detail," said Fidel. Under the guise of this untheory, the most pretentious theoretic declamations are asserted which indeed change the course, not of details, but of theory and fact, history and "a new dialectic of tasks." Dominating this "new dialectic" is the need to set up "military focios, not political focios." Poor dialectics, what crimes have not been committed in thy name!

"We're supposed, further, to extend the priority of the military over the political party to the point where it substitutes also for theory, indeed is its superior since it is contemporary and freed from such things of "the past" as Marx's theory of social revolution as an elemental outburst. It surely frees one of "theoretical orthodoxy," not to mention "historical orthodoxy" which might recall that the first act in the dialectics of liberation evokes a second negation, or total reorganization of both reality and theory. According to Debray, even in the glorified field of guerrilla war, "theory does as much harm as good":

"One may well consider it a stroke of good luck that Fidel had not read the military writings of Mao Tse-tung before disembarking on the coast of Oriente, he could thus invent, on the spot and out of his own experience, principles of a military doctrine in conformity with the terrain."

Moreover, the "new dialectic of tasks" demands that physical fitness tower above "a perfect (sic!) Marxist education," clandestine work above open propaganda, now dubbed "armed propaganda," which is not only subordinated to the military, but put off, perhaps till even after power when it "facilitates the organization of production, the collection of taxes, the interpretation of revolutionary laws, the maintenance of discipline" . . .

### THE "POOR PEASANT" AND THE LEADER MAXIMUM

Debray is as completely unconscious as to the capitalistic character of the concept he had just uttered as he was of the intellectualistic petty-bourgeois concept of the "backwardness" of the masses that he gave vent to when he stressed the need of being secretive around the peasantry: "The poor peasant believes, first of all, in anyone who has a certain power... The army, the guardia rural, the latifundista's private police, or nowadays the 'Green Berets' and Rangers, enjoy a prestige all the greater for being subconscious."

It seems the poor peasant can be saved in only one way by guerrilla warfare carried out by small guerrilla bands irrespective of the ripeness either of the objective or the subjective situations. Instead of these dead-end streets, there is a "shortcut": it is the duty of revolutionaries "to make revolutions." As for the poor peasant, well, "Guerrilla warfare is to peasant uprisings what Marx is to Sorel." Nothing less!

As against the trusting peasant, the French philosopher shows his independence of authority by pontificating about the duality of politics and the military symbolized by Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh,

(Continued on Page 7)

# NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

## Is A Working Marxist-Humanist Youth Organization Now Possible?

(I turn my column over this month to B. Wendell, a high school student and member of the Temporary Committee to form a National Marxist-Humanist Youth Organization.)

We of the Temporary Committee to Form a National Marxist-Humanist Youth Organization have received a letter from a fellow Marxist high school student in Virginia, which deserves to be discussed. Considering the frankly meager response we have gotten so far to our appeal, his comments have great relevance.

Even though our differences are not as great as they seem, many of the issues he raises have not been discussed by us in print, and deserve to be. I quote this student's three considerations about forming our proposed organization at this time from his letter.

### STUDENT'S LETTER

"(1) If we intend to bring the movement for student power closer to those for black power and workers' power, we shouldn't create a separate high school organization, rather we should build a youth section as an integral part of a Marxist-Humanist group which encompasses all three movements.

"(2) At this point a national Marxist-Humanist youth group would probably only serve to divert the energies of its handful of members away from reaching new people and into passing paper resolutions and setting up paper projects. We simply don't have enough members to constitute a 'working group.'

"(3) It would be a great help to Marxist-Humanist youth if there were a series of well-written pamphlets directed toward youth from a Marxist-Humanist position: exposes of the corporate connections of school planners, a critique of drug culture, a critique of individual resistance, etc.

"It would be desirable though not essential that the articles be written and printed by a youth organization. If the literature is good, recruitment ought to proceed fast enough that in a few years it would be more practical to form a 'working group' . . . If there is any local group of Marxist-Humanist youth who feel up to it, they should constitute themselves as an editorial and printing crew for a series of pamphlets and if they are really ambitious for a national magazine . . ."

I will reply point by point.

### YOUTH'S REPLY

(1) The group we are hoping to form is not exclusively for high school youth; it just happened to be we who got the idea to start it. We certainly want university and non-student youth also.

### The Young Marxist-Humanist

A New Youth Journal

written and edited by  
high school students

Price: 25c

Order from:

B. Wendell, 358 S. Doheny Dr.,  
Beverly Hills, California 90212

# NEWS & LETTERS

# YOUTH

## Wayne State University vs. Student Paper

DETROIT, Mich.—Editors of The South End, daily student newspaper of Wayne State University, have been under censorship pressure from the university administration for trying to report accurately the world around them.

"Telling it like it is" in the 1960s on the college campus means articles on drugs, the hippie culture, Vietnam, draft card burners, demonstrations against Dow Chemical Corporation. All this was too much for the University and its President Keast.

### HARASSED

For the past several months they have sought to close down The South End or to put up a rival. One tactic was to try and get rid of its editor, Art Johnston, by saying he was not carrying enough units. A second was to limit the paper to 8 pages and make them print all the ads that were received. For a time this meant a paper almost wholly devoted to ads. And third was to begin a rival paper on the campus to try and replace The South End.

All these tactics have thus far failed. But it was in response to them that many of those on The South End sought to become independent of the university control and especially being "printed at the personal whim of William R. Keast," as the mast head stated. In order to do this they founded The Metro, a weekly student newspaper for all the Detroit area college campuses. It would be edited and directed by students for students.

The administration was up in arms. Where they had previously attempted to create a newspaper to rival The South End, suddenly the competition of The Metro was "a conflict of interest" for staff members of The South End. Writing for The Metro was declared illegal for any who were staff writers of The South End.

### WORKING GROUP

(3) At this stage our working group could take the form of an organization to put out the critiques of the aspects of the youth scene mentioned, a sort of Young Marxist-Humanist publishing house which could form the nucleus of the organization which would be spread by the literature.

The Young Marxist-Humanist could become the national magazine. A united group to write this literature would enable us to have creative dialog before publication, thus having a much more complete viewpoint. Our influence will expand at a greater pace if we organize NOW.

## Bonnie and Clyde Are For Today

Bonnie and Clyde are the existential heroes for the season. Icons for a desperate subculture. But they are the real American tragedy. The flick captured the vengeance and violence ingrained in the American way of life. Dos Passos in scope.

Director Penn sought to capture a mood rather than propagandize. The Warren Beatty romanticism that aped the French new wave only served to distract. Yet the sense of dread was conveyed.

### UPTIGHT YOUTH

It was an era of social conflicts. People went hungry and there was no work. The youth were bored and dispairing. The grownups could offer no valid explanation or direction. Hunger or abundance without a sense of meaning causes the same mental frustration. Any kind of desperate search is to fill an emotional void.

The setting was right out of Erskine Caldwell and Agee's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. They were desperadoes. Clyde might just have easily been recruited for Huey Long's storm-troopers. There was no Marxism or sense of social consciousness in their expression of anguish against the established order.

Despite the movie's humor the real Bonnie and Clyde must have lived in an atmosphere of tension and terror. Nothing romantic and Robin Hood about it. Call them a desperate voice of youth, Southern poor white trash style. The

daughter and son of some Jeter Lester. Their's was a death wish.

It began with a sensation for kicks and to vent their hate. Clyde's masculinity was Bonnie and his gun. Showing off to hide impotence, violence became a substitute for sex. Things got hot and serious, and it was too late to go back.

### LIVED BY VIOLENCE

The trick was to see how far one could get before they got you. But the hope was that maybe one would always get away. Self hate and self preservation became one. They were hunted like animals and died a violent death. But they killed as well. An amoral status quo.

Call them ordinary folks just like the rest of us. Each of us has been shaped by the American trauma. The subcultures will glorify them.

Recognize in them an example of their own frustration portrayed as innocence. Call it blowing their minds. Militants will identify with the thirst for violence. Frustration will be rationalized with a radical ideology.

Most will think they acted cool and were hip about their actions. Always being dug for the wrong reasons. The Texas outsiders are now mannequins in London show windows, displayed next to Che in Paris. What about the conditions that created them? But they have been romanticised from actuality. They express solidarity with the mental despair and distortions of our times.

The university went so far as to get an injunction against the printing of The Metro.

### COURT HEARING

The injunction was dismissed in court, but the editors of The South End still faced a court hearing to show why they should not be held in contempt of court for printing The Metro while the injunction was still in force. This charge was also dismissed in court.

The administration has also attempted to expel the editors by bringing them up on charges before the Committee on Student Conduct.

Meanwhile both faculty and

student support for the right to print both The South End and The Metro, unhampered by the administration, is growing.

### FACULTY SUPPORT

A number of faculty issued a statement in which they pledged "to support the students and demand that information be made available to members of the faculty, as to why legal action against the editors of The South End was deemed necessary by the University."

Student rallies have been held in support of the editors and some 1,500 students have so far signed petitions supporting the editors.

## Student Power at U. of D. Wins Say in Administration

DETROIT, Mich.—For four days (Feb. 13-16) the normally staid, conservative campus and student body of the University of Detroit was electrified and called to action by the cry for "student power."

The announcement by the Rev. Malcolm Carron, S. J., president of the University of Detroit, that basic tuition for two semesters would be raised from \$1,150 to \$1,400, and that rates for dormitories and the meal plan would also increase, at first produced despair among the mass of students already burdened with the high price tag of a U-D education.

### 23 THESES

But early Tuesday, Feb. 13, U-D Student Government and a coalition of student leaders posted a list of 23 Theses (shades of Luther and the Reformation!) demanded of the university administration.

The general tone of the Theses was a demand for student voice and participation in the university, especially in those areas which all too directly affect the students.

The first "demand" was that "the costly education at the U-D be a quality education".

Remarkably for this largely middle class college, another demand called for the hiring of more Negro teachers so that U-D "could earn its accolade as an equal opportunity employer."

### STUDENT CONTROL

That students should be given real control, along with deans and department chairmen, over the tenure of professors, was another demand. Students also insisted that compulsory class attendance be abolished, "for if any instructor needs such a crutch to draw students to class he should not be teaching."

Last but not least, the Theses called for a joint student-faculty-administration committee to handle further demands.

At first, student reaction was one of astonishment at the audacity of such action. But later, the same day that the Theses were

posted, enthusiastic, organized picketing of the Fisher Administration Building began and lasted for well over an hour in frigid weather. Already student government leaders were calling for a boycott of Friday classes as a show of student unity.

### TEACH-IN

\* Feb. 15 saw the eventful Teach-In, an open forum for all concerned students and faculty. The faculty members who attended were, in general, quite sympathetic to student demands. In fact, the fervor of a young Jesuit priest's speech urging unity behind Student Government demands was surpassed only by the student leaders themselves.

But, in the midst of all the enthusiasm generated, it was soon evident that there was a good deal of student "Uncle Tom-ism" or disagreement with the Theses' demands. "Students for Quality Education," declaring that U-D needed first "quality students before there can be quality education," established itself as a spineless paper tiger by refusing to unite behind student government.

It was at the Teach-In that S.G. President Paul Sak, in an emotive speech interrupted several times by tears, resigned as president and retreated from his earlier unequivocal stand in favor of the boycott of classes. The crowd of students was stunned, without a leader.

It was not long afterward that the coalition of student leaders officially called off the boycott, in view of the fact that Fr. Carron had agreed to establish the joint committee of administration, faculty, and students.

### FEAR OF GOD

While the whole week on the surface appeared to be a fiasco, the uproar generated not only by student government but also by sincere faculty members may have (ironically) put the "fear of God" into the U-D administration.

Having agreed to the compromise (the establishment of the joint Ad Hoc Committee of student-faculty-administrators), the administration permitted the representation to be, respectively, 7-7-4.

All in all, the student revolt at "God's Little Acre" certainly fell flat on its embarrassed face; but, the situation is not completely bleak. Agitation by the newly formed Progressive Afro-American Club culminated in U-D offering an Afro-American History course which has been enthusiastically received by U-D students. U-D has been involved in Aim High and Upward Bound, and this summer will make a concerted effort to prepare at least 100 black youths for admission to U-D.

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— R. Thrift

## Columbia University Builds Jim Crow Gym in City Park

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Construction has already begun on Columbia University's new gymnasium in Morningside Park, but angry residents of the Morningside and Harlem communities—which are physically separated by the hillside park—and a group of sympathetic Columbia students have not given up the fight against the university's encroachment on public land.

Last month, community residents and students staged a series of demonstrations designed to block construction and to rally community support against the Jim Crow Gym and the continual university expansion into the neighborhood. In two separate demonstrations, a total of 25 people were arrested for blocking trucks and bulldozers.

### PARK LAND

Meanwhile, Harlem politicians are continuing their two-year-old struggle to get the New York State Legislature or the Courts to invalidate Columbia's title to the park land.

Through some slick deal with former Mayor Wagner's Administration, the university got the title to half of the park for only \$3,000 a year. If built, the gym will effectively destroy the usefulness and beauty of the park for community residents.

### 12% FOR COMMUNITY

Despite Columbia's publicity campaign saying that Harlem and Columbia are "partners in the park," community residents feel that public land should be kept open for public use; they feel that the 12% separate facilities to be provided in the gym for "community use" is a token con-

cession to their past protests and that Columbia's insistence upon building the gym in the park regardless of community opposition clearly shows that the university plans future expansion into Harlem as well as into the primarily white Morningside Heights neighborhood.

To students and other critics of the university, the gym is the most blatant symbol of Columbia's long-standing disregard of the rights and welfare of its neighbors and is a symbol of the total lack of the "social responsibility" for which the university claims to be a spokesman.

Columbia has been following an anti-social, racist policy in its dealing with its neighbors for many years. It has evicted thousands of tenants from buildings it took over for expansion; it has refused to provide adequate relocation for those tenants who moved; and now it is building a gym with separate but unequal facilities. Harlem's part of the gym will have a separate entrance and will be totally sealed off from the university's part.

### LAST STRAW

For the community residents, this gym is the "last straw"; however, for the demonstrators—most of whom realize that their actions alone cannot possibly stop construction at this late date—the gym issue is a means to unite the many small community groups which have been trying to fight the university separately for so long.

If the demonstrations can unite the Harlem and Morningside communities and can provide the "spark" to unite the disparate community groups into a working coalition against university expansion, the protests and jailings will not have been in vain even if the Jim Crow gym is built.

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## Protest Subway

### Fare Increase

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The New York City Board of Estimate's once-a-year open budget hearing was the scene of an angry confrontation between a group of students and workers and deaf politicians.

The group of 75 represented students from several SDS chapters and workers from a rank-and-file caucus of New York City Transport Workers Union. They came to denounce fare increases and to focus public attention on the problems of subway finance.

One speaker was told to sit down after only three minutes, although it was clear to all that the city politicians weren't listening anyway. When the crowd began to chant "let him speak," police were moved in to prevent a "disruption" of the hearings.

The hearings were cut off before everyone could speak and the crowd pressed forward to confront the Board of Estimate. Police moved in to protect the Board politicians and arrested a student who had mounted the speaker's platform.

### FARE TO BANKERS

The central issue raised by the speakers was the fact that the Transit Authority is merely a conduit which hands over subway fares to the banks in the form of interest payments for the 28-year-old bonds. The bonds were floated by the city to buy the subways from the Morgan and Rockefeller Trusts.

Besides the money which the financiers received from the subways, close to 25% of the money collected by the Transit Authority goes to these same bankers to service the debt on these old bonds. The demonstrators called for a cancellation of the Transit Authority's debts and a tax on the business and real estate corporations which benefit from but do not pay for the subways.

The speakers also stressed that "it is the \$115 million going to the banks, not the \$15 million in wage increases that's making a fare increase seem necessary."

### WORKERS, STUDENTS

The workers from the Transport Workers Union rank and file caucus have been fighting for years against higher fares, lousy working conditions, and the lack of public information about subway safety.

SDS has recently decided to join the caucus in its struggle because a number of its members see this issue as one which is of immediate importance to a majority of the people in N.Y. and one which can unite workers, students and the public against the Big Bankers who turn "public utilities" into bank subsidies.

To those who have followed the actions and positions of SDS, this subway campaign seems to demonstrate a new understanding on the part of student radicals of the importance of unity between students and workers.

There is a danger, however, that if SDS gets too caught up in the role of radical educators of the public, the students will lose the motivating strength and direction of the militant subway workers. As of now, there is reason to be optimistic.

## TWO WORLDS

### Shortcut To Revolution Or Long Road To Tragedy?

(Continued from Page 5)  
Ho Chi Minh and Giap. "Perhaps we could add Lenin and Trotsky" (1) but, glory be, "In Cuba, military (operational) and political leadership have been combined in one man: Fidel Castro." Then, with the help of a purported statement by Che, Debray reaches for the Leader Maximum:

"The guerrilla force, if it genuinely seeks total political warfare, cannot in the long run tolerate any fundamental duality of functions or power. Che Guevara carries the idea of unity so far that he proposes that the military and political leaders who lead insurrectional struggles in America can be 'united, if possible in one person' . . ."

Marx should never have praised so highly the peasant wars in medieval Germany, much less dared criticize his closest collaborator, Engels, for "paying too much attention to military affairs" in the Civil War in the U.S. If only he had lived to learn the art of guerrilla warfare he would have seen how much easier it is to teach followers to concoct a Molotov cocktail than the theory of proletarian revolution, especially if one does not himself have the foggiest notion of the Marxian philosophy of liberation.

So dominated by the concept of the single leader maximum is Debray that he projects it on an international scale and into the future: "When Comrade Che Guevara once again took up insurrectional work, he accepted on an international level the consequences of the action of which Fidel Castro, the leader of the Cuban Revolution, is the incarnation."

"When Che Guevara reappears, it is hardly risky to assert that it will be as head of a guerrilla movement, as its unquestioned political and military leader."

(To be concluded in the next issue)

(1) This linking of Lenin and Trotsky is, unfortunately, asserted, not in order to set the historic record straight in a country linked with Russia, but merely to give the proper show of "objectivity" as the author launches into a typical Stalinist diatribe: "Let us for the moment decide to take the Trotskyist conception seriously, and not as the pure and simple provocation that it is in practice . . . we have been told that Trotskyists are ultra-leftists. Nothing is further from the truth. Trotskyism and Reformism join in condemning guerrilla warfare, in hampering or sabotaging it." Although "the art of insurrection" had been Trotsky's strongest point both as practitioner and theoretician, the Trotskyist epigones not only did not rise to the defense of Trotsky, but in their high praise of Debray's book, never once mentioned that it contained these slanders. (See *The Militant*) The administrative mentality of those who thirst for power leads naturally to the preference of strange political bedfellows to an open clash of ideas. In both cases—Debray as a Castroite and *The Militant* reviewer as a Trotskyist—the style is truly the man.

## Writings of the Young Marx On Love . . .

Let us assume man to be man, and his relation to the world to be a human one. Then love can only be exchanged for love, trust for trust, etc. If you wish to enjoy art you must be an artistically cultivated person; if you wish to influence other people you must be a person who really has a stimulating and encouraging effect upon others. Every one of your relations to man and to nature must be a specific expression, corresponding to the object of your will, of your real individual life. If you live without evoking love in return, i.e. if you are not able, by the manifestation of yourself as a loving person, to make yourself a beloved person, then your love is impotent and a misfortune.

## BLACK MASS REVOLT



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## **Freedom For All - or Police State**

(Continued from Page 1)

For years the Civil Rights Movement went the road of non-violence, demonstrations, prays and sit-ins. But few advances have been made through regular channels. Four Northern cities now have Negro mayors. Charles Evers has just polled enough votes for a run-off in Mississippi. But black students just died trying to integrate a bowling alley in South Carolina.

### **ONLY SELF ACTION**

Under these conditions it is easy to see why many feel the Negro community is ripe for the black militant. The black community discovered long ago that nothing has even been done about their conditions except what the black masses have done themselves.

In Detroit, the African Students at Wayne State University recently held a Black Symposium on and off the campus with rallies, workshops and discussions. One young mother who attended the symposium described it as follows:

\* \* \*

You could see that black militancy is gaining momentum. The attendance of the young male Negro was very much in evidence. This new-found man is all black. He is identified by his natural hair and a colorful flowing ease of dress. He tries to look as African as any American Negro could look. He has a new-found sense of self-determination. He is a man.

Too long he has been regarded as a second-class citizen, second-rate consumer, uneducated graduate, with a low classification in whatever category he might be placed. Now he is coming to know where he came from and where he is going. And what he doesn't know, he is rapidly learning from other black men.

Some of these are opportunists, to be sure—but they are all on the scene, playing their roles, and the black man is listening. The man on the street listens well. He has had to listen to white voices for so long.

What began with a few has become a cause for many. It is a revolt against a society which calls itself "democracy" but has oppressed a race of people for almost 400 years because of the color of its skin. It is a revolt against the thinking of Whitey who says, "You cannot have, while I have everything."

It is a revolt against "Law and Order" which was made for whites only. It is a revolt against a Constitution which guards only the right of the white man and disregards the rights of others of color.

The black people of the ghettos are saying: "We have had enough." They have had enough unemployment. In Detroit, white unemployment is 3.2 per cent, non-white is 10.8 per cent. Young black men are tired of walking the streets.

But when Henry Ford says "Let's create 100,000 jobs for these people immediately," they wonder how soon these jobs, too, will go out of existence through Automation. These jobs may cover the situation for a while, but do not eliminate the problem of unemployment. They look at the situation and know that it will not be eliminated in this society. Blacks have always had the lowest-paying and the hardest-toiling jobs. Now the U.S. tells the black man, "If you don't like it, there's a place for you in a soldier's uniform in that unholy war in Vietnam."

But more and more blacks are saying "We've had enough." They

walk with their curly heads held high. New names have appeared, as organizations have sprung up overnight. New faces have appeared on the scene. Black people are holding meetings, rallies and workshops all across the country. What they are talking about is a revolution against "the system."

\* \* \*

But not all the talking is going on at meetings, which a few dozen to a few hundred, or at best, a few thousand may attend. The black masses are talking everywhere—on their jobs, in the street, and in their homes.

### **REJECT SEPARATISM**

Some of the black nationalists want separation from and non-involvement in a white society. Some are ready to petition the U.S. government to give the area of five Southern states to black people only.

But a Negro woman worker says, "Black people of this country have the right to live anywhere they want to in any state they choose. Why should we be relegated to five states? This is our country. It is our work that has built it."

In the factories the power structure is so fearful of "black power" that as soon as jobs open up, "black power people" are given them, over other workers with more seniority. But a black auto worker says that all the Negro workers see through it as just one more way the power structure is trying to divide the workers. They will have none of it, and they have let the company know it.

### **NOT BITS AND NOTHING**

Black people are looking for a real solution, not one that will have everyone blown to bits and still have nothing settled. Black people understand better than anyone else that their struggle is inseparable from the fight against the war in Vietnam. So widespread is the feeling against the war that even Carl Stokes, Cleveland's Negro mayor, responded to the Commission's Report by declaring that Congress consistently uses Vietnam-spending as the excuse for doing nothing for the ghettos.

Many black people feel they must perform their tasks alone, but it is significant that Rev. King's March on Washington will take place at the end of April, at just about the same time that an International Student Protest against the war is planned.

The question cannot stop at: does the black man really stand alone? The question now is: who else understands what it means that we are moving to "a kind of urban apartheid with semi-martial law . . . and a drastic reduction in personal freedom for all Americans?"

### **ONLY ONE GUARANTEE: FREEDOM**

The Commission Report has put many important facts truthfully. What it did not put straight is the greater truth that "the system" cannot possibly move quickly or effectively to carry out the goals set forth in the report.

Who really believes that if the war in Vietnam was over today the \$30 billion or more being spent there each year would go to eliminate the black ghettos? Before Vietnam there were always excuses, and after Vietnam there will be other excuses unless the system is completely changed to be able to meet human needs.

This can only come about through the self-activity of the Negroes and their allies who know that complete freedom for all is the only guarantee against the police state to which we are otherwise all headed.

## **Our Life and Times**

By Peter Mallory

### **WORLD ARMS RACE**

The standard answer in the United States to changes in the political balance of power in the world is to escalate the spending of money for more and more terrible weapons of destruction. The cost of arms has risen to more than 50% of the national budget and better than 10% of the national gross product of the country.

Each military escalation by the United States is matched, step by step, by the Soviet Union and it is a matter of some dispute which side actually has the edge at the moment.

The Arab-Israeli war, brief as it was, permitted the Soviet naval fleet to emerge in matching numbers with the U.S. Mediterranean fleet. The Pueblo incident off North Korea revealed that substantial Soviet naval and air forces were ready to repel any counter measures that the United States might undertake in the area.

The situation remains a standoff with each side possessing a military capability matching its opponent. Meanwhile China, in possession of nuclear capability, increases the means of delivering it at either side with every day the arms race continues.

There is no question but that the cost alone of this insane arms race is bleeding the entire world dry at a time when the money could be better spent in creating better living conditions for everybody in all countries.

The dissolution of the men under arms throughout the world would add better than 15 million men to the productive working force of the world, insuring a better life for both sides.

It is apparent that the military men on both sides have the upper hand on the big question—bread or guns. It is time that the military was put in its place, the arms race stopped and civilian considerations took over.

### **BUDAPEST CONFAB**

The Budapest Conference of 67 Communist parties was scheduled as a true joint consultation on whether, when and where a formal world conference of Communist Parties could be held. The implication was that Moscow was not trying to restore its domination over the world Communist movement.

After the formalities were over, Poland proposed the conference be held in Moscow next January. Then Mikhail Suslov, the head of the Soviet delegation, proposed moving it up to November or December.

East Germany quickly agreed and Roumania walked out, loudly protesting the steam roller tactics of the Russian delegation. One East German delegate, Erich Honecker, declared that loyalty to Moscow was the chief criterion of the purity of the Communist faith, which drew a sharp reaction from a Hungarian delegate who declared, "He is licking a boot that is not even raised his way."

The smaller parties used the occasion to openly attack the regime of Mao Tse-tung, but the Italian group, representing the largest Communist Party not in power, made it

clear that they were not ready for an open break with Mao and would attend only if the conference were confined to "the struggle against imperialism."

The Yugoslavs were not invited to the conference and said that they would not attend if invited.

It is clear that Moscow is beginning to tighten once again the hegemony it held over the Communist Parties before the struggle against the Chinese Communist Party began. But the task is not an easy one since each party is indicating that their own national requirements take precedence over the desires of Moscow.

### **THE KENYA ASIANS**

When Kenya achieved independence in 1963, Britain was forced to make guarantees to various minorities in the country. Among these was the granting of British citizenship to about 200,000 resident Asians in Kenya.

Up to 1966, these Asians were content to hold their British citizenship and continue to work or conduct business in Kenya. At that point, the Kenya government started withdrawing work permits for non-citizens, and thousands of Indians and Pakistanis lined up at the airport to leave for England.

Under Britain's so-called colored immigration laws, over one million people have entered England in search of a home and jobs.

Faced with a new influx, the Labor Government panicked. On Feb. 22 the Cabinet made the decision to limit further immigration from Kenya to 1,500 persons annually and pushed the bill through Parliament in three days.

Thus England finds itself in the disgraceful position of denying British citizens the right to live in England solely because of the color of their skin.

With the passage of the new law the fiction that the British are color-blind flew out the window. The pledge that Wilson made before he was elected, to eliminate immigration controls, turned into its opposite after he was elected, with the result that the laws are even tougher than they had been.

The new law was passed with the help of the opposition Conservative Party, although many Labor members voted NO or abstained from voting. The total result is a new black page in the history of the British Labor Party.

### **ARAB AND ISRAELI**

An Arab member of the Israeli Parliament, Abdul Aziz Zuabi, has spent three weeks touring the United States speaking before numerous groups on the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

He said that the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel are a living, working example of how the Middle East crisis can be solved. "We have coexistence on the basis of mutual respect and mutual

self-help with full rights for all."

Zuabi is Deputy Mayor of Nazareth and a leader in Mapam, the left wing in the government coalition. Speaking as part of the Arab minority he said, "We have problems. But there is no discrimination on the basis of nationality. We Arabs want integration but not assimilation and our position is respected by the Jews."

He admitted there was room for improvement in living standards, where the average Jewish income is \$1,200 a year in contrast to \$800 for the Arab, and among university students numbering 20,000, there are only 300 Arabs.

He stated that the main obstacle to a just peace was the chauvinism on both sides of the dispute, but peace is not impossible to achieve.

### **MILITARY CONTROL**

There are those "Monday morning quarterbacks" who loudly state that the war in Viet-Nam should be turned over to the military men without civilian control. We have recently had an example of military efficiency.

The occasion was the visit of the President of the United States and the retiring Secretary of Defense, McNamara, to the august hall of the Pentagon. What happened?

1. The President and McNamara were stuck in a Pentagon elevator and had to crawl out through a hole in the roof.

2. The outdoor ceremony was held without any protection from the February storm raging outside and they all got soaked.

3. The public address system failed to function and Johnson had to shout to make himself heard.

4. The scheduled "fly-by" of military planes had to be cancelled because the military forgot to consult their own weather "experts."

With this one-day record of "military thinking," does anyone with an ounce of sanity think that the lives of 500,000 boys in Viet-Nam should be left in their hands?

### **OLYMPIC BOYCOTT**

The decision of the International Olympic Committee to admit apartheid South Africa to the next Games in Mexico may jeopardize the holding of the Olympics next year.

If South Africa attends, 44 African nations have served notice they will not. They were joined by Pakistan, and the Soviet Union has issued a warning that if South Africa is permitted to attend, it may withdraw.

Meanwhile there is a strong movement among black athletes in the United States to boycott the American Olympic team on the grounds of discrimination. If the movement is successful the United States could have one of the weakest teams in history, since many of the leading athletes in all fields in the country are Negro.

There is some indication that in view of the great opposition to South African participation, the I.O.C. will reconsider its position rather than kill the Mexican Olympics.