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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Workers Discuss 'Black Manifesto'

Many black workers in my shop have been raising questions about the proposal of James Forman and the Manifesto of the National Black Economic Development Conference. They spoke especially about one of the paragraphs that had been quoted in the daily press where Forman had stated that any class analysis of the U.S. shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the U.S., that we have suffered the most from "racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power."

It follows, the Manifesto concluded, from the laws of revolution, that the most oppressed will make the revolution. This is partly true, some workers said, but it is not just the most oppressed race in a given society, but the most oppressed layer of people in a society that are the most potentially revolutionary force.

SYMPATHY OR GUILTY CONSCIENCE?

Some black workers were puzzled why the leaders of so many capitalist white churches seem to be somewhat sympathetic to this Black Manifesto. One said, "The guilt consciences of these rich white ministers must have been aroused by the revolt of the black people and white students all over this country. Many of the ministers hope that giving something to Forman and his followers is the best way to keep the lid on the boiling pot." Nobody believes they will give \$500 million.

"The economic development program should begin with organizing the unorganized workers," said another worker, "because the labor leaders are certainly not going to organize them. The hospital workers in South Carolina and all over the South are fighting and dying to be organized, because the official labor movement is not a part of the revolutionary struggle any longer. It is part of big business."

As far as money for the National Black Economic Development Conference goes, workers felt the capitalists could easily tell the white churches' leaders to accept the demand. They always have plenty of tricks up their sleeves.

TAXES AND TRANSITIONS

While this discussion was going on, another worker came up to read Drew Pearson's column in that day's paper to us. Pearson, he said, claimed that ex-President LBJ was receiving \$375,000 from the government for his "transition period." It was stated that he also would get \$22,000 retirement for being a Senator, and \$80,000 as a retired President.

One of the workers, hearing this, shook his head. "Damn," he said, "and then they won't cut our taxes, and tell us they need more. No wonder we're in a crisis today." He said he had read somewhere that Forman accused the churches and synagogues in this country of having as much money as General Motors. Somehow, \$500 million did not seem like much, compared to the money capitalists throw around on everything important to them.

MASSES VS. SCHEMES

The other section of the Manifesto that brought about discussion was the section that said in Africa today there is a great suspicion of black people in this country, and that this is a correct suspicion since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency or the State Department.

The workers were willing to accept this, and the beginning of Forman's next paragraph, where he stated that the time is short, and it is time to stop mincing words. They agreed that "no oppressed people ever gain their liberation until they are ready to fight"—but they did not accept Forman's conclusion that this means using "whatever means are necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer." One worker said, "That's just plain suicide. We don't have the guns the power structure has."

The main problem with most organizations, another worker said, is that the leadership is separated from the ranks by a wide gulf. They never tell the masses what they are thinking. "They are always coming in with their big scheme."

What is needed is masses in motion, and they are ready to go into motion. But they want it big. They want it concrete. And they want a total change, a new society. They want production changed. They want freedom to a man, individual freedom, where every man, woman and youth will have a say in how a new society will work.

That is the answer to creating something entirely new—one more scheme isn't.

Wildcat, Huelga, Strike

Labor - Black, Brown and White - Is Moving In Factory and Field

By Andy Phillips

Ten of the most prominent grape growers in California have finally been compelled to talk with the Farm Workers Union. This marks not only the first major break in the three-year strike-boycott by the farm workers, but a totally new stage in the labor movement. Even in the best days of the CIO, the movement was never able to organize the "factory in the field." From the start, La Huelga has been masses in motion. What started out as a "National Question"—the conditions of the Mexican-Americans who worked in the vineyards in California—has related itself to labor; to other farm workers throughout the country; to the civil rights movement; and to still other strata through the nationwide boycott. It has stimulated the organization of the Mexican-American youth, Brown Berets. It developed international ties when dockworkers in Sweden and Britain refused to unload cargoes of grapes, in solidarity with the strike.

TORCHES FOR FREEDOM



Direct Report

Prague Spring 1969: the National Squeeze Continues

Prague, Czechoslovakia—For those who reared any illusions about his person, the Communist Party new first secretary, Dr. Husak, made his path entirely clear by introducing immediately three harsh measures. First, he suppressed nine journals (with a total circulation of about one million copies) most of them belonging either to writers, journalists or students. He firmly believes an important part of the "rightist counter-revolution" last year was inspired by journalists.

Then he let the Federal government proceed with a wholesale rise of prices and he himself promised "a deep new look at the economy". And third, he allowed for a mass comeback of profanated officials, chased from their party posts during last year's spring.

FIFTIES AGAIN?

Not one single "progressive" — or what has been left of this famous group — is known to have battled against any of these measures. They may be powerless, but not one of them can be said to have even protested in any way against the direction the domestic policy has taken in Czechoslovakia.

And that direction reminds one not of the Novotny period, which in its last months was almost more liberal to the press than the present regime, but of the ill-famed fifties. In fact, an attentive observer is forced to draw the conclusion that in most respects a neo-Stalinism is taking roots for the decade to come.

Certainly, some ways are not as barbarous as they used to be at the time, and we can believe

politicians protesting against the accusations of intending to return to the fifties.

The term itself is a nightmare for the Czechs and there is no doubt that no trial like that of the Slansky group could be repeated.

BAD OMENS SEEN

But nonetheless, articles published by the party's central organ, *Rude Pravo*, in which state security forces are being white-washed and those of them who resisted the Russian invasion threatened with court procedures, are a very bad omen.

It is not only the members of the security forces who are being "rehabilitated". Prague radio, now under as much party and state control as the only television channel is, had to make public apologies to those it has cited as traitors last August.

They are back again in influential posts and instrumental now in what may come sooner than most observers believe: the official revocation of the condemnation of Russian invasion.

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The Charleston, South Carolina strike of hospital workers, which has been going on since March 20, is also on the verge of an entirely new stage. As we go to press, the longshoremen have threatened to shut down the port of Charleston (the fifth largest on the Atlantic seaboard) and paralyze the city, in support of the hospital workers.

5,000 STRIKE

While it has been impossible for the press to ignore these two significant strikes to "organize the unorganized," the vast number of wildcat strikes that erupt weekly throughout this country go largely unreported by either the daily or labor press. The merest idea of their extent is the U.S. Dept. of Labor report of some 5,000 strikes in 1968 — the highest total in 15 years.

In Michigan alone, there were over 300,000 workers on strike last year, for an average of 26,100 a month. Most of these strikes were over conditions of work, including major strikes over speed-up and safety, such as hit Chrysler's Dodge plant, and the copper miners in the upper peninsula who have been out on strike since last August. On the National scene, the Anaconda copper miners' strike continues its death battle into the second year.

The extent of the strikes this year already covers almost every industry, and every part of the country. In February the coal miners shut down coal production throughout all of West Virginia. In Richmond near San Francisco, the oil workers were on strike at the same time that San Francisco State College erupted — and joined picket forces. The following month, University of Buffalo students helped South Buffalo Railway strikers picket their Bethlehem Steel plant. Utility workers in San Jose recently struck the utility company for the first time in their 102 year history.

BLACK CAUCUSES

The facts of life show that rank and file workers — white as well as black—are demanding different conditions of work and life. There is no doubt that the black workers have been in the vanguard of the new movement from below. Independent black worker caucuses have been springing up throughout the country, in all unions, and nowhere with more strength than in the UAW.

But white and black have been marching together in picket lines everywhere. And one of the most

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Italian Workers In African Civil War

Milan, Italy—Finally, the grotesque war between Biafra and Nigeria has really reached front-page headlines here, but it took the near death of 29 people working for an Italian company to do it.

Undoubtedly most people in the U.S. have read that 18 workers of the Italian oil company—AGIP—were condemned to death, while another 11 have died in the midst of the warfare.

I want to make it clear from the beginning that the disaster has nothing to do with racism, although it is raising its ugly head in this case, but with the exploitation by the capitalist class of the working class.

In this case, the Italian government and its public-private company—the AGIP, in which the major part of the investments come from the government and the rest from private companies—are responsible.

WORKERS KEPT IGNORANT
Just as the Biafran government could not know what it means for a worker from the West to escape from his job and then perhaps remain unemployed for

who knows how many years, so an Italian worker could not know what it means to be in the midst of a war in Africa.

In fact, reading the letters published in magazines here of these workers to their relatives, one sees that one of the things they were most worried about was that the company refused to let them know what was going on there.

What really happened? The AGIP was warned that open warfare would break out, but it ordered its workers to dismount the machinery and carry it away before leaving their camps. It seems extremely doubtful that these workers were mercenaries (even if the Nigerian workers had the good sense to escape rather than dismount machinery). In a similar situation, who wouldn't use an arm if they had one?

At the same time, the Biafran government gave the Italian and West German governments more than enough time to intervene directly—almost exactly a month. Instead, they sent priests to do their diplomatic work, let the Catholics send off a ship full of food and medicine for the Biafrans and then made an agreement

with Nigeria to stop the war around these camps in order to have enough time to look for corpses.

"PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE"

The Biafrans were perfectly correct in asking why there were not immediate and direct negotiations with Biafra and why the Italian government never intervened to stop the sale of arms by England and Russia to Nigeria—a good example of how peaceful coexistence does function.

The Italian government was afraid because they are worried about their international relations with the West and because the Nigerian government was threatening to throw out the AGIP if Biafra was recognized. This means serious economic losses and the repatriation of around 10,000 Italian workers, technicians and employees now in Nigeria, who would then be unemployed.

TIME TO STOP

There are still a lot of mysteries to be cleared up in all of this, but the general situation is clear enough. Africa has been exploited for centuries.

First they carried away the people as slaves. This policy was changed because it was discovered that it was more important to have people there in order to carry away the mineral and agricultural wealth of the continent.

Now these capitalist-imperialists have decided to exploit and let die even their own people in these countries. It is time to stop all of this exploitation of man by man by changing the whole system.

Occupy Apartment in First Blow to Fill Vacant Housing

New York, N.Y.—On Friday, May 23, members and sympathizers of nine community organizations occupied an apartment held vacant for several years by Jewish Theological Seminary.

By the end of the week, four apartments had been 'rented' to people desperate in their search for decent housing in New York City. (The vacancy rate is less than one percent).

"EXPANSION NEEDS"

For years now Columbia University, Jewish Theological Seminary, St. John's Episcopal Church and other institutions in Morningside Heights have been buying up apartment houses and evicting tenants. They justify their actions by citing "expansion needs" but their real intentions are much broader.

A confidential document dealt with the expansion plans of all the neighboring institutions in terms of getting rid of all the "undesirable elements" in the area and replacing the present tenants with personnel connected with the institutions. In other words, they want to create a hilly white, upper middle class enclave in the area.

The institutions now own many of the apartment buildings in the area. When they decide they want a building, they refuse to rent out apartments once they have been vacated (they cannot

evict the tenants because of the rent control laws).

The apartment occupied by about 40 people Friday night is only one of 196 vacant apartments in this building.

OPEN ALL 196

On Sunday, we moved in some of my furniture and I settled in my new home. We hung a large banner from the window that said: Open all the 196 apartments. I sent in a check for a week's rent. A rally Monday night drew about 60 people.

The demands of the groups are:

1. Jewish Theological Seminary must open to the community the 196 apartments that they are now holding vacant for their own use.
2. The institutions must open the 500 vacant apartments to the people of the community at low rents they can afford. A community planning committee will distribute the apartments to area residents.
3. Presently vacant sites must be used for low-cost housing to re-establish an independent community on the Heights.
4. We oppose all efforts by the city or the institutions to transform our community into a high rent district—either by expansion or urban removal.

Tuesday morning four men came to my apartment. They forced their way in, and one of them started taking pictures. He ordered me out in five minutes "or else." I repeatedly asked him who he was, or whom he represented, but he refused to tell me. (I later learned that he was a Sergeant Burns from the Seminary security force.)

Shaken, I got friends in the building and the neighborhood to stay with me that day. An hour later two different men (who also refused to identify themselves) came to check the apartment. Expecting to find me gone, they found instead that more people had come to the apartment.

INJUNCTION ISSUED

At noon the agent for the building, accompanied by Sgt. Burns, returned to order me out again. I told them that I was a tenant in the building, had paid rent, and ordered them to leave.

Wednesday the Seminary sent representatives to us offering to talk—but only with three people and only, of course, if the apartment now being occupied was vacated.

We had a commitment from a Harlem organization that they could move in ten families Monday. We had also found people for three other apartments—they were a young man from the neighborhood, a young Spanish couple with two children, and an older black woman who worked with Headstart. These four people were moved in Thursday night.

Alarmed by the possibility that the building might actually be filled with rent-paying families seeking a decent place to live, the Seminary served us with an injunction on Friday morning.

The injunction forbade "members and officers" of the nine tenants organizations, students of "Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University and the Community Free School and John Doe numbers 1 to 100, all being unknown persons" to "congregate, use, occupy, assemble or remain within or adjacent to" any of the academic, administrative or apartment buildings owned by the Seminary.

We were forced to leave, but we intend to challenge the injunction both in the courts and by more direct action.

Funds for legal fees are urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to: Morningside Open Stairs Tenants Assoc., c/o Marie Runyon, 196 Morningside Dr. New York, N.Y. 10027.

Bradley Loss In LA A Step Backward

Los Angeles, Cal.—When the results of the Los Angeles mayoralty election became known, it seemed as though reason and truth had vanished.

On one side was Sam Yorty, the incumbent mayor. In office for eight years.

PRIMARY DEFEAT

When he was first elected he posed as sort of a liberal. He is actually a registered Democrat whose closest friends are Republicans. Yorty tried to get an appointment with the Nixon administration but when he was turned down, he decided that being mayor was better than nothing at all. So he decided to run again.

In the primaries, one of the City Councilmen, James Bradley, a black, polled an amazing 40 percent of the vote as against 27 percent for Yorty.

Yorty moved quickly and emphatically, first of all on the racial question. He played heavily on the law and order theme. He asserted that a great number of policemen would leave the force if Bradley was mayor. And of course the student unrest came in for its share of slander.

BRADLEY'S CAMPAIGN

Bradley, on the other hand, conducted a dignified campaign. I think it was too dignified. He campaigned against corruption in government. Every two bit politician does exactly the same thing.

Bradley received the support of the official AFL-CIO but they actually did very little in the way of contributions or leg work. He also received the support of the largest Los Angeles newspaper, the L.A. Times, the two largest T.V. stations, a number of prominent Republicans, and—as hap-

pens in California politics these days—the support of some well-known movie stars.

There is no doubt that he went after the labor vote and the Mexican-American vote. He supported the Herald Examiner strike, and the grape boycott in behalf of the agricultural workers' union. The black vote was his without question. Yorty didn't even try for that 17 percent block of votes.

The result of the election was: Yorty, 54 per cent, Bradley, 46 per cent. To most of the active Bradley supporters it was a staggering blow. All the polls indicated that Bradley would win by at least 8 to 10 percent.

It is easy to get hung up on the purely statistical results, and not to see the positive elements in the situation. The outstanding fact is that Bradley, a black man, received 46 per cent of the vote, though the Negro vote only totals 17 per cent.

NO NEW DAY, YET

Yorty had to mobilize all the forces at his command to get his 54 per cent. It was the largest voter turnout in L.A. history. Voters that voted for him four and eight years ago are gone to his kind forever. His support came mainly from those who supported Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. That vote has stayed fairly constant.

Bradley forces, on the other hand, included many participating in politics for the first time, as well as young people who had been active in both the McCarthy and Kennedy campaign. Labor itself, timidly I must admit, came out for the black man. The white workers in the small shop in which I work were for Bradley.

It was not a new day, but there are new beginnings.

— White Worker

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From The Auto Shops

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich.—There are two ways to fight the company. When you have a lot of guys together you can use a direct method of refusing to do something or walking off the job. When you have a lot of guys together you are protected. But other times, when pressure is being put on one or only a few workers at a time we have to use indirect methods.

A couple of recent examples on the fourth floor show what I mean. On the glass line there were seven teams. The company cut this down to six. Some guys protested and refused to do the work after they took a team off. Three guys were given time off for protesting and the others were forced back to work. The union didn't do anything.

On the retainer job the company also tried to cut the man power. There are normally six two-man teams and the company decided to cut it to five. The workers filed a grievance but that did not do much good. They then fought the cut in man power by showing the company they couldn't keep up with the job and had to go into the hole. The company had to restore the team they took off.

We have to be able to fight the company and win. The union isn't doing anything for us, so we have to do it ourselves. Directly if we have the forces, but indirectly when we have to protect workers from being disciplined.

—Black Fleetwood Worker

Ford Rouge

Detroit, Mich.—There is a committeeman in the assembly building named Al "Porkchop" Robinson, who is just about the only one who stands up to the company. He isn't doing anything wild—he is just trying to enforce the contract, which the company is breaking every day.

A few weeks ago, a racist general foreman on the second floor called a worker some pretty disgusting names. There was a protest from a whole group of workers to get rid of this general foreman, and Al Robinson was in on it. Instead of firing this racist, Ford just moved him downstairs. Well, where they put him on the first floor it is 90% black—and he got himself in trouble again right away. Finally the company had to get rid of him because tempers were just too hot.

FOREMAN CANNED

After the general foreman got canned, Tom Fisher, the labor relations man, and several other white foremen and general foreman got together to "do something" about Robinson. They figured he was the agitator behind it all. Now we all know that it's not just Al, but they wanted to get him anyway. They asked him to come to the superintendent's office and meet with a whole bunch of department heads. And they told him he had to come alone.

Well, this kind of meeting is

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unheard of, and Robinson said he wouldn't go unless a bargaining committeeman went with him to protect his rights. He asked a couple, but they said they were too busy. One said his feet hurt. So he refused to go in by himself and get set up for the kill.

The next day they met him as soon as he came in and told him that his time was stopped. They gave him a week off for "conduct unbecoming a committeeman." All over the shop workers are furious. A lot of us are ready to fight, cause if one man stands up and gets cut down, these racists can cut down anyone.

WORKERS' GRIEVANCES

Meanwhile the union is doing nothing at all. It looks like they are cooperating with Ford. Many workers have grievances they want to take up at a membership meeting. Now there is Robinson's case too. But there hasn't been a meeting since the election two months ago. This is because the old building chairman, Ellis, was voted out in May, but he is still in office till July 12. He is getting his revenge by refusing to hold any meetings.

Either we are going to get some results on these problems, or there is going to be big trouble in the assembly building.

—Two Black Assembly Building Workers

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—Joe Barron, a foreman in Dept. 9790 asked everyone under him to turn out ten hours production in a nine hour shift.

Only a few workers fell for this trick. Barron wrote up a foreman's report on one of the workers who refused to follow him. The men went to see their union representative.

However his only answer was that a foreman has a right to get as much production as he can.

This representative, Stanley, told a black worker who didn't didn't go for his answer that he should take care of his own business. The black worker said to him that this was his business, because he worked in the section where the foreman was trying to get increased production. He accused the rep. of sitting in an office all day and not giving a damn about the workers.

It is not in the agreement that a worker has to do the work of 10 and 12 hours in a nine hour shift. It should not be permitted by the union. It would not happen to a worker if we had good union representation in the shop.

—Chrysler Mack Worker

Black Caucus at Mahwah Ford Plant



Black Workers on Wildcat at Mahwah Ford

Mahwah, N.J.—The United Black Brothers came into existence because of the lack of true and meaningful representation of the Afro-American and the Hispanic speaking workers in the local 906 of the UAW at the Mahwah assembly plant in New Jersey. This coupled with the practices and patterns of discrimination by the Ford Motor Company forged our organization into being.

The officials of the union have told us on numerous occasions that "human rights and dignity" was not written into the present contract signed between the Ford Motor Company and themselves. Therefore they are powerless to act in this vital area of relationship between the Ford management and the workers.

ALL WORKERS WELCOME

The United Black Brothers is not a racist organization. We welcome all workers into our ranks. All the workers at the Ford Motor Company are exploited to varying degrees. Therefore, all workers are welcome; Afro-Americans, Hispanic-Speaking, and Whites.

Of all the workers the Afro-Americans are exploited the most and thereby are in the vanguard of the movement for "human rights and dignity." They have earned their place in the vanguard with the sweat and blood

of their bodies. We honor them thusly, U.B.B. . . .

The Ford Motor Company pays all our local union official's salaries. They are paid for a seven day week. The workers on the average are paid for a five day week. Now whose interests do you think the union officials are going to protect? The worker's or the company's? This arrangement between company and union is nothing but a conspiracy entered upon to effectively stifle any real representation of the workers by the UAW.

Using the local 906 of Mahwah assembly plant as an example, we find that the local union membership on the average enrich the local's treasury by \$37,000 per month. Isn't this money enough to pay the salaries of the local union officials? Why must they be paid by the company and not by us?

The Afro-American was originally imported from the southern part of the United States by the Ford Motor Company in the 1930's to break the strike of white workers in support of the UAW. They were used as strike-breakers, thereby creating lasting racial barriers.

With periodic help from the Ford Motor Company these barriers still stand today. Ford employs only a token number of Afro-Americans in its White collar job force. A total of less than half of one percent of Ford's entire white collar job force is composed of Afro-Americans.

On the Line

Black President Elected at Local 490

by John Allison

Local 490, UAW (Highland Park Chrysler) has changed its history. Nathan Halley, Jr. was elected president by the membership, and for the first time a black man will serve rank and file in this high office. He was elected in a wave of anger by the membership against the old president, Tony Oleksinski.

There are those that are white and those that are black who will take credit for brother Halley's election. What is more important in this drama is the reason why the rank and file chose this course. After all, they were the ones who did the voting.

REASONS FOR ELECTION

Let me explain the election of Nathan Halley. It was not the result of DRUM or any black movement inside the shop. The number one reason this writer believes Tony Oleksinski was defeated was that he made just too many mistakes while in office. He didn't fight grievances and closed his eyes to the problems caused by the plant moving.

But the last and worst blunder that Tony made was to ram through a motion not to hold an election for local officers because the Highland Park plant is moving to Ohio next year. At the same time he was going to have the stewards redistricted which would mean less stewards in the shop. Then, to top it off, he was to hold elections for removing the chief steward. All this was dis-

cussed with Chrysler management, but the workers weren't informed.

As we reported in the last issue of News & Letters, when the local union meeting was held to vote on Tony's proposals, they tore him to pieces and demanded an election. The one thing every worker knew was that they still had the right to vote — and they wanted to use it.

When election day came, Tony Oleksinski was out and Nathan Halley was in. Not only that, all but one of the officers were new also. The only old officer who stayed in was the recording secretary, and he supported Halley.

WHITE WORKERS

It wasn't just black workers who voted for Halley, but white workers too. Even retirees, who nearly always vote with the old administration, voted against Tony, because they were sick of the way some people got special treatment when they retired, and others got nearly nothing.

The issue was clear: do we fight for justice, or die in the ditch like a dog? Many of the workers will quit when the plant closes because they are near that time anyway. So the membership saw in the black man the last hope of a fight to gain some benefits from Chrysler for long years of service and struggle against a corporation that has little respect for human life.

Venezuela Report

Caracas, Venezuela—Venezuela shares the social and political troubles that exist all over the world these days though all the problems are not the same. Here we have a personal presidential regime, and with the recent change of the chairman, all clerks have been replaced, from the last brushman to the first minister.

This year the population of Rio Caribe rioted and burned the electric power building main offices (CADAFE, the State Electric Power) twice, because of a black-out during the carnival. There was rioting and demonstrations in the District of Caracas because there was no water for three days.

STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS

At Caracas University, during February, there was an occupation by the students, and they got certain democratic reforms, such as co-government. At Maracaibo University the rectorate was occupied in March. At Valencia University a student was wounded during a demonstration in April. In May, during a demonstration at Merida University, one student was wounded and another killed. Caracas saw high school demonstrations throughout April and May.

REPRESSION GROWS

Every day new things develop. The government decided it would not be prudent for Rockefeller to come to Venezuela after Valencian students demonstrated in front of a Rockefeller super-market. Several students were wounded, one very seriously, and then the high schools went out.

Yesterday (June 16) in Valencia it was horrible. There was a brutal repression against a peaceful demonstration before the rectorate. Five were wounded and 25 asphyxiated by gas which the police and army dropped from the air. More than a hundred were arrested.

The events are far from over.

—U.B.B.

Editorial

Nixon-Thieu Fakery

Upon his arrival in Washington after the Midway conference, President Nixon spoke of the withdrawal of 25,000 American troops as opening the door to peace. In the same breath he noted that President Thieu was in complete agreement with the 8-point peace program that had been set forth by the U.S. May 18.

Upon his arrival in Saigon after the Midway Conference President Thieu spoke of the withdrawal of 25,000 American troops: "I wish to stress that this is replacement, not withdrawal. 'Withdrawal' is a defeatist and misleading term." In speaking about peace proposals he had the following to say: "I solemnly declare that there will be no coalition government, no peace cabinet, no transitional government, not even reconciliatory government, I cannot tolerate a minority of people who spread such rumors."

WHOSE PUPPET?

Who is directing whom? Who is the puppet on the string? Nixon, by talking from both sides of his mouth first about withdrawal and second about his agreement with the military dictatorship of Thieu, is seeking to confuse as much as possible the opposition of the American people to the Vietnam War. At the same time, this allows Thieu to proceed to build up "his own caucus" of genuine fascist elements from Taiwan to Korea to Thailand, to impose their solution to the Asian question.

The quarter step forward of withdrawing 25,000 troops, is more than matched by the fact that every day there is more fighting, more killing. To end it is not really so complex. It means that the United States must just stop killing Vietnamese.

The double nature and complete fakery of Nixon can be seen when we follow what happens to his statement that he hopes to beat Former Defense Secretary Clifford's timetable for the withdrawal of all combat forces by the end of 1970. When doves in the Congress seized on this statement as a commitment for withdrawal, the administration proceeded to deny it and stressed that Nixon only "hopes" to beat that timetable. But Nixon has the greatest authority of all, so if he hopes it, it is obvious that he can do it—if he wishes.

However his mixture of quarter steps forward and full steps backward is aimed not so much at the Vietnam War as preparation for a third world war.

ANTI-WAR FORCES WILL DECIDE

Nixon and his Thieu-like allies around the world are not the ones who will make the decision about war and peace. There are other forces—the anti-Vietnam war movement, the black revolution, the Vietnamese themselves, the international solidarity against U.S. presence in Vietnam—who are gaining a new momentum and can put an end to the gathering counter-revolution.

The first of these forces, the Vietnamese, have shown that a small country fighting for self-determination can win over the greatest industrial power on earth. It is the continuation of this war for self-determination which is holding U.S. imperialism at bay. As the war drags on, the persistence of the Vietnamese has caused deep splits in American society. Frantically, the administration has tried to rationalize and explain the U.S. role. But U.S. imperialism is so blatant in Vietnam that defense of it is a difficult task even for its most open apologists.

APOLOGISTS FOR IMPERIALISM

Instead they have taken to question what the Vietnamese people are fighting for. They wish to link the Vietnamese fight to the Stalinism of either Russia or China. That provides the excuse for saying they would rather have U.S. imperialism than what the Vietnamese people want. What all these apologists conveniently forget is that the struggle in Vietnam began as a civil war in the South. There was no Russia, no China, in fact no North Vietnam around. It was this civil war that compelled North Vietnam to come to the aid of the South.

To say that all the people are fighting for is to link up with Russia or China, or even North Vietnam is to debase their struggle and to provide another excuse for U.S. imperialism.

A second force aligned against Nixon and the war is American Youth—the most revolutionary generation in our history. There can no longer be any patriotic hysteria of fighting to defend our "way of life." The rate of desertion, not just by militant whites or blacks, but by all—draftees and enlisted men—is at an extremely high level. The number of American youth who have chosen to go to Canada rather than be drafted is in the tens of thousands. The anti-war movement within the armed forces is unprecedented in America.

It is this creation of a new revolutionary generation that has made the President promise to move American troops out.

OLD ELEMENTS AND NEW

The war has not only created the most militantly anti-war generation in our history, but has forced the movement to begin to talk against all imperialist wars and finally now to discuss a revolution within America and what forces are necessary for it.

The concrete reality of the Vietnam war has transformed old elements and brought new elements into the freedom movement. Look at the change which has occurred in the participation of women in the anti-war movement. Prior to the Vietnam War the most prominent activity came from middle class, middle aged women who got involved because they did not want their sons to go to war. Now there is a new generation of young women who became active in the anti-war movement. Seeing the direct oppression of male youth by the draft, they began to examine and discuss the more subtle oppression of women in this society and even within radical groups. The women's liberation movement grew from this.

This new revolutionary generation that the Vietnam war has created, its movement to the question of revolution within America, provides the real basis for solidarity with the Vietnamese. The most important element in the new revolutionary generation thus far has been the black liberation struggle. It is the black revolt at home which has done the most to limit the U.S. military effort abroad.

It must continue and be joined by new elements. Revolutionary America is the only guarantee of revolutionary Vietnam.

MOSCOW CONFERENCE

There never was a gathering of "Communists" like the one just held in Moscow. It springs from the havoc created in Communist ranks when they were all cheering the murderous orgies of the Stalin period. It is very obvious, however, that they have not been purged of the Stalinist poison.

When the Russian and Bulgarian speakers accuse the Italian and other Western European Communists of opportunism, they condemn a trend they were willing to tolerate as long as those Parties acted as agents for the Russian bureaucracy. The charge of opportunism could be thrown back, and in both cases the charge would be fully justified.

As suggested by the Italian spokesman, the points on which there is agreement will be emphasized. The campaign on Vietnam will be stepped up, and Russia will be hailed as the country that is struggling for peace. But it will not be possible to sweep the invasion of Czechoslovakia under the carpet, despite the detestable efforts of Husak. He excelled himself.

The call by Russian leaders for a security arrangement in Asia, presumably without China, and one for Europe, with America outside, is almost certain to be taken up by the Communist Parties. The opportunism about which the Russian leaders spoke, may cause the brakes to go on. The conference has failed to bring the other Parties into line. The differences will show themselves regardless of what the Parties think.

H. McShane
Scotland

WAR AND PEACE

What hypocrisy for a President who is murdering men, women and children by the thousands in Vietnam to establish a commission to "investigate violence" in America!

Reader
San Francisco

* * *

Is peace just a word that is being used by leaders to make people think that they are tired of sending young boys to war to be killed? Or is it a hope that the people of the world have that the killing will stop? The leaders talk peace, but continue to arrest the young men who refuse to go out and kill.

Is it true that if the people vote out the old leaders and put in some new leaders things will change? Or will the new leaders try to use the same old "law and order"—which will never work any longer, because those who

make them never obey their own laws.

How can we change the way people must live? How can people get a better way of life? To me, the U.S. and Russia, and China too, seem to want the whole world for their own. Since I was a child I remember hearing "What good is it if a man gains the whole world, but loses his soul?" The big powers do not seem to care about their souls. People do.

How can the U.S. hope to win the war in Vietnam? The military people have reported that it will take years to "kill off" all the people fighting them in Vietnam. But the Vietnamese people know how to look like the grass itself. They are making it hard for anyone to kill them all off.

The world rulers must know history as well as any one. Why don't they learn that it is not possible for one master to rule the whole world?

Why does the white man still believe that he can stay on top of everyone else? The black people are no longer afraid to tell the white man just what they think of him. Some white people haven't learned what that means, yet. It means things aren't the same as they were in the old days. And they will never be the same again.

That is what history should teach rulers everywhere.

Ethel Dunbar
Detroit

STUDENT REVOLT

I was very pleased to read Raya Dunayevskaya's statements about religion in the May News & Letters. What is needed is a humanism that unites idealism and materialism. I don't think Marx was the first who found it in history, although he may have been the first to express it in those terms.

I still believe in God, but a God that is a religious and wholly other, who has acted objectively and concretely in man's history. I find in this belief an energy that allows me to overcome the extreme and petty factionalism in the University of Chicago SDS chapter.

It is a shame that a Summer Work-In was organized in Chicago by the Worker-Student Alliance (Progressive Labor) people, without going through the SDS chapter. It is also a shame that the SDS National Office retaliated by organizing a Work-In that is open only to people who are certified followers of their political (or antipolitical) line. I think it would have been possible to organize a Work-In on Marxist-Humanist lines, which

would have an appeal to many people both inside and outside SDS.

Student
Chicago

* * *

The events in Berkeley, where the military allowed demonstrators to march, and then blocked outlets penning hundreds in a parking lot, taught the movement some tactical lessons it shouldn't have had to learn. The march had no plan, and certainly no monitors. In the San Francisco State College strike, a tactical error like this would never have been made by the students and faculty.

Their biggest mistake was their failure to do enough to organize community support. In Berkeley, on the other hand, there's plenty of community support. The academy and the community are much more closely interrelated in Berkeley than in S.F.

Participant
San Francisco

* * *

I have been fighting the so-called educational system for decades, on both sides of the teacher's desk. I even wrote a letter to Kansas' governor Docking, who is not yet the complete bureaucrat, in which I suggested that it would be a big opportunity for Kansas if, instead of stepping up its industrial complex, it turned the state into an educational meccas. How?

Abolish marking which turns education into an obscene experience. Reduce tuition for out-of-state youth. Abolish exams which make the system meaningless. Revamp all courses so useful information is offered students . . .

Cheers for the dissenting students who refuse to accept an un-Constitutional draft, who refuse to learn to kill, who object to university professors prostituting their learning to make napalm.

Far from being ominous, these students give hope and encouragement. Are there any understanding elders in the house?

Reader
Kansas

GRAPE STRIKE

Having succeeded in getting A&P (as well as Great Scott, Farmer Jacks' and Chatham) not to stock table grapes for the duration of the boycott, our attention has shifted to the Kroger food chain.

A memorandum to all Kroger managers from their Regional Office in Ohio stated: "Our company's position remains the same . . . pursue a middle-of-the-road course supporting neither the Grape Growers' nor the United Farm Workers' position . . . It is our plan that when grapes come into season, we will actively promote and advertise them."

That is typical corporate logic. By buying grapes, Kroger is supporting the growers; by not buying grapes Kroger would be supporting the union. Who do they think they are kidding?

It is apparent to the grape strikers that the Kroger stores are going to exert every effort to break the boycott and the union. It makes it imperative to intensify the struggle

Readers'

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
O. Domanski Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan

Views

against Kroger in several ways:

- 1—Organize for picket activities against your local stores.
- 2—Visit the local store managers to talk about the boycott.
- 3—Call the UFWOC at 825-4811 for assistance with literature, signs, information.

Community pressure is the only kind that Kroger will respond to. Positive pressure, by patronizing those stores that respect the boycott, is also needed. It will let everyone know that support for the Grape Boycott is still strong.

—U.F.W.O.C.
2500 Howard St., Detroit, Mich. 48216

* * *

I thought the article in "Our Life and Times" that blasted the "welfare system" that works for the rich was great. Shortly after I read it, I saw a program on TV on poverty and one of the grape strikers interviewed raised the same point about farm subsidies and called it "welfare" for the rich."

I couldn't help wondering if he had read N&L, or whether it was just "great minds" working along the same path. Anyway, it was good to hear it on national TV.

Woman Worker
New York

READERS ABROAD

We receive News & Letters regularly and we love it. Icelandic isolation is our big problem. We are preparing an article in English for you about our scene.

Vito
Curacao

* * *

I perfectly agree with your analysis on France, and the fall of De Gaulle, in the May N&L and would add that the French bourgeoisie understood that it couldn't make it with out U.S. capital.

Correspondent
Milan

* * *

The leaders of the T.U.C. here were running backwards and forwards to Downing Street trying to get the Government to accept their plan to deal with unofficial strikes and inter-union disputes. There was much in the Government's proposals that the leaders liked, but they dared not submit to fines being imposed on unofficial strikers. Both sides wanted to get things patched up. Harold Wilson toned down his threats because he was convinced that there are things which the workers will not stand for.

Marxist-Humanist
Britain

WORKERS' VOICES

I am really enlivened by the quality—the proletarian quality—of your paper. It speaks for itself, as you have said. Too many organs of the workers' voice stifle the naturalness of his tongue, quell his innate ability to define relationships in terms which give essence to the meaning, rather than confusion to the attempt.

My father worked in the Pennsylvania coal mines at 12. My mother was raised on a Georgia dirt farm. (My widowed mother now makes 65 cents an hour as a waitress

WHAT IS NEWS & LETTERS? A unique combination of workers and intellectuals.

ORGANIZATION—We are an organization of Marxist Humanists—blacks and whites who are seeking to change our conditions of life in the shops, the schools, the society as a whole. To do this we feel that all of us—workers in the factories, students in the universities and high schools—must come together and talk about how we can end speed up and racism in the plants, miseducation in the school; how we can build different human relations, by abolishing the division between mental and manual labor.

PAPER—This is the only paper anywhere edited by a black worker, Charles Denby, who works in an auto plant. The only paper written by working people, youth and black people fighting for freedom, in the U.S.A. and in other countries.

The only paper that features a regular column, "Two Worlds," by Raya Dunayevskaya, chairman of the National Editorial Board, and author of *Marxism and Freedom*.

We invite you to write for the paper, and to join our organization.

in Tennessee.) I "made it" in Chicago for a while and have known the so-called "good" life of middle-class America; saw the rotten stench of it as it lay malignant between our humanity to one another.

I have known the intellectual and moral poverty as well as the screaming hunger that abides in the bellies of the poor. It is from this mural that I come wanting revolution, for my people, for my brothers and sisters, for humanity. Is any quest more important in this age of bestiality?

New Reader
California

* * *

One thing that always got me about most left-wing groups, including the Communists and the Trotskyists was the utter irrelevance and estrangement of what they had to say from what I believed to be the concerns of the masses of the workers, let alone the workers' specific principles, ideas and experiences.

For this reason, I was attracted to N&L right off, because I believed the revolution would be made by the masses, and not by some party or parties that don't speak to the masses in any real sense.

Reader
Philadelphia

WORDS AND MEANINGS

What I consider of the greatest importance is the difference between socialism and state capitalism, nationalized property and the workers' state, etc., not only because it was an error in theory according to Trotsky, but also because our own enemies, i.e., the capitalists, and even those who are neutrals, insist that when we say socialism, we mean nationalized property and state capitalism, which misunderstanding is unfortunate no matter from which side you look at it.

Writer
Wisconsin

* * *

Is it significant that the middle class is using the word revolution? It seems to me that it's mostly just "the thing to say" . . . like when "liberal" began to take on derogatory meaning, everyone suddenly called themselves "radicals." This year it's "revolutionaries." Like Madison Ave., using "revolution" so much in reference to things instead of people.

Marxist Humanist
Chicago

TWO THANK YOU'S

Once again, News & Letters has risen to the occasion when help was needed, and, as always, has done an outstanding job. Your story about our strike was beautiful, and thanks to your appeal, we are beginning to receive contributions from all parts of the country.

We hope that workers, after reading of our struggle, will organize now to put an end to man's inhumanity to man and force our so-called liberal labor leaders in the UAW and elsewhere to start thinking about the people instead of their pocketbooks. Peace and Power.

United Black Brothers
Mahwah, New Jersey

* * *

You didn't need to thank me for helping to get you new readers. I'm just spreading your mind-blowing material. You are the mind-blowers. So, thank you.

Longshoreman
San Francisco

AND AN APPEAL

Virtually no local white attorneys and only a handful of local Negro attorneys have been willing or able to provide representation to Negroes and civil rights workers in the South. The Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee was established in 1964 to fill the void.

The LCDC's chief counsel, Richard Sobol, recently won a major Federal Court victory when he defended himself against the State of Louisiana, which had arrested him for "practicing without a license." But a long and costly court effort remains before the right of out-of-state attorneys to practice in the South can be assured.

Contributions (which are tax-deductible) can be sent to: LCDC, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 or LCDC, 606 Common St. New Orleans, La. 70130.

A philosophic CONFERENCE on "Philosophy and Revolution" will be held in DETROIT, on Sunday, JULY 20.
For information, write: News & Letters, 415 Brainard, Detroit, Mich. 48201.
Or, call: 833-1989.

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya
Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

75 COMMUNIST PARTIES MEET

The two topics—the Sino-Soviet conflict and the Czechoslovak "question"—that were most discussed at the recently concluded Moscow conference were not the ones that are gnawing at the vitals of the 75 Communist Parties. The way in which they were handled will, however, illuminate that peculiar brand of nationalism that, at one and the same time, tears apart and binds together state-capitalism. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to the different attitudes to the points in dispute.

BREZHNEV AND THE "DISSENTERS" ON MAO

Maoism is one question Brezhnev wanted aired and the dissenting Communist Parties wanted to avoid. To get these parties to the conference Brezhnev had to promise that the question of China would not be placed on the agenda. The excuse for the breach of faith was that "a new situation had arisen." Brezhnev claimed that "only two days ago" the Chinese press had issued "the call to prepare both for conventional and big nuclear war against Soviet revisionism . . . The combination of the Chinese leaders' political adventurism with the sustained atmosphere of war hysteria injects new elements into the international situation and we cannot ignore it." (1)

The truth, however, is that, if even we were to disregard that the Sino-Soviet conflict, begun in 1960, had reached just this high intensity during the 1967 "Cultural Revolution" with its accusation of "Russian collusion with American imperialism", the "new" situation arose no later than January, 1969 with the absolutely unprecedented identification of "Russian revisionism" as "the enemy" in the most basic state document, the draft Chinese Constitution itself. And finally, at the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, called to ratify the new Constitution in April, Lin Piao fleshed out the accusation, thus: "The Soviet revisionist renegade clique had been practicing social imperialism and social fascism more frantically than ever." (2)

Notwithstanding these vituperations, spoken in April, the "dissenters" had Brezhnev reiterate the promise not to deal with China at the preparatory conference held as late as May 23. Moreover, they did so though they were no doubt aware of the equally vituperative accusations against China of the Russian press. Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko had very nearly called for a preventive war when, after speaking of the "chauvinist-hegemonial aspirations of the Mao Tse-tung group", he concluded: "Only by a resolute offensive can one defeat the enemy's forces." (3)

It is true that nothing could possibly have happened "only two days ago" that hadn't been happening since the January draft Constitution and the April Lin Piao speech, on the one hand, and the May statements of the Russian generals and the constantly recurring border incidents, on the other hand. But Brezhnev was not the only hypocrite at the "world" conference. The dissenters would have had to have been not merely naive, but actually moronic to have taken his promise at face value after Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia!

THE HYPOCRISY OF THE 'DISSENTERS'

These East European state powers and West European aspirants for the same, were far from being naive, much less moronic. Indeed they were so knowledgeable in the ways of Big Brother and had so successfully resisted Khrushchev's attempt to call just such a "unity" conference that he, not they, lost his head. How then did Brezhnev win where Khrushchev lost? And at a time when not only relations with China, which is far, far away, were much exacerbated, but when a country much closer to home base, a country that was engaged, not in attacking Russia, but in trying to reform itself, had nevertheless been invaded by Big Brother's troops—500,000 strong!

Therein, precisely, lies one answer. The occupation of Czechoslovakia created terror throughout East Europe.

It is true Rumania had rejected the notorious Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty," declaring: "Limited sovereignty makes no more sense than limited honesty." Nevertheless, Ceausescu had not, as he had previously done, walked out when there was a breach of faith. It is true he wished to cut down Russian hegemony: "It is not necessary to have any leading center!" (4) But it was quite obvious that the autonomy of the Communist Parties he was talking about was the very specific nationalism of Rumanian Communism. He did not even mention Czechoslovakia by name!

Another reason—a more crucial one insofar as the class nature of present-day Communism is concerned—for Brezhnev's "victory" is that the "dissenters" are themselves either state capitalist bureaucrats like Rumania, or hoping in some way to become part of a government coalition. Thus, the Italian Communist Party, the largest in Western Europe, expects to do very well in the next general election.

The fact that its representative, Enrico Berlinguer, is the most outspoken critic of Russian monolithism, both as it concerns its "intervention" in Czechoslovakia, and its propaganda against Mao, must therefore, be related to these expectations. In a word, there is more opportunism than courage in his criticisms of Russia. This becomes especially clear in his speech on Mao where he, at one and the same time, criticized Chinese Communism and opened Russia's attempt to "excommunicate" Mao from the world movement. Enrico Berlinguer's speech on Czechoslovakia was the most outspoken one at the Moscow conference.

He may also have been under the illusion that the Italian CP had influenced the delay of this conference from the date it was supposed to have taken place—November 1968—a date altogether too close to the Russian invasion. The more likely reason, however, is that Brezhnev needed the time to create a handful of Czechoslovak Quislings.

Out they strutted just as soon as Berlinguer had finished his speech defending Czechoslovakia's struggle to be autonomous.

CZECH QUISLINGS VS. MAO

Gustav Husak rose to take issue with the speeches attacking the Russian invasion by, first, dutifully repeating what Rude Pravo had written about the "wrong attitude" of Communist Parties in the West being based on "distorted facts and false information

(Continued on Page 7)

Doing and Thinking

Because of the importance of the events that took place at the SDS Convention, to the youth movement in this country, I am turning over my column this issue to a participant's report.

— Bernard Wendell

Two, Three Many SDSs . . .

Upon arrival at the Chicago Coliseum, site of the Students for a Democratic Society convention, we stepped into a vast hall containing 1,000 people, 500 of whom were standing up, red book in hand, chanting "Mao, Mao, Mao Tse-tung" at the speaker who was addressing them. After they had finished 500 others rose and began chanting "Smash Racism." The speaker meanwhile linked together a series of revolutionary-sounding phrases on racism which evoked more chants from different sections of the audience.

We might end our description of the SDS convention at this stage as it sums up most of the activity which occurred. Two factions, the Revolution Youth Movement (RYM) and the Worker-Student Alliance (WSA, Progressive Labor dominated) fought for control of SDS. Their weapons—Mao's Little Red Book of Quotations, Buttons with the Image of Mao on them, red armbands to signify the red guards and a Stalinist mentality.

ANOINTED BY MAO

For the better part of the first three days of the convention, all activity centered around these two factions both of whom claim to be anointed by Mao, both of whom have master plans for the overthrow of capitalism led by themselves as the vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party.

To the Worker-Student Alliance faction it was all a question of injecting class consciousness into every struggle. There was no black question in America, blacks were only super exploited members of the working class. The same was true of the women's liberation struggle.

To the Revolutionary Youth Movement the main struggle is between U.S. imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it. In America this means the black liberation struggle. RYM hopes to develop a white revolutionary youth movement to parallel what the Black Panthers are doing.

"THE CORRECT LINE"

The debates of the first three days — on Imperialism and Racism — centered around who had "the correct line" from chairman Mao or Lin Piao on each of these questions. All debate was punctuated with the chanting of slogans from each side.

The only debate which would not "fit" into the preconceived line was one on Women's Liberation. Here neither side was sure of their "line" and some independent discussion took place. This was especially true after the Black Panthers had come in to speak.

The RYM faction had invited the Black Panthers. It was hoped that this would embarrass the Progressive Labor people because Progressive Labor and the Panthers have been fighting. After attacking the policies of Progressive Labor to the accompaniment of RYM chants the Panthers then came out with some male chauvinistic statements, saying that the strategic position for women in the revolution was prone.

It was at this point that women at the convention could have become a real power. Many were unhappy with the Panther statements, but people in both WSA

and RYM had not really taken the women's liberation movement seriously and therefore did not have any real answers. If women could have gotten together, a force independent of RYM and WSA might have emerged. Instead everyone made statements "for" women's liberation and it became a political football.

One woman remarked, "In women's liberation, we know that some of the worst male chauvinists in the movement can rap down the best line on women's liberation."

Some tried to combat the degeneration of the convention into a shouting match between the two Maoist factions. Members of the Independent Socialist Club and Revolutionary Socialist Caucus of Chicago tried to have an independent caucus to discuss the dominance of Stalinism in SDS and figure out ways to combat it. In general these efforts were not successful.

THE SPLIT

On the third day of the convention the Panthers came back to the Convention and made a more explicit attack on Progressive Labor, demanding that it be expelled from SDS. It was obvious that the RYM faction was using the Panthers to fight PL and that the Panthers were using SDS to get at one of their enemies.

At this point the convention split into two with RYM moving next door. This split now allowed more freedom of discussion within both factions and some independents who were against both factions now had a chance to take the floor and speak in both rooms. The only decent discussion came at this period.

However, it was obvious that in both WSA and RYM, authoritarian Maoists were still very much in the driver's seat. After 24 hours, RYM came back into the main convention room and proceeded to expell PL from SDS. PL rejected the expulsion. On the last day of the convention two SDS organizations had elections.

The PL faction of SDS claims it will be non-exclusionist except for "anti-communists," which presumably means those who don't support the thought of Chairman Mao.

The RYM was more explicit in its declaration of "principles": exclusion of Progressive Labor, support of the struggles of the Black and Latin colonies within the U.S.; support for the National Liberation Front, and support for the governments of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba and wender of wonders, Albania. All those unable to support these governments are no longer members of SDS. Long live Albania. I am sending my SDS card back to whichever faction wants it.

Mao's China and The "Proletarian Cultural Revolution"

by
Raya Dunayevskaya

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415 Brainard St.
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25c



At Wayne State University

Student Assistants Strike for a Union

Detroit, Mich.—On Friday, June 13, officials of Wayne State University ordered the workers of the Mail Room, Receiving, and Press Room who were on strike to clear the driveway at the Administrative Services Building or be charged with trespassing on university property. We set up a barricade in the driveway and began picketing on the sidewalk.

At about 5 p.m. the bureaucrats, under the protection of Public Safety, carried the barricade away, ending a 15-day

Stalin Returns

OR HOW TO GET RID OF YOUR OPPONENTS QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY

The SDS convention held in Chicago was typical of many other SDS conventions with the chanting, screaming, incomprehensibility, and general rioting going on. It was different, however, in the fact that, as in many other left movements throughout history, Stalinism came in the name of democracy and tore apart the movement.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) were the two major factions in SDS. Both stood for Mao, both were the vanguard in the sense of educating and leading the people on to victory, and both had their program for doing it.

"PROGRAM FOR MASSES"

PL says you should organize workers and politically educate them to accept PL's line of social change. RYM says you should organize black and third-world people, including some workers, to fight in the streets and actively resist this government, with RYM in the leadership, of course. Whose side are you on, Tweedledee's or Tweedledum's?

Since RYM controlled the National Office of SDS and therefore the convention, it had the slight advantage of gathering all the independent and not-sure people into its caucus. Having this power, they decided to expell all "anti-communists," specifically PL at this time, and make SDS a "Communist, revolutionary youth movement," supporting all "revolutionary" governments — (China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam, and Albania), and all third world and black struggles against U.S. imperialism.

STALINIST MOVEMENT

SDS has now turned into a Stalinist movement where your line is handed down to you by the leadership, and if you don't like it, get out! Anyone in their left mind who can support the governments of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam, and especially Albania, where the people do not have direct control over their means of production, and to blindly support the NLF, Al Fatah, and all other fighters of imperialism, without finding out whether the people want them as their government, is as bad as Stalin taking over the Soviets, or the U.S. exploiting its people.

The New Left better learn, and it better learn quickly, that unless the people can self-determine their own destinies, and decide their own governments, without any pushing them on, then fascism will always be near.

—High School Student and former SDS member

strike for union recognition of the University Workers Organizing Committee. But let's go back to the beginning of the campaign.

Four months ago a small group of student workers began to organize Wayne's Library. We made \$1.35 an hour to start and were sick of slave wages and arbitrary firings.

After two months of work and a series of mass meetings and a few South End articles, we had a majority of cards in the library. The decision was made by the Library Workers Union Organizing Committee (LWUOC) to confront Wayne State for union recognition, and that meant meeting the triple-talking George Gullen, Vice-President of Labor, and Dean Sells, Dean of Students, and every possible channel of University bureaucracy.

A month ago the mailroom walked out over grievances. This walk out and the union organizing forced Keast to make a hand-picked committee of University bureaucrats and student sell-outs for Keast to co-opt the union movement.

The LWUOC through the South End reached other departments on campus and informed them of the organizing. From this seven departments solidified into one group representing some 400 student workers on campus and became the University Workers Organizing Committee.

After one more month of negotiations, articles, and informational picket lines, the University Workers Organizing Committee voted to strike. The Mailroom, Receiving, and Press room, each a small department (60 workers total for the three departments) walked out on strike.

But in the three striking departments, management could not find one scab. Nothing moved. No deliveries were made, almost no mail was delivered. Departments began to run short of supplies.

When the workers in the Mailroom and Receiving and supporters set up picket lines at the A.S. Building and Building Services (where the Mailroom and Receiving is located) on the first day with 200 workers out and about 50 picketing, two developments occurred. First, the full-time workers in the Mailroom and Receiving would not break our line and went on a slowdown, and in every possible way supported us. Local 1497 of Council 7, Building and Grounds, also supported the strike.

Second, the teamsters making deliveries to Receiving refused to cross our line after we talked to them about our strike.

On Monday part of the library stayed out, along with Audio Visual, bookstore, Printing, Press, Receiving and Mailroom. The only line was set up over at the Administrative Services Building. The line at A.S.B. was kept up all week and our effectiveness grew.

On Thursday the Mailroom supervisors at 2:30 in the morning took the mail to Wayne Department of Public Safety (the cops) for distribution. We found the trucks, and sent over five people to set a line up. At 11 a.m., since the fulltime workers wouldn't break the line, the supervisor began to move the truck. Two of the pickets volunteered for a "symbolic" arrest. They were busted, charged with disorderly conduct.

At 12:30 we organized a rally on the mall and with 150 people confronted Vice-President Gullen and Dean Sells. We held them prisoner for two hours until our own people were set free. All they ended up being charged with was a traffic violation.

Because the university was trying to sneak out the mail a 24-hour picket line was established. INJUNCTION

On Sunday, June 8, in the last week of the strike, we learned that the university was planning to file a petition for an injunction against the strike. The two Board of Governors who signed the petition were Edwards and Leonard Woodcock, Vice-President of UAW for GM. We thought it was strange that Woodcock, who was a Union bureaucrat, was opposed to a union of the student assistants in a university where he was on the Board of Governors.

We decided to picket Solidarity House (UAW headquarters) protesting the actions of Woodcock that Sunday. There were about 50 people picketing in the rain, with a few people remaining at the A.S. building to maintain the line. The picket line got on T.V. and many workers told us they liked our actions.

Monday came, but no injunction was served. During the week the 24-hour picket line was maintained in shifts. Then on Friday the university brought in Public Safety and the supervisors to break the strike.

The membership has voted to file with the Michigan Labor Relations Board and continue the organizing throughout the summer and fall until we win.

Visions of Concrete

People had a concrete vision,
In those days, of clumps of
grass,
Green growing, of welcome
shade,
And handmade slides for kids
On that patch of ground,
Called people's park.
Now they no longer take a
walk,
An evening stroll with the
baby,
On the lawn of people's park.
Thousands of Guardsmen
And perfunctory policemen
Block the approaches, hover
In the skies, watching for rats,
Rats of the genus,
Campus Comprehendus.
Wielding wooden penises, the
Cops can be heard grunting
"Take that, you crummy (com-
mie) rat!"
And like the vision, 'La Peste'
The rats stagger from hiding
places,
Pirouette, and fall on the
concrete,
Blood gushing from their ears,
lips.
Meanwhile, the grisly cops
Enact their visions of justice
On the concrete steps
Of Sproul Plaza.
My vision is dimming,
Oh park, blood clouds my
brain,
And I no longer see your
Green slopes, your flower
beds,
Your Peace.
Paul Foreman
from Berkeley Street
Poems, May, 1969

In Ann Arbor

Youth Battle for Streets

Ann Arbor, Mich.—Young people and students who had taken over a street in Ann Arbor for a spontaneous party were brutally beaten by police who tried to clear the street during the nights of June 17 and 18.

Like most places Ann Arbor gets hot in the summer. South University Avenue had become a place where students from the University of Michigan, non-students, and high school students from the surrounding town gather. Most of the time people just sit around, talk, and play music.

STREET TAKEN

Police have been giving the kids a hard time for the past few months, and when, on June 16, a policeman tried to arrest a motorcyclist, the people moved into the street and refused to allow it. The policeman left, but the kids stayed in the street. No police showed up, and by three in the morning the party was over. People even cleaned the street before they left.

But, the next night the county sheriff and the chief of the Ann Arbor police decided that a show

of force was necessary. By eight o'clock there were lots of people on South U. The police gave them five minutes to get on the sidewalk. Then, the police charged beating and arresting anyone they could catch.

As in Madison, Wisconsin, when police broke up a street dance, and Berkeley, in the battle for People's Park, the irrational police action brought more people onto the streets. The police had made no distinction between the "street people," whom they could have legally arrested for blocking traffic and those just watching. The police were acting against anyone who was young, anyone whose long hair and weird clothes they did not like.

As the crowd grew bigger, some became violent. Rocks, bottles, and firecrackers were thrown at the police. Motorcycle gangs began to converge on Ann Arbor. As usual, police violence begat other violence which gave the police their justification to bust heads.

Robben Fleming, the liberal President of the University of Michigan, and the local liberal Democrats, who took over the city government in April, at first tried to keep out of it by saying the action in the streets was a police problem. When they realized, however, the magnitude of the violence, they tried to reason with the sheriff, but he told them they were bastards, and that he was going to clear the streets.

LEADERLESS

Although the people in the streets were leaderless, members of the crowd were able to convince most of the people that they could not fight guns, clubs, and tear gas with their bare hands; so, when the police made their last charge, most people pulled back.

The next night was more of the same, except that the cops were now armed with M-1 rifles and the civilian version of the M-16. Thursday night the mayor ordered police out of the area. A group of university professors, student radicals, and black leaders spent the night convincing people to let traffic pass. There was no violence and the people proved just how unnecessary the police riot was. By the end of the week the weather turned cold, and the streets stayed empty.

Even though in many ways the battle for South University was similar to disturbances in other cities, one new force showed itself. White, working class high school students made up a majority of the street people.

They consider themselves part of a radical cultural revolution, but are vague about their politics. If pressed, they espouse a sort of revolutionary anarchism.

One fifteen-year-old youth, who had been kicked out of school for editing a newspaper at his high school told me that the battle with the cops was the greatest moment of his life. He considered, "All we need for a revolution is to have everyone fight those who try to stop our activity. We're just going to do what we want, when we want to."

Given this, it would be easy to dismiss these youths. Except, their rebellion is caused by a revulsion against life in the United States and a desire to change it.

The radical leaders at Michigan have difficulty communicating with these kind of high school kids and have made no attempt to organize them. S.D.S. at its March convention in Austin did recognize their potential, but the S.D.S. program seems to be nothing more than putting radical slogans in the mouths of young people. Something more is needed.

Czech Resistance

Prague, Czechoslovakia — It seems that the bureaucracy's efforts to liquidate the SVS (Czech Student Union) have declined because the bureaucracy is very busy elsewhere, that is, among the workers and the intellectuals.

The biggest scandal of the week was the massive and near-public distribution of the speech by Frantisek Kriegel, who was expelled from the Central Committee of the CP during its last plenary meeting and, after reading his defense speech, from the Party itself. Although the speech doesn't say very much, thousands of people were copying it over at the University and it has been mimeographed many times and distributed around the whole country.

ANTI-HUSAK CAMPAIGN

On the other side, Gustav Husak's speech to the Moscow Conference was greeted by the population with hatred and scorn, which no one hides even in public places. Before the Conference, a little signature campaign was launched in some Prague factories: the workers signed a statement denouncing the Czechoslovak CP delegation in Moscow and the present development of the country.

The bureaucracy, which never stops talking about "continuing the post-January course," is carrying on a criminal prosecution against fourteen participants in the March 28 "Hockey" demonstration in Usti nad Labem (four are in jail), and preparing political trials against the editor Skutina, the chess champion Pachman, and the famous athlete, Zatopek.

Meanwhile, the numbers of those quitting the ranks of the party are becoming massive: we don't have any exact statistics, but on the basis of the situation in several districts, we can nonetheless estimate that the total number for the last month surpasses one hundred thousand members.

WORKER ACTIVITY

It seems that the last bastion of progress remains in the trade-union movement which in a few establishments has not yet capitulated.

It is particularly in the 9th district of Prague, where half of Prague's industry is concentrated, that worker activity is enormous. A shipyard for river boats, which organized a protest strike, is in that district.

Workers hold meetings — despite the resistance of factory managements — within the factories to discuss economic and political problems. The Prague coordination center, created by the workers themselves, was animated last Thursday by the union delegation of the Kladno steelmill workers (20 miles from Prague) who remain faithful to the old revolutionary tradition of the region; uniting with the workers from NHRG Ostrava (in Northern Moravia, the biggest metal works in all of Czechoslovakia) and with those of seven other metal works in Prague: Most, Chomutov, etc.

They worked out a platform which, without mincing words, condemns the present development of our country "which is in flagrant contradiction with the feelings of the overwhelming majority of our workers."

FIRM RESOLVE

The tone of the platform is evident in the last sentence: "We emphasize that we have no intention of going on proclaiming our positions forever, but, in accordance with the resolutions of our Union Congresses, we are firmly resolved to use all union means to assure the realization of all the just demands of our workers."

Prague Spring 1969

(Continued from Page 1)

The undercurrent of a number of recent articles in *Rude Pravo* was quite clear and stopped just short of this declaration.

The danger of the "counter-revolution" the Russians evoked last autumn is now officially conjured up so vividly, the alleged connections and aims of men like Ivan Svitak and of a number of writers made so "clear", that the spirit of the public still decisively resisting any such move, may be the only obstacle to those men of the high party offices claiming that the Soviets had come at the right moment.

LUBOMIR STROUGAL

Other facts also point towards an "enlightened" but more repressive rule than has been that of Antonin Novotny.

The Communist Party Bureau for Czech Lands — a counterpart of the Slovak party central committee, which has to function as long as there is no party congress to elect it — is directed by Lubomir Strougal, a man to be watched both for his position and ambitions. He is probably a very "hard" one, more than Husak himself, and is extending his reign now as more and more fields are to be governed from his office.

Rebellious students are partly threatened, partly offered higher scholarships. Should they stick to their refusal to enter the National Front, the permission for their organization to function may be withdrawn.

Editors "not likely" to follow exactly the party line are either forced to resign — as party members they are rather easily made to — or the publishers have to dismiss them.

TRADE UNIONS RESIST

For some time the trade unions seemed the only organization able to keep up a somewhat independent attitude. There are large segments of workers dissatisfied with their positions and the developments the economy is about to take.

But even the unions are engaged in a running fight. The heads of almost all the unions are party members, subject to a party discipline that is once again beginning to be very severe.

The chairman of the Czechoslovak Trades Union Council, Karel Polacek, was made a member of the Central Committee praesidium to make him more

"responsible". How far the unions can again become "transmission belts" — a label they angrily refuse so far — is a matter of further economic developments. The Czechoslovak economy being in a real mess, the restoration of its equilibrium is a long-term process, a matter of four or five years at least.

WORKERS' COUNCILS LOST

Now the workers, about to lose most of the freedoms they won last year, together with other social strata, will also lose what has been probably the one big success of their class struggle last year: the workers' councils in the factories. The official position, as made clear recently by the Czech Party Bureau, does not even mention this self-management.

Instead, well-known slogans on the necessity of a tight labour discipline, of raising the directors' and foremen's authority, of the need for raising labour productivity are heard again and again.

Higher wages are claimed to be one of the major sources of inflation although every serious economic analysis has proved that the real source is the investment wave, which no government has curbed up to now in spite of much talk about it.

Prices of basic food have been exempted from the price rise this year following an agreement between the Trade Unions Council and the Federal Government. Next year, however, this exemption will most probably be cancelled, partly at least.

THE "NEW LINE"

The "new line" announced after the CP central committee session May 29-30, put emphasis on the leading role of the CP in every aspect, including the economy.

The economy may get "stabilized", the general elections and party congresses promised for next year may take place. But the return to "directiveness" in the economy (the role of the overall state plan stressed again, government directives in the field of foreign trade renewed) may well mean, after some initial successes, a deepened crisis of the whole economic structure.

Having dismissed from the Central Committee people with independent ideas, condemning "never heard-of models", Husak has brought Czechoslovakia fully back to Soviet line even in domestic policy.

TWO WORLDS

75 COMMUNIST PARTIES MEET

(Continued from Page 5)

handed out to them by counter-revolutionary journalists and even by some top party officials." Now that neither the new allegedly undistorted facts, nor the pre-conference appeal that the "comrades" should not discuss this "family affair", halted criticism, this miserable little Quisling dared to speak lovingly about the Russian occupiers of his native land. Czechoslovakia, he ended with a flourish, was bound "by ties of Communist international brotherhood with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries." (5)

To the disgust and despair of the Czechoslovak people, the Quisling leader thereby embraced "the gravediggers of their short-lived hopes." (6) Not only that; they thereby lay the foundation for the emergence of the next tragedy—the view that Maoism has the answers to those who would fight for their freedom from Russia. "For if there is anywhere where the calling of the Russian leaders "the new Tsars" sounds both true and revolutionary it is surely in occupied Czechoslovakia. The victory of creating Quislings is Pyrrhic. To see the dimensions of Communism's disintegration, we must now turn to the main absentee from the Moscow Conference; Mao.

(To be continued)

- (1) The most detailed quotations from Brezhnev's speech are in Richard Reston's article in the *L. A. Times*, June 8, 1969.
- (2) A full page of official excerpts of Lin's speech appeared in *The N.Y. Times*, April 29, 1969.
- (3) *Pravda*, May 9; a few excerpts from it can be found in Paul Wohl's article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 10, 1969.
- (4) Quoted by Henry Kamm in *The N.Y. Times*, June 10, 1969.
- (5) *Ibid*, June 12, 1969.
- (6) For the most knowledgeable analysis of the Quislings read "Sell-out in Prague" by Kamil Winter. The writer had been Editor of News and Current Affairs for Czechoslovak TV until the Russian invasion. His article is in the *New Statesman*, June 13, 1969. London.

A Letter From People's Park

Berkeley, Calif.—The degree and extent of the police-state imposed here for two weeks was not reported accurately anywhere. It was a very frightening thing and enlightening to realize how easily the politicians in Washington could turn a deaf ear to our pleas for help and tacitly sanction Reagan's crushing of the "student revolt."

Well, I am happy to say that the student revolt is alive and flourishing. We will not be crushed; the earth itself is on our side!

POETRY FOR BAIL

My poetry class produced a book of poems about the crisis, and with it raised \$1,000 for the bail fund.* The last week of school we met every night of the week in someone's house reading poems and discussing the issues.

One day the Berkeley police clubbed me to the street breaking my left wrist. I managed to escape and wasn't arrested. Many others were clubbed almost senseless and left lying on the streets. The police didn't arrest because they didn't want to be connected or identified with the brutality. The day that the campus was completely blocked off with National Guardsmen holding bayonets and the helicopter came over spraying tear gas over the whole campus gave me the feeling of seriously being warred upon.

POLICE AND POLITICIANS

I only hope the people don't waste so much energy and time decrying the police (as culpable as they are) as defeating the fascist politicians who manipulate them.

An encouraging sign is the number of students who have come to Berkeley from back east, especially Harvard, to find out for themselves what has been happening. I think this solidarity will keep building and hopefully widen to the other countries of the world, for now we are all truly people of the earth.

*Berkeley Street Poems, May 1969, by students and other citizens of Berkeley, edited by Josephine Miles. Copies can be ordered from: An Other Ways Book, 2179 Allston Way, Berkeley, Cal. 94701. See "Visions of Concrete," page 6.

Labor — Black, Brown, White Is Moving In Factory, Field

(Continued from Page 1)

militant new black caucuses, the United Black Brotherhood, which led recent wildcats at the Ford plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, made it a special point to seek white workers' support in those walkouts. (See page three for their statement of purpose.)

A measure of the recognition by white workers of the legitimate special discontent of the black workers is seen in the fact that in at least a dozen UAW local unions, black union presidents were recently elected — by the combined votes of white and black workers.

This discontent and activity of the rank-and-file, finally compelled Reuther to break with Meany, and to start unity talks with Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons. Then, meeting in Washington, D.C. the last week in May, delegates from the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters unions formed the Alliance for Labor Action.

ALA IN ACTION

For the first time since the CIO was buried in the AFL — a burial engineered chiefly by UAW President Walter Reuther — officials of established unions went so far as to declare the obvious: that there are millions of unorganized workers to be organized, especially in the South; that there are many pressing "social problems," especially concerning black people in America; and that working class racial divisions must be healed to unite workers in their struggle.

But Reuther promised to organize the unorganized in the South as far back as 1952, in his "Operation Dixie" program. It was a still-birth, dragged out at each UAW convention ever since to show and put away, and is as dead today as it was in 1952.

The ALA claims it will "revitalize collective bargaining," whatever that means. But rank and file workers know that with every contract signed in the last 20 years, all their hard-won gains for control over working conditions have been bargained away for nickel and dime wage increases — which were taken away by inflation before the ink on the contracts was dry.

The ALA claims it will build "community unions," promote low-cost housing, and demand higher social security benefits and expanded medical care for all.

LEADERS AND RANKS

One Teamster laughed out loud when he was asked what he thought of the Alliance for Labor Action: "When the Teamster leadership gets behind us, and stops making deals with the trucking companies, then I'll believe they'll do something for somebody else."

And an auto worker added: "The workers in our shop aren't concerned about Reuther's new alliance with the Teamsters, because they all think all he's trying to do is put pressure on Meany so he can be the big wheel in the AFL-CIO."

"No worker, white or black, could reject the proposals Reuther is making. But they don't have any faith in what he says. He was talking about low-income housing when they were tearing down houses to build the high-rise apartments we have in their place today. No worker could afford to rent a closet in those places. What workers want Reuther to do something about is conditions in the shop."

This is the essence of Reuther, which the auto workers understand as no others can: he is a master of substitution. Instead of listening to what workers want done in the shops, where

he has almost total control, he always finds some other area for "action," where he doesn't.

The real action is taking place within the ranks of the UAW and the Teamsters, not within the leadership which outlined a "program" at the ALA Conference, where, not by accident at all, there were no rank-and-file members even present.

It is true the bureaucracy's checkbooks were open. They gave \$25,000 of their rank-and-file's money to help the Charleston, S.C. hospital strike. The workers in the shops were all for that. But they knew that much more than money is needed.

When Reuther walked on the picket line in Charleston, a worker in Detroit pointed out: "Reuther hasn't been on a picket line with his own UAW workers in so many years he's forgotten what it's like. He's always glad to be militant anywhere outside of his own union."

JOHN L'S PUNCH

In the '30's the movement was from below, just as it is today. But in the '30's, leaders, like John L. Lewis, who broke from the AFL to form the CIO, followed where the masses showed the way. Today they pontificate from above.

The message was unmistakable when John L. Lewis thundered at the AFL convention in 1935: "Organize the unorganized!" "The woods are on fire for organization work!"

And then he walked across the convention floor, up to William Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters Union and the recognized leader of the opposition in the AFL to industrial organization, and cracked him on the jaw with a blow heard by every industrial worker across the land.

Today, far from giving Meany, that cancer in the house of labor, even a figurative kick in the behind, let alone a crack on the jaw, Reuther and Fitzsimmons have solemnly pledged that they "are not a competitive federation" to the AFL-CIO.

BLACK AND WHITE

What finally made the organization of the CIO possible in the '30s was the unity of the black and white unskilled workers. That is what confronts the movement from below again today.

The poison of white racism infects altogether too many white workers, and it is a poison that will kill them, if they do not get rid of it. But there are signs that show the way.

A black worker, commenting on the recent elections, in which his union elected its first black president, said: "The black candidates who won are better fighters for the workers—all the workers, black and white—than the white candidates were. And the white candidates who won were better fighters than their black opponents. A worker knows a white Uncle Tom as well as he knows a black one. You can't fool him much where it comes to his representation on the job. The workers elected the best men to fight for them."

Significant, too, is the fact that even the most prejudiced white workers find themselves together with the black workers in their anti-war feelings that are growing deeper every day. It is on this question that workers, white and black, find themselves together also with the student youth, despite the efforts of the Establishment to emphasize the "wedge" between the movements.

It is the forging of just such links as these that will become increasingly important, as the labor unrest, opposition to the war, and black revolt continue to deepen. (See Editorial, p. 4)

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Rockefeller Trip: U.S. vs. Latin America

The highly touted visit of Nelson Rockefeller, as the emissary of the Nixon administration to Latin America, has fallen upon bad times, to say the least. To call it an utter failure would be an understatement of the real facts. To call it an exercise in futility would be closer to the truth.

Rockefeller, not at all dismayed by his first round quickie trip, was quick to proclaim in paternalistic fashion, "these are my people, I understand them." The people also understood Rockefeller, and the government that he represents.

Peru, Venezuela and Chile cancelled his visits altogether. Bolivia and Columbia curtailed the visit to a few hours to spare his life. Demonstrations against his visit occurred in the friendly dictatorships of El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua.

One wonders why Puerto Rico, under direct U.S. rule as an American imperialist colony, was not included in the tour?

Any child could tell Rockefeller that whenever Latin Americans have sought a democratic form of government, it has been denied them. From the time of the Catholic Inquisition, "western culture" has slaughtered the native population, destroyed their birth right and culture, melted their art objects to obtain the gold content, and reduced the people to the status of slaves. That they question the motives of the new "visitors" should surprise no one, least of all Rockefeller.

SUDAN COUP VS. CIVIL WAR

The May 24 military coup in Sudan was promptly labeled by bourgeois and radical journalists alike as "leftist." What was played up were the statements by the new Prime Minister, Babikir Awadulah: "We are socialists but not extremists or fanatics . . . (but) we are Arabs and fanatics as far as the Palestine question is concerned."

What was played down was the background of the leader of the coup, Colonel Nimeiri, who had elevated himself to Major General.

It is true that the self-proclaimed Major General didn't make American imperialism the happier for having trained him at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff college at Fort Leavenworth, Kan. But neither should Nimeiri have gladdened the hearts of the radicals, since his reputation for "daring" is due to the brutal form of fighting the black guerrillas.

Added to the silence of the radicals is the near-silence of Africa itself. The tragedy is the greater because the civil war of black Africans against the dominant Arab majority in Sudan, has been nearly as old as the gaining of independence from Great Britain and Egypt in 1956, because the newly-independent state re-

American imperialism has exploited the South American continent for centuries. The key as to why the masses are demonstrating against the Rockefeller visit is not that they question the amount of dollars that will be given to their government. What they question is why the government that denies them a democratic form of government, protects the rich and oppresses the poor is, in turn, protected and supported by the Nixon administration?

The American government, be it headed by Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson or Nixon, seems determined that the status quo in Latin America must be maintained; to hell with the 240 million people who live under the military dictatorships maintained in power through money extracted from American workers though unjust taxation.

The Rockefeller report, when it is made, will reveal the distress and needs of the Latin American countries. What it will not reveal is the reason that poverty is so widespread in the Latin American countries.

Latin American millionaires are plentiful; their estates cover the continent; their money is in Swiss banks; their corrupt governments are supported by the U.S. military establishment; and U.S. industrial complexes embrace their industries and drive the population ever deeper into poverty. But also, and above all, to revolution. Rockefeller may finally learn that revolution's name is not only Castro.

The destruction of demo-

cratic forms of government in Latin America is not the result of some "foreign influence," but the direct result of the U.S. imperialist intervention in the affairs of Latin American countries.

The President of Bolivia told Rockefeller that, "a new U.S. policy is needed to prevent Latin America from becoming a region inhabited by 240 million desperate people".

Venezuelan Foreign Minister Aristide Calvani explained that "the circumstances within which Governor Rockefeller's trip have developed, far from achieving the fundamental objectives sought by his visit, have resulted in acts which could harm and even upset the future relations between the United States and Latin America."

This statement comes from a man known as a good friend of U.S. imperialism. If even he cannot guarantee the life and safety of his visitors and is forced to cancel the invitation, then it should be obvious that the hatred of U.S. imperialism is at an all-time high.

U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic is still fresh in the minds of Latin Americans.

The brutal murder of Che Guevara by U.S. imperialism did not endear the U.S. to the hearts of the downtrodden masses of Latin America.

As we go to press the final leg of Rockefeller's visit was greeted by the seizure of seven U.S. fishing craft and a monumental million dollar bonfire which used the offices of the General Motors Corp. for fuel.

The very first gesture of the new regime was to send a delegation off to Moscow to get more arms to carry on the civil war now that South Sudan has formed itself as the Nile Provisional Government.

ALGIERS MOTEL

The Detroit cop, Ronald August, has been acquitted in the cold-blooded murder of Aubrey Pollard on the night of July 26, 1967, during the Detroit riots. The white judge gave the jury little choice, guilty or not guilty of first degree murder.

On the night in question, three Negroes were killed in cold blood in the Algiers Motel by Detroit police. Witnesses described how August took Pollard into the next room, shot him and when he emerged saying, "He didn't even kick". Two other Detroit police are under suspension for participation in the other two deaths.

It was the charge of Judge Beer to the jury, that they must find the defendant either guilty of first degree murder or set him free. That ruled out second degree murder charges. The black community in Detroit is incensed over the case. Pollard's mother said, "I didn't look for them to find him guilty. All whites stick together."

fused self-determination to its own black minority. (There are four-million blacks in this large African country of 14 million.)

A few months before the latest intra-Arab coup, the old corrupt regime was present at still another African conference in Algiers which voted for "the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria". No doubt, the Sudanese representative was especially delighted to vote for such a euphemistic attack against Biafran independence.

But what about the new "leftist" regime? There is absolutely no difference between it and the outgoing clique. But where Biafra's courageous struggle for independence has won the world's attention, none are speaking very loudly about the black Africans in Sudan.

And that includes the Communist Party, the strongest in the Arab world, which is too concerned with "foreign policy" to say anything revolutionary. On the contrary, it is now busy enjoying power — it has eight seats in the 24-member ruling Cabinet.

The Arab workers can hardly look forward to improved conditions of labor from this "leftist" cabinet; 18 percent of the budget will continue to go to the military for its battles with the black Africans in southern Sudan.