

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Profit Sharing—Man Against Man

At the UAW Skilled Trades Council held in Chicago this past week, the main points of debate were Reuther's profit-sharing plan and overtime work. The profit-sharing has never seemed to be of much concern to the production workers. Many say the UAW has given away all of their hard-won gains for some few pennies in raises and fringe benefits and that the majority of workers will not receive any benefits from those agreements. In American Motors, they have this profit sharing already. The workers are saying that if it was as great as the UAW tries to make us believe it is, we would have heard something of what those workers in American Motors are saying about it.

REDUCTION OF SPEED-UP, NOT PROFIT-SHARING

Another worker said: "When they tell me how much money American Motors workers received—money they put in their pockets and took home—I might consider listening to someone talk about it. But all it really means is that I should be interested in the company first, and resent or oppose my fellow workers who may not be willing to kill themselves rushing and running to try to make the company more profit. Automation does enough of this to every production worker without the help of pitting worker against worker. What we want and need most is a reduction of the speed-up. No overtime while other workers are barely existing on welfare aid and have no jobs at all."

He said, "I was told that all of the American Motors workers' profit went into some fringe benefits. The union and the company control this, so every worker who quits, is laid-off, gets fired or dies will not get one penny of his share. It becomes the profit of the company and the union."

One worker asked why it was that the UAW was so determined on this profit-sharing business. He said, "My idea is that for the past five years or more, the Union has shown us that they don't want to fight with the company on any issue that affects the workers. In this way there won't be any fights. All, or most all, of our problems involve working conditions and production standards. If they can tell us that we shouldn't yell about these things because it is in our own interest to come up with as much profit as we can, then there is no use for any grievance. In other words, there will be no issues to come between the company and the union."

THE ANSWER IS SOLIDARITY, NOT MORE MONEY

Another worker said, "But this faker, Reuther, can make things sound great. He was quoted in one of the daily papers as saying that if the AMC plan had been applied to GM workers for a 12-month period it would have meant \$900 a year or 45 cents an hour to them. Ford workers would have gained \$733 or 37 cents an hour. He says very little if the companies claim they made no profit, but our blood, sweat and energies were put into it just the same."

He continued, "I am in full support of lowering the retirement age to 60 if they give full Federal social security benefits. When they yell at that Council that the answer to overtime is double and triple time pay, they are crazy. When we had a real union it was simple—there just was not overtime as long as one worker that had been laid off was not called back. This made a worker feel the closeness and solidarity of being part of a real union with his fellow workers, being a part of other workers. But today it must involve money, some kind of a trade. Now those that are working are paid more instead of calling back those that are out in the streets."

They say that the double or triple time does not begin until after the first two hours overtime. Why after two hours, when with the speed of the automation machines the company can turn out hundreds of pieces in the first two hours?

STAND AGAINST OVERTIME PROMISED — TWO YEARS FROM NOW

For the past several years, workers have tried everything to force the UAW to take some stand against overtime. They have even tried to organize an unemployed movement and put picket lines around plants. The only answer or support they got from Reuther was a trip to Washington, D.C. to hear Eisenhower's Labor Secretary Mitchell say he would put them back to work or eat his hat. Part of the group that went ended up with food poisoning from eating the stale food given to them. Now the contract does not come up for negotiation until 1964, two years from now, and Reuther says that at that time he will demand all this double and triple time pay.

Workers have been yelling for years to Reuther to fight for a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay. To this Reuther turns deaf ears. Workers feel this would not eliminate overtime, but it would be of some help to the unemployed. If Reuther was really concerned about the unemployed, many thousands would be working today.

REUTHER TRAVELS ONE WAY, WORKERS ANOTHER

Reuther can travel around the world telling workers how well the American workers are living. But no worker can believe that he really tells them the conditions under which the American workers have to work, especially those in the UAW.

Some workers were discussing the recent strike at one of the Ford plants in Illinois. They said that those workers walked off the job because they were dead tired. They had been working ten to twelve hours a day for six days a week ever since the first of July and they walked out because they were tired of working so much when thousands and thousands of unemployed wanted and needed work.

Reuther's answer to these workers was to go back to work. He did not authorize the strike. Today he is telling the workers what pie-in-the-sky they will receive in the next two years, when the contract comes up—Double and triple time for overtime work, and profit-sharing from the company. Reuther's thinking and actions go in one direction, and the workers thinking and action goes in another.

President Kennedy Tailors News To Fit His War Aims

The Kennedy Administration's use of the latest crisis over Cuba for the purpose of turning the American press in to "weaponry" has met with a hue and cry from all quarters, including even the most rabid pro-war press. At his press conference on November 20, President Kennedy tried to make light of this outcry by turning attention to the originator of the weaponry phrase, saying that he personally will "be very glad" to take the matter up "with Sylvester."

New-York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestic.

MUNDAY October 21th, 1734

THE TRIAL

John Peter Zenger,

NEW-YORK, PRINTER,

Who was lately Try'd and Acquitted for PRINTING and PUBLISHING a LIBEL against the Government.

With the READINGS and ARGUMENTS on both Sides.

In a large room, at de RIVERSIDE MARCH. [Crown]

The Fourth Edition.

London: Printed for J. WILKINS, behind the Chapter-Block, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1734.

Mr. Zenger's Am under some Difficulty how to treat the Authors in Mr. Bradford's No. 468. in a Manner suitable to their Merit. The first of them introduces his Discourse with saying, that he esteems the Liberty of the Press as one of the sacred and ESSENTIAL Privileges of our Constitution. — But as the World is now constituted, I so far join with him, as to believe the Liberty of the Press does very much contribute to the Preserving any political Constitution from being destroyed, and goes very far towards preventing Men of arbitrary and corrupt Principles from doing what they otherwise wd do to enslave the Sons of Men, and overturn any good Constitution, be it ecclesiastical or civil.

AFTER 227 YEARS, THE FIGHT GOES ON

"... Nature has given us a right; the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth." — from the Zenger case, 1734-5, against government press control.

Russia-U.S. Conflict Dominates Venezuelan Politics

VENEZUELA—Observing the Venezuelan Government's behavior in international conferences, and especially the Organization of American States, is enough to measure the weight of United States' domination. But this subordination was never shown so slavishly as it was during the last Cuban crisis. Premier Betancourt won the sad honor of being the champion of the lackeys of American Imperialism. The American press praised him in particular, and there is no doubt that his services will be handsomely rewarded.

It was not difficult for an objective observer to understand the relationship of so-called internal events and international politics. Today after the Cuban crisis and the threat of World War III, the obvious mess of that relation is seen by everybody.

U. S. INTERESTS . . .

For the United States, Venezuela is of greater importance than any other country in South America, for three reasons: First, it is the most important country on the Caribbean Sea and in a strategic position for the defense of the Panama Canal; secondly, it is one of the principal petroleum producing countries; and thirdly, it is the

entrance into South America. This is why the U. S. takes a special interest in Venezuela, making sure to keep tight control.

. . . AND RUSSIA'S

Russia, like the United States and for the same reasons, also takes a great interest in Venezuela and has multiplied its propaganda efforts.

It is obvious that in the Russian strategy there is no desire for the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV) to take power. Even in their most extremist demagoguery the Communists never have this object in view.

To discredit the Venezuelan (Continued on Page 2)

No one felt very reassured. Assistant Secretary of Defense, Arthur ("Weaponry") Sylvester had only been carrying out a Kennedy directive that "national security" in a time of crisis requires that both the informational flow of and published shape of military news be controlled.

On Nov. 2 the State Department followed through with its directive ordering officials not to talk with newsmen without one of the public affairs officers being present, or without immediately reporting to the Bureau of Public Affairs 'the name of the correspondent, his organization, the general subject discussed and the date of the interview.'

Nor was this the first time that the President had attempted to muzzle the press. Directly after the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April of last year, he had called the main news agency chiefs into conference and suggested a "voluntary" censorship. They refused. This time he did not bother to ask. He ordered the control of the news flow at the source.

"BIG BROTHER" IN THE ROOM

The concept of news as a weapon or "weaponry" is usually confined in the minds of men as being associated with Russia, Hitler's Germany, or Kennedy's dictator friends around the world—Franco of Spain, the multitude of South American "friendly" dictators and the other autocratic friends he maintains in splendor in Formosa, South Viet Nam, South Korea—not to mention Adenauer's gestapo tactics in the "Der Spiegel" case.

A New York Times editorial of Nov. 16, directed against the President of South Viet Nam, would have fitted President Kennedy to a "t." Because President Ngo Dinh Diem had ordered the deportation of two American correspondents for reporting news that reflected unfavorably on the regime, the New York Times characterized him as a ruler who found "the untailored truth intolerable."

So much a part of the very warp and woof of America is the freedom of the press that even reactionary writers reminded the Administration that control of news, characteristic of totalitarian regimes, can only mean, as Arthur Krock put it in a very careful choice of words, the presence of "Big Brother" in the room with every reporter and official.

The real matters at issue were indicated in the letter of protest which the news correspondents regularly assigned

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To All Our Friends and Readers
Season's Greetings

ON THE INSIDE
China-India War In New Phase
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The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

Maternal Care and Production

A very informative and interesting report on Maternal and Child Care in Russia can be gotten from the Superintendent of Documents*. It is a Report of the Medical Exchange Mission to the USSR, by a group of six American scientists who visited Russia in October, 1960.

The great amount of time and research spent on pre-natal and child care in Russia is obvious even in what the exchange scientists call, of necessity, a limited mission and report.

That the maternal and post natal death rate has greatly been reduced from the days of the Tzar can be assumed, although the Russians seem to make this one of their big statistical show pieces. None were included in this report, except for some statistics for the Ukraine in the year 1913, in which the maternal death rate was 100 per 10,000.

No matter what one may think of the "type" of medical care in the clinic-like atmosphere of their hospitals, maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens—just the mere fact that millions of people on the farms and in the city now can receive medical care reduces the death rate from the days of the Tzar, 100 if not 1,000 fold.

"MOTHER HEROINE"

It is also no wonder that a nation that lost 20 million people in World War II put such great stress not only on maternity care and child care but on bearing children.

However, the title of "Mother Heroine" for those who bear many children is reminiscent of Hitler's Germany. For those who have three or more children there is a bonus. What the bonus is however, is not stated.

The writers of this report stick mostly to facts and once in a while will give their reactions. I was struck by the lack of comments, as much as, by the comments they did make. One fact given without comment was that, "... research now is being conducted on the possible harmful effect of heavy exercise in early pregnancy. Should these experiments prove positive, regulations to take pregnant women off heavy work early—as well as late—in pregnancy would be promulgated."

Whether the American group did not see fit to visit a factory to see what this "heavy work" for women consisted of or if they were not allowed to is not reported on. However, in a footnote to Russian social measures to protect or improve the health of women they say, "Although it is stated that women may not be employed in especially hard or harmful work, the mission saw many females engaged in construction, snow shoveling, and other such heavy activities."

MATERNITY CARE

One is struck by a number of facts. The Russian women are urged to use Psychoprophylaxis birth (natural child birth). The American team reports that the women occupying a labor room at the time they visited it had all taken lessons in Psychoprophylaxis and though obviously having contractions did not cry out or show any visible signs of pain.

Again the lack of comment by the American doctors interests me. In American hospitals in recent years the trend is to do away with the communal labor rooms substituting instead single rooms.

The Russian delivery rooms are communal with two to five delivery tables in them. Whether this is all due to the fact that natural child birth is not as widely used in the United States as in Russia (in the Ukraine alone, they state; in 1959, 85% of the women used the Psychoprophylaxis method) or that this is an antiquated method is not discernable from this report.

What is extremely interesting in the difference between the two methods of natural child birth is the fact that unlike the US method the father does not participate in the birth of the child whatsoever.

(To be continued next issue)

THEN AND NOW

Workers and Farmers Fight Against Wage, Market Cuts

By THE OLD TIMER

Almost immediately after the close of World War I, when the agrarians of the West, especially the wheat growers and cattle raisers, were suffering terrible set-backs in the marketing of their products, social unrest was general.

In the city of Denver, Colo., where union smashing was opposed by the drive to make the union 100%, the class struggle bumped into a fellow or he bumped into it. Wage cuts, together with growing unemployment, made the strike of the Denver Street Car employees reminiscent of the year 1877. Throngs of fighting, uprooted proletarians were at every car barn in angry mood, blasting scabs, destroying the presses of the prejudiced lying press, parading the streets in protest against the use of federal and militia troops sent in for strike-breaking.

ECONOMIC SQUEEZE

The aggravated agriculturalists, who had plowed up their pastures to plant wheat (doing their share to win the war), were now, shortly after the war was over, receiving as little as 20c per bushel, a drop from \$3 per bushel which had been the peak.

Cursing cattle raisers were even more entrapped. Whereas during the height of wartime, prices for grass cattle reached as high as 15c per pound, they now, in some instances, did not get enough to pay for the freightage to market. My own father, along with some other ranchers who were members of a cooperative marketing association, shipped a carload of good grade cows from Otis, Colo., to Omaha, Neb. Instead of receiving checks, they received bills to cover the balance due for freightage. The cows had not brought enough to pay for their transportation.

Social and political off-shoots of such a ruthless economy were the Ku Klux Klan in the North and West, as well as in the South; gangsterism, especially associated with the prohibition efforts; scandals in high places, climaxed in the infamous Tea Pot Dome instances; and the rotten reactions that were labeled "the aftermath of war".

The Denver Post Office itself became divided by the Ku Klux Klan. Klansmen and Knights of Columbus members rioted on Capitol Hill. In more than one instance, colored city carriers were "accidentally" run over and killed by automobiles while crossing the street.

U.S., Russia and Venezuelan Politics

(Continued from Page 1)

Government is the mark at which the Communist bloc aims, for dealing a blow to this Government is to weaken the principal agent and support of the US in Latin America. It is to this end the PCV and MIR (pro-Communist) are leading themselves and this allows us to understand the acute form of the strife between the Communists and the Government.

When Betancourt's Government first came to power, the Communists utilized the strategy of strikes, taking easy advantage of the enormous poverty of the workers in the country. This kind of activity was given up as the Government succeeded in taking away important trade union posts from the Communists and the Communist influence among the workers decreased.

As international tensions grew, the Communists changed their tactics of struggle, leaving

the mass struggle arena and creating armed groups in the mountains who spent their time attacking isolated police stations. Except in some student groups this hasn't found sympathy nor echo among the workers. That is the main difference between the "guerrilla" groups of Venezuela and those which existed in Cuba or the Resistance that opposed the German occupation in World War II who found sympathy and support in the population.

In Venezuela it is a small artificial, adventurist movement. Most of the time these young people are driven to isolation and hunger, surrender, or they are arrested by the peasants. There were some attempts at armed revolt with the participation of military groups, as in Caupano and Puerto Cabellos, but these proved hopeless.

Beside the "guerrillas," more strife has been created by the "commandos" who make isolated attacks on banks or perform acts of sabotage in the oil refineries and acts of terrorism in the cities. A young teacher was recently killed in a high school because he did not let his students get out of the classroom to protest against the Government.

In Caracas home made bombs may explode anywhere. There are acts of terrorism in the schools against students and teachers to an extent where all political character is lost and it becomes open vandalism.

THE ANTI-TERROR TERROR

The reaction of the Government has been very strong and quick. Civil rights were suspended for the second time this year. There were mass arrests among every group of the opposition. Hundreds and thousands of people were jailed by administration or military order. Requisitions and rigorous inspections occur more and more frequently.

The Government has ordered the division of the national territory into zones under the

control of military governors. The country is almost in a war situation. In Caracas, it is forbidden to drive at more than 30 mph from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. The police in the city have been reinforced. All the public buildings are defended by uniformed and civil groups of police with sub-machine guns. Now there are military tribunals. Eloy Torres, a Communist Deputy, was arrested despite parliamentary immunity, judged by a military tribunal and jailed.

The Government has answered the Communists' terror by imitating its own terror and by so doing, offering another proof of its fidelity, in its internal politics, to the United States.

—Venezuelan Correspondent

Clear Case of Harassment

Pittsburgh, Pa. — A janitor out at the mill was fired about 18 months ago, when the company said he took a day off and failed to report off. It so happens that one of the plant guards had taken the number, and had failed to report it to his department when he called. The company took the policeman's word and not the laborer's word, and fired him. It went through the arbitration steps, and they ruled in favor of the laborer.

During the arbitration—that is, the 18 months he was laid off—he had to find other means of survival. Arbitration stated that he had to be reinstated with his full salary, but the company doesn't want to pay the full salary. All they want to pay is the difference between what it should be, and what he made in the 18 months. He had to go out and secure a private lawyer to look into the matter.

COMPANY TRIES AGAIN

I talked with him last week, and found out he has just been given another slip for the same thing. But this one is a little different. On this one he has five days off for failing to report on and off properly. They claim he's a habitual lay-off, doesn't do his work properly—they had a list of charges against him about six inches long, typed.

They thought they had him out when they fired him for those 18 months. But this man has been able to carry himself in such a way that it was clear he wasn't at fault—it was the management at fault for taking the lamp-guard's word against his. Now, since he won his case, they're trying to get him out on the same charges again.

This time, he told me, he called up about 10 o'clock and did report off on a Tuesday. On that Wednesday he had to go down to see his lawyer about the first slip he had, and didn't bother to report off again. But when he called that night to report that he would be back to work Thursday, they told him that wasn't the proper procedure, that he should have reported on and off every day. That is not true, it is not in our contract.

CLEAR HARASSMENT

Nobody knows what the outcome of the second slip will be. In fact, the outcome of the first one isn't over yet. It is a clear case of harassment from the company, and the union doesn't seem to be giving him the support he should have.

Others have been up on similar cases, have been reinstated and received their back pay. The union has seen to it that they did get their money.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Some Leaders Begin to Learn

How wonderful it is to know that some of our leading Negroes have begun to look back at the history of the Negro and see just why the white people keep writing and saying that the Negro is thousands of years behind the whites. To their great surprise, some Negroes have started looking around, and have found an old history book about the Negroes, and read it. They found the truth behind why so many white people don't want the Negro to learn about the history of the Negro—for they discover that there were some great Negro leaders in the old days.

TEACHING OF NEGRO HISTORY

Mr. J. A. Rogers says in one of his recent articles that this is why the white man has cut out all the teaching of Negro history. It is because they don't want the Negro to learn about his own people, but only about the great white man and what the whites have done to make America so great. They want us to believe just what the white-supremacy leadership of the United States says we should.

The one thing they don't know is that there are many Negroes who are not leaders who can teach the Negro race plenty about what Negroes have done to get as far as they have today.

Negroes have always done the

hard and dirty work, and the white has always kept all the money produced by this work in order to keep his power over the Negro. The great need of the Negro is to cast out what the white man built into this system, and begin to see himself as a 100 percent human being with all the rights of one. We must fight to get rid of any inferiority complex and grow strong in that fight.

Negro leaders must know Negro history and impart it to their followers. And when this is done, the white man will see that Negroes do not have to continue living by the rules that were made for Negroes just because they are dark.

RUNNING OUT OF THE RACE

But the white man does not seem able to see how fast he is running the United States out of the race by trying to rule the whole world the same way he has tried to run the Negro race. The other countries of the world will not have the United States ruling them and taking everything and, at the same time, hating them as though they are not even human beings.

A white preacher here in Detroit recently preached his sermon on why one group must stop thinking another group is different just because they are not all the same color. As he said, all people are human beings, no matter what the prejudiced people think.

Mine Disaster Claims 37 Lives

In one split second of flaming force and flesh rending violence, 37 coal miners were blasted into eternity by a dust and gas explosion on Dec. 6. They were working at the US Steel's Robena mine near Carmichaels, Penna.

Both coal miners and coal management know that the winter months are the most dangerous explosion months. They know that the air circulated through the mine to ventilate it is dry, and takes out all of the moisture in the mine. This drying out process sets up conditions that a simple spark can turn into a death-dealing inferno of hell.

When the state and federal investigators get to the explosion area, they will be able to find little, if anything to give them clues to the cause of the explosion. Where they could look with more success to find out the reasons for it, is in the mine management office.

As an ex-coal miner, I know that almost every death—single or multiple—that results from coal mining is due primarily to the drive for more and more production. It's not the lives saved, it's the amount of coal produced that determines whether or not a boss will keep his job. And while he may not deliberately tell a miner to do something that he knows will result in death, he will often insist that miners take dangerous chances that are completely unnecessary, except that it might mean a couple more tons of coal to put on the production list.

ON THE LINE

Workers Are Asking: Why Work and Military Surveys?

Detroit—The workers in Chrysler Highland Park plant are wondering what is behind the surveys that the company has taken of the employees in the past few months.

In the first survey, taken about three months ago, a questionnaire had to be filled out by the workers asking them to update their work and training records. The questionnaire asked information on the number of years the workers worked on particular jobs, the types of jobs they had, and the years or periods of schooling they had taken in line with work they performed in the past or are doing now.

This survey raised some questions in the workers' minds, but this had been done before, and some fears that were first felt disappeared after a while.

But then, another survey was taken recently. This one asked the workers to report their military status. And this is the first time workers remembered this kind of information being asked for since World War II.

This questionnaire asked information on the number of years workers spent in the service, in which branch they served, the years they served, whether or not they were in the reserve, and the number of years they still had to go on their reserve status.

WORKERS ARE WARY

Coming, as it did, on the heels of the Cuban crisis and the undeclared war between China and India, the workers ex-

pressed considerable unrest and speculation on what the company was about in seeking the information.

The workers know that the company's primary concern is production, and also know that it has access to governmental information that workers do not have. They know, furthermore, that the company makes long range plans for production—and the one thing the company can't do without in production is having a work force to produce.

Distrust of the company's motives coupled with the international tensions has created many suspicions in the minds of workers, both about their jobs and about the possibility of war in the near future.

The one thing that workers know about the company is that it is dead set on controls—and to control anything you have to know as much as you can about what you want to control.

CONTROL IS KEY

Workers already know more than enough about the way the company tries to control in the plant, with its batteries of time-study men and foremen always pushing for more production, the automated machinery speeded-up to grind out the last ounce of energy a worker has, and the little privileges it gives to stop stewards and committeemen in order to try to soften them up so they won't fight so hard for the workers when a grievance comes up. But one thing they can't control is the humanity of the workers. Because they have this, the workers fight back—every day on the line.

In a time of crisis now, the company and government team up, and they figure on every man, woman and child and the position they have in the totality of society. More correctly, it means the kind of control they would like to have over every man, woman and child to put them in the position of society where they want them to be and doing what they want them to do—with no questions asked.

One worker, speculating on the meaning of the surveys, said, "We've got a high rate of unemployment, we've had a high rate of unemployment for a long time, and it looks like neither the government nor the company can do anything about it. Maybe they're getting ready for another war—and it makes you wonder if they're trying to solve the unemployment by making cannon fodder out of people."

A Scary Speech In Four Words

Pittsburgh, Pa. — Kennedy's speech, although it meant a bomb scare, didn't scare me as much as a little speech my husband made which was just four words long: "I am laid off."

It is something he has been preparing me for for quite some time. Maybe even for a year or two. But suddenly I felt as though our world had come to an end. I just looked at him and couldn't say a word. He didn't say anything either. In fact, we didn't say too much all evening.

He told me this on Thanksgiving Day, and told me not to tell the children, to wait until the next day—which I did. It was just like the day I told them my father died.

Slave Labor in Job Shop Too Much for One Welder

DETROIT—I'm not telling this story out of revenge. I'm telling it simply because it has to be told and there just has to be some way of doing something about a situation that is unbelievable. The only thing I can call it is complete slave labor.

I've welded for many years. I was a welder at Ford before it was unionized, and worked there after the union came in. I was a welder at Chrysler and Midland Steel. So you see, I've had my share of experience in different places under different conditions... and I've had to take plenty that I didn't like.

But recently I got a job working for a subcontractor making bumpers for Corvair cars. The work was in a small job shop in Livonia, the Fital Welding Co., which employs about 15 workers. Of these, seven or eight are welders, the rest are general workers who do everything else that has to be done there.

MINIMUM PAY

The pay scale is the bare minimum for the general workers—\$1.15 an hour, and he has to pay this under federal minimum wage law. The welders get \$2 an hour, about 60-75 cents below the lowest union scale. There is, of course, no union there, and there are hundreds just like it all over the Detroit area.

In order to prepare work for Monday, someone has to come in to work on Sunday to weld the bumper ends onto the basic bumper. Contrary to what some people think, bumpers are not one solid piece; the part that bends around the body on the two ends of the bumper are separate, and must be welded onto the straight front and back pieces of the bumpers.

After this is done, the rough bumpers are stacked and made ready to have the supporting brackets welded on. This bracket welding is performed on a turn-table which revolves once every 45 seconds. In this time, the owner demands that the brackets be welded onto the bumper.

But each of the four brackets requires two one and a half inch welds, making a total of eight welds that must be made in 45 seconds. And it's just impossible. You can break your neck—as you have to there—and the best you can do is one in a minute. This means that one out of every four goes into the overflow.

SLAVE-DRIVER

Not only do you have to kill yourself to try to keep up a pace you know is impossible, but the boss is right there, always breathing down your neck, always demanding more and more when there just isn't any more any human can do. If the boss would just try to act like a human being maybe the place would be bearable. But the inhuman work load and the slave-driving boss always on your back is just too much to take. At least it was for me.

There is no such thing as

They looked at me as if I had just struck them. They couldn't say a word, either—just sat around looking at each other. They knew that everything they had hoped for and planned was gone.

Saturday was my husband's last day at work. When he brought his clothes home, we were all standing around while he was looking through them. It reminded me of the time my father died and we had to go through his clothes to see if he had left any money or important papers. All we can do is hope he can go back to work very soon.

Steelworker's Wife

regular work hours. You are on call at all times, night or day—and you better be there when you get the call to come to work. Now I know that sometimes the owner can't tell when he's going to get in an order, and when he gets it, it has to be done. But this is understandable. What is not, is his complete disregard for how the workers feel, his complete exploitation of them.

Another thing. We would get paid time and a half for all work over 40 hours a week. But he sees to it that you get your 40 hours and no more. And there isn't any attempt to try to even the work load out. One worker there had to work 18 hours in one day, and I mean he had to.

You might wonder why anybody would put up with this in this day and age. It's simple. Of the 15 workers, in case you haven't already guessed, all but one are Negroes. They've been laid off at other places, can't get a job somewhere else, and have wives and families to take care of. They have no choice, and I suppose if I was in the same position they are in that I would put up with it too.

You might say that I'm lucky because I'm by myself and don't have to put up with it. Anyway, it was just too much for me to take. I never could take the kind of riding that goes on out there, even though I tried.

TOO MUCH TO TAKE

One Sunday recently, I was called out to weld. I worked for 13 hours, and the turn-table was something over 100 bumpers ahead of me. Now I had to ride a bus from Livonia to the East Side of Detroit, and the buses stop running in Livonia on Sundays at 9:30 p.m. The boss knew this, but all he said was that I just had to stay to finish them all up—regardless of what time it was that I finished.

This was just too much. I knew that I wasn't going to be hitch-hiking from Livonia to Detroit's East Side, so I worked up to the time when I had to leave to catch a ride—and just took off.

I called him up and told him that I'd just rather not come back to work. There's just no sense in going back to a place like that and facing that kind of tension, and I told him so.

THEY MUST BE HELPED

Now I am out of it, and I could just keep my mouth shut. But that man just has to be brought back to the human race. Not only that, something has to be done to help those guys who are still working there.

This guy is now going to expand his business. He's said to be getting a place in Detroit that is going to be six times as big as his place is now. So you can see that he's been making plenty of money from our work and sweat and blood. But it's time for him to let up and start paying back some of that profit to the workers who make it, as well as to start treating them like human beings. The time to do something about it is now.

'Different and Better Life Is Possible,' Says Youth

Newark, N.J.—This past week we worked 12 to 15 hours a day. I am tired. Several times this week I have thought of crying out: "I give up. You win. Get off my back. The game's over." But I didn't.

In the shop hundreds of little problems arise with the management and between the workers themselves. It is very easy for me to pass those problems off as unimportant. I am young, strong, and don't intend to work in the industry very long. But when I think of the problems at work in relation to a worker who will spend his whole life in a particular industry, these problems that are small to me become outrageous.

We are confronted with two general problems: 1. a lack of democratic organization within the union, 2. a lack of consciousness on the part of the workers, the union, and the company, that a different and better life is possible for the workers.

Lack of democratic organization means there is no contact between the men and their leaders. Part of this is due to the worker. He is afraid of reprisal by the company if he is too much a union man.

APPOINT SOME STEWARDS

The blame must be put largely with the union. The business manager and delegates are not close enough to the shops. They don't make regular visits. The shop steward, if there is one, is not trained to do his job.

In some cases there is no steward. Unconcern for democratic procedure makes it possible for the union to be em-

powered by its constitution to appoint shop stewards.

The workers do not realize that they need not go home too tired to do anything but eat and sleep and... That statement is not quite correct; many of the young workers do realize this and are dissatisfied. Older workers are satisfied with the union guaranteeing them a job. Many workers are pacified by the pay which is high relative to the amount of pay received a few years ago.

It is not realized that each man is producing more than he once could produce, and that each man is working at a greater rate of speed.

NEED MORE THAN PAY

Naturally, the worker should get more pay. But we must also be concerned with his standard of living: what are his working conditions; is he able to send his kids to school; can he eat and clothe himself well?

A union should look at the gross income of a company and figure out the maximum number of people it could employ at a decent wage for a minimum number of hours a week and with each man handling a minimum volume of goods.

It is remarkable to hear the rationalizations the workers have made to cover up their fear of the company and their contempt for the union: "You got a job ain't you. What you want to make trouble for." "I'm tired of hearing people talk. Damn talking; which one of you will act (the man who says this is the last one to act)." "What are you, a Commie?"

"Joe Blow made trouble and the boss threw so much work his way that he's in the hospital now."

EDITORIAL

The China-India War Enters A New Phase

The so-called cease-fire in the China-India war is only a cease in order to re-fire. Nothing, however, will be the same in the new stage of war. Declared or undeclared, the tragedy is no longer limited to these two mighty Asian countries, but encompasses the whole Afro-Asian world which, in 1955, attempted to escape the Cold War by establishing, at the Bandung Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, a new third world. It now lies in shambles.

Despite the military exploits, Mao has achieved effects totally opposite from the ones he aimed at, since his attack has brought the Anglo-American influence and military might directly into the picture.

Despite the unilateral "peaceful" gesture of cease-fire, which had gained him some approval among the African nations, Mao can no longer pose as the champion of "the people." Instead, the war has so inflamed the Indian people against China that the result has been a spontaneous unification of the Indian nation — greater even than the unification achieved at the moment of freedom from British imperialism in 1947.

The start of Peking's offensive war against India on Oct. 20 may have seemed at first to be just another and more serious eruption in the traditional border dispute which began in 1954, only a month after the "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence" was promulgated by Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Nehru.

Certainly there have been border disputes ever since then. Certainly there has seemed to be no end to the correspondence between Chou En-lai and Pandit Nehru—a correspondence the world has yet to see, since neither has seemed to be as much concerned with their people as with secret, and some not-so-secret, capitalist deals. Certainly Nehru himself seemed to think he could still keep up the pretense that there was no war between China and India, and labored mightily at retaining Krishna Menon by saying that he, Nehru, was equally "to blame"—which he was.

THE REAL WORLD OF "NEUTRALITY"

In 1951 Nehru thought that his "neutrality" toward China's first invasion of Tibet would keep him out of Mao's grab. While Mao followed through his victory by building a road connecting Tibet and China, Nehru followed through his neutrality by co-authoring with Chou En-lai the "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence." Between this "foundation" for, and the actual convening of, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in 1955, came the first border dispute. By the time the Chinese completed the conquest of Tibet, in 1959, Nehru could still see nothing but the wonders of "neutrality."

Nehru's "neutrality," however, did not prevent the establishing of this important new fact: once Tibet became part of China, whether imperialist or Communist, new lines of communications and transportation were going to be built; and once the new Aksai Chin Road was built to connect China's Sinkiang Province with Tibet, the road would "have to be" protected.

That is why Mao has been casting covetous eyes at Ladakh, in the Western Himalayas, and planning—during all the peaceful co-existence and all the secret letters—the war he has just launched. Those plans included both capture of the Northwest which he intends to keep, and capture of the Northeast which he intends to use for "bargaining" and for showing how "peacefully" he can give it up.

THE HUMAN WORLD OF NATIONAL UNITY

It is a fact that the real world of national unity has been born in India despite Nehru and Krishna Menon. This is the human factor that neither Mao nor Nehru looked for. For the first time since they unified to gain independence from British Imperialism, the people of India have mobilized themselves as a nation to fight another foreign domination—this time Chinese. It is the first time since independence that they have curbed their criticism of the Nehru rule, which has certainly brought them no revolution in their daily lives.

An official Chinese editorial in the People's Daily has already revealed the new propaganda offensive Mao is preparing, based on the charge that the Indian Government is tying itself "to the war chariot of United States imperialism." When he tried to propagate the idea that it was not China, but India, which was the "aggressor," Mao of necessity met with difficulty in every country but his own totalitarian-controlled land. The new line of linking India with American imperialism on the other hand, will be sure to win back for China allies not only in the Communist orbit, but also in the Afro-Asian world.

There is no doubt whatsoever of the imperialist character of the Anglo-American intervention. The American mission, for example, headed by Averill Harriman, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, was not only "a diplomatic mission," but a military mission. The team was composed of officials from both the State and Defense Departments, including the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Paul Nitze, and the commander-in-chief of the U. S. Strike Command, General Paul D. Adams. The so-called modernization of Nehru's army will now continue a pace, and, at this point, Nehru's descent into the Anglo-American orbit seems inevitable.

The other pole of world capital—Russia—has so far been trying to be "neutrally" for both India and China. Once, however, Russia is convinced that Nehru has stopped playing "neutral" and is definitely in the Western orbit, she will stop all pretense of neutrality in the matter.

IMPERIALISM ALSO MASQUERADES AS "SOCIALISM"

Only a truly independent India that would belong not to its own capitalists, but to its people, could keep out of both imperialistic orbits. No one, however, can know at this point whether a revolution will develop out of the national unity against a foreign oppressor.

The demand to hold destiny in one's own hands has been greatly complicated for the Indian people by the imperialist invasion parading under the banner of "socialism." Nor will the newly independent African nations help the cause of independence and the emergence of a truly new third world by once again taking sides along power lines rather than with the self-mobilized people.

The hope for the future of India lies only in those determined and self-mobilized youth and workers who will keep up their vigilance against their own ruling class as well as against the gratuitous and spurious Chinese claims to "socialism" and the equally gratuitous and spurious American claims to "independence" and "democracy."

WAR AND PEACE

I heard Teller on a TV broadcast—before the Cuban crisis nearly took us to the brink. He was being asked about the destructive possibilities of a nuclear war. He said quite blandly that he did not feel it would be the end of civilization, probably just the end of freedom. He didn't bat an eyelash. It makes you shudder to think of whose fingers are behind those buttons, on both sides.

Technician
Detroit

* * *

Russia is certainly not discounting possible conflicts of her own with China. She knows both that the road linking China and Tibet also faces Russia's Asian sphere, and that China's development in Central Asia along Soviet frontiers is not uncovetous. In fact, Russia prepared herself way back with insistence that the UN recognize Outer Mongolia as an independent republic.

But those who think these conflicts would predominate over the strongly unifying position of both China and Russia against the United States are just having pipe-dreams.

Old Politico
Detroit

* * *

Our society, the acme of civilization, has "progressed" in a few years from the mass liquidation of Russian political prisoners, from the concentration camps and gas furnaces of Nazi Germany, and the allied A-bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the point where, as Linus Pauling reports, "From the recent Soviet testing there will be four million victims—still births, embryonic and nec - natal or childhood deaths, and viable children with physical and mental defects spread over generations."

American nuclear testing, on top of this with its additional inevitable poisonous fallout, gives rise to a feeling of overwhelming depression.

Physician
California

* * *

When I read Mein Kampf the one thing that impressed me the most was that the Social Democrats could really be considered the ones most responsible for Hitler's coming to power because they never became a polarizing force to attract Hitler's opposition and give the workers a real organization with which to fight him.

It came back to me again during the recent war scare in this country—because the "opposition" to war was so incompetent to really attract anybody and thus mean anything. As you said in the last issue, the radicals played a sorry role of falling for one side or the other . . .

It is difficult to accept the reality of the mad drive for war, because it IS just that—madness on the part of both poles which are heading relentlessly toward that final explosion.

Mother
Detroit

* * *

I saw a news report in the daily paper about the new labor legislation that Castro has put into effect in Cuba in order to squeeze

Readers'

more work out of the Cuban people. The paper said it was a program based on the old Stalinist model the Communists used against the Russian workers. The new measures were supposed to include: 1 - an emulation campaign where workers have to compete with each other; 2 - government direction of labor; 3-a "labor book" which each worker must carry where his employer writes down comments, and pensions etc. are based on those comments; 4-a "norm" system under which workers who don't make the target get a wage deduction; 5-a wage freeze; and 6-punishments including loss of wages and holidays for minor absenteeism.

I admit it certainly sounded terrible—and I'm sure it is terrible for the Cuban workers. But I couldn't help feeling that some of our capitalists have either taken a page out that book, or else gave the Communists some of these ideas, even before the Communists got around to them. Any auto worker could tell you what fantastic "punishments" are meted out to workers for taking a day off right here in Detroit.

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

Editors Note: It is obviously the same in every other industry, too. See page 2 for a Steelworkers' story on this.

* * *

The position is becoming serious here. Several small shipyards are closing down. The number of unemployed is rising and will reach more than 100,000 in Scotland before the year is out. The leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party have been running a campaign for the direction of industry to Scotland. We have raised the slogan, "Redundant Workers Must Eat."

H. M.
Scotland

* * *

We had a laugh the other day down in the cellar of OH 5. A guy was working down in the flue. I was working on the checker door, and there's about a 15 foot drop to the flue bottom. Everybody's aware that there's a big hole there, and I happened to be going past it when this man was going to go and get a drink of water.

He was about to leave when he looked back and said, "Oh, I'd better put the safety chain back on this lower hook because I'll get sent home if I leave this chain loose. They want to work me to death; they don't want me to kill myself by accident." Everybody busted out laughing.

I guess it really wasn't so funny though. This man was about 62 years old. He had voluntarily got off the furnace because of the pressure they've been putting on the men. The pressures are so high that even when the men know they're doing right, they figure they must be doing wrong. That's how mixed up they are.

Steelworker
Pittsburgh

* * *

ON 'A VIEW FROM THE GAMBIA'

I can hardly believe that Mr. Garba-Jahumpa, whose

trip from Africa to Moscow was reported on in an article in your Nov. issue, would have been so impressed with what he saw in Russia if he had really been able to see Russia and talk to its people on his own, and not in the presence of some official Russian "guide," as I suspect he must have.

Student
Detroit

* * *

Your "View from the Gambia" last issue ends: "The Gambia intends to work for peace, no matter what impediments may lie in its path." All I could say when I read that article was that The Gambia will certainly have PLENTY of impediments to overcome if they have to rely on a Moscow-directed peace movement!

Student
Chicago

* * *

I didn't "dig" that article from Africa on the Moscow "World Congress of General Disarmament and Peace" in your Nov. issue. Did the author ever read Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis of that Conference which I remember reading in her "Two Worlds" sometime this summer? I don't remember which issue it was, but I have a feeling that that sort of report would do more for the cause of real peace than Mr. Garba-Jahumpa's report, if you could get it circulated among the Africans—who are obviously concerned with the whole question.

Teacher
New York

* * *

Editor's Note: We have received several letters concerning the "View from the Gambia" by W. D. Colley, published in the Nov. issue, only a few of which we are able to reproduce here, and the most important of which is reproduced in full in "Two Worlds" on this page. We felt our readers would like to know that while we did print this reporter's article, just as it was received from The Gambia, we also sent the author a letter indicating our own views, in which we stressed: "As Marxist-Humanists, we feel it imperative to stress that the new, humanist society we are for is opposed to both existing powers, Russia and the United States. This is both our principle and our experience and we would be untrue to the movement for peace and freedom if we whitewashed Russian Communism . . . If you were an American Negro, like me, and had, during the war, to fight the Communists who opposed all our struggles to end discrimination and fight the bosses also for their speed-up, just because Russia was now in the war, you would feel as I do. In any case, I hope you understand our view."

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

The foreman on the 12 to 8 shift was trying to tell me, that this country is free — and I'm enjoying the best freedom I've ever had in my life. He was telling me that I could do anything, live anywhere, eat anywhere — even become President if I wanted to.

I told him that if he really believed this place is all that free, and I can go, I can eat,

Views

I can live where I want to, I would treat him to breakfast that very morning, right out on Eighth Ave. I told him I'd be glad to pay for the meal, if he would be my guest—it would be worth it for him to see what kind of trouble I'd encounter just trying to get breakfast for the two of us.

I said, "Our relations in here might be on a friendly basis, but after we leave here, it's something else." He said, "I was only kidding, I know you have trouble eating anywhere." I asked him, "Should I?" and he said "No," so I said, "Well, if you go somewhere and don't stick up for my right to eat there, you're just as bad as they are." He told me he wasn't in a mood to have any trouble that morning, and let it go at that.

The whole conversation started over the Meredith case down in Mississippi when he asked me if I would ever do anything like that, and I told him I'd be glad to do it if I had the opportunity.

**Steelworker
Pittsburgh**

There have been CORE picket lines here at some of the largest housing projects. One Negro teacher from a state college finally got in the Monterey Park area. It isn't really integrated, however. It is some more of the "tokenism" they are trying to get away with everywhere.

There was one "dwell-in" which got me excited. I visited the families for a few hours and brought them some coffee cake. A Negro family has been negotiating for about 5 months to buy this house, and the housing project finally had to take their deposit, except that they made sure that the FHA would refuse the loan on some technicality. Then, of course, the Housing Project was in the clear to return the deposit. Immediately thereafter they said the house was sold. CORE sent in another white couple with a \$25 deposit to "buy" the house. This couple got the key to go look at the house and just "dwelled in."

The Civil Rights issue was so hot in this election year that the gas, light, water and telephone were all connected immediately. The people involved simply said it was a dwell-in and the various utility companies said all they needed was a name, they didn't care. Nobody wanted to get involved in a civil rights fight.

**Observer
Los Angeles**

Editor's Note: for article on further developments in the "Dwell-In" case, see P. 6.

I spent some time in Albany, Georgia this summer. It is a very tense place. What is wrong in Albany—and I am sure it is the same thing that is wrong in Mississippi—is that the whites feel that they're going to lose their "heritage." And what is their heritage?

The new day is here, and the Southern white man fears the idea of Negro equality. There is a terrible tension the minute they see an out-of-state license

plate. The first thing they think is, "Here comes help"—and that is the thing they fear most—help for the Negroes.

**Negro Mother
Detroit**

A COMPLAINT,

The November issue of News & Letters contained a letter defending the British Committee of 100 over the signature, "Supporter, Vancouver." I was the author of the original letter, which I signed with my own name. I notice that in the same issue, not a single one of the 23 letters printed had an identifiable signature.

Why do the editors avoid printing the names of the contributors to "Readers' Views," under their respective contributions? The only valid reason for not doing so in a particular case is a request by the particular author to withhold his name.

To withhold names for any other reason is to lay the editors open to the suspicion of concocting some of the letters themselves, of playing a conspiratorial make-believe, and of contradicting the basic aim of exposing all human relationships to the light of day, rather than maintaining the fetishism of secrecy, which serves only to maintain the established social relations.

**Norman Epstein
Vancouver, B. C.**

Editor's Note: We do not publish signatures of contributors except when writers insist that we do so. We do this primarily because many would otherwise be unable to speak and write freely exactly what they think. Workers, for example, would run the risk of "reprisals" from union bureaucrats and company officials alike. We try to identify correspondents, instead, by what we believe really matters to other readers—that is, whether they are workers, students, Negroes, old radicals, committee members, new readers, etc.

FROM AFRICA

I received your special Mississippi issue, and it gladdened my heart to see that my "Readers' View" was published and my good efforts didn't just end up in an office waste basket. You will be receiving more RV's and articles for publication as I consolidate the interested people here.

The News & Letters pamphlets and papers are not only read by handfuls of people here, but I have a group of interested people with a small pioneer membership of 60. We are optimistic that our expansion shall be gradual but steady . . .

I especially thank you for

the Political Letter on the U.S. blockade of Cuba. It is an eye opener to all old and new nations that we must not sit arms akimbo while our very security and freedom are threatened, even trampled by licentious racketeers.

**Correspondent
Nigeria**

Raya Dunayevskaya's report on Africa is every bit true. It is not like the usual sensational fuzzy-wuzzy American reports which exaggerate or understate facts for their gullible public—perhaps she is a different American.

I cannot, however, agree with her when she connects the formation of the All-African Trades Union Federation with the murder of Patrice Uumumba. However, I surmise that it is the desire of some few powerful, government-backed, over-ambitious capitalists in socialist garb and their conspirators to exploit the unwilling many which has prompted the formation of the AATUF.

**Reader
Ghana, West Africa**

Our discussion on the Political Letters on Africa and the one called "The Negro American" which related African Revolutions and Negro struggles here, ended in a discussion on Marxism, because one of our visitors who had read the African letters in the past few days said he believed that his difficulty in judging these letters was because of a lack of understanding about Marxism, and he wanted to learn something about it.

He said that he felt he would "never be the same since his contact with Marxist-Humanism" because his outlook on everything in life is beginning to change. He took Marxism and Freedom and the Afro-Asian pamphlet and will be returning for further discussions.

**Committee Member
Los Angeles**

Editor's Note: A series of 7 Political Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya have been written on Africa. Five of these were written directly from West Africa where she was gathering material for her new book on Africa and world ideologies, and include the full text of two articles that were published in abbreviated version in the July and September issues of Africa Today. This special group is available for \$1 to readers of News & Letters.

A complete listing of their titles, as well as a complete index for entire series of Political Letters available will be sent upon request.

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Protests Report From The Gambia

Editor's Note: Raya Dunayevskaya, who is on tour as this issue goes to press, has received the following letter concerning an article which appeared in the November issue of News & Letters, entitled "A View from the Gambia." Because that article has stimulated considerable response from our readers (see also "Readers' Views" p. 4) we are printing this letter in full below.

"Dear Raya—I know that our policy in the paper is not to edit other people's writings, and particularly not when articles come from Africa, especially in view of your well-known position of sympathy for renescent Africa. In my opinion, you, more than any other theoretician, have expounded and supported the great contribution made to the world struggle for freedom by the mass movement of self-mobilizing African Freedom Fighters.

"Nevertheless, can we allow two standards of analysis in the paper just because an article comes from Africa? I refer of course to . . . 'A View from the Gambia,' by W. D. Colley (N&L, Nov. 1962) . . .

WHITEWASH OF KHRUSHCHEV

"In this particular case I want to quote what you yourself wrote both in 'Two Worlds' (June-July '62) and in your 'Political Letter' of Aug. 1, 1962: Like the Tower of Pisa, neutralism has been found to lean heavily in one direction. Are we now to witness a transformation into opposite of the people's desire for world peace into nothing but a whitewash of one of the two world nuclear powers?"

"You go on to show that with his so-called World Congress of General Disarmament and Peace, held in Moscow last July, Khrushchev sucked in a number of organizations which, if they are not anti-Communist, certainly consider themselves non-Communist.

"As a matter of fact, you indicated that Khrushchev deliberately invited representatives from nominally non-Communist organizations so that he could point to them and claim that even those who don't believe in him as the world Communist leader nevertheless believe in him as the 'world peace leader.'

"Now it appears that Mr. Garba-Jahumpa of the Gambia, either cynically or naively, has allowed himself to be sucked into this horrible whitewash.

"If this whole sorry spectacle was so shocking in July, how much worse is it today (or in the November issue of N&L) in the aftermath of the Cuban crisis, and of China's attack on India?"

WHO IS MR. GARBA-JAHUMPA?

"With regard to Mr. Colley's article, as it relates to information on The Gambia, who exactly is Mr. Garba-Jahumpa, and what are his credentials for arrogating to himself the role of spokesman for the Gambian masses, or gadfly to the new government?"

"Mr. Colley identifies him as 'former Minister of Agriculture . . . and now General Secretary of the Gambia Democratic Congress Alliance.' If memory serves me, in your article, 'In The Gambia During Elections . . .' (published in AFRICA TODAY, July 1962) you reported that the People's Progressive Party emerged as the majority party with 18 seats, as a result of the first general election by universal suffrage held last May. You further reported that the previous ruling party, the United Party, emerged as the minority with 13 seats; and that the Democratic Congress Alliance, Mr. Garba-Jahumpa's party, could muster only enough votes to win just one seat.

Mr. Colley's article gives the impression that this spokesman for a tiny minority party is in fact the spokesman for all of The Gambia.

Mr. Garba-Jahumpa may protest that I don't understand the situation. I would demur, though most respectfully. But the issue is not whether I understand the situation in Africa, but whether he understands the world tyranny of Communist state-capitalism locked in mortal combat with that other tyrannical titan of state-capitalism, the United States.

MUCH TO LEARN FROM JAPANESE LEFT

"In this respect, the 'New Left' which has arisen in the Japanese movement, and which you quoted in the same 'Two Worlds' column I referred to before, expressed it best:

"Paradoxically, wrote Professor Shimizu from long experience with both Communism's and Japanese militarists, 'both the impact of the war and militarism prior to 1945 and the impact of peace and pacifism since then have had the identical effect: preventing the intellectuals from doing genuine and necessary creative work toward the transformation of society . . . Rather than turning to the masses, the leadership of the Japanese left found comfort in the high level negotiations between Russian and American leaders . . .

"The fear of nuclear weapons has obscured the understanding that war is rooted in the capitalist system: the simple wish for peace has become the dominant idea, taking the place of class struggle, revolution, socialism . . . This ideological armistice corresponded perfectly with the united front tactics of the Communists and their allies. It combined the jargon of the left with the tactics of rightwing opportunism . . . In the course of these events one striking characteristic of the official left leadership stood out clearly—contempt for the masses.'

"It is not only the British anti-nuclear movement that has a great deal to learn from the split in the Japanese movement. The peace movement throughout the world has much to learn. As you wrote then: 'Only if it does so in time, will the 'depression or suppression of human reasoning' give way to a new flowering of thought which will not separate itself from action. Only through the unity of thought and actions can we hope to stay the hand of both nuclear powers. Otherwise, the Communist brainwashing presently suppresses human reasoning.'

"That is why I am compelled to protest the Gambia article which I believe falls into the Communist trap.—Yours, V. L. J. Granger."

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YOUTH

Yale Declares Policy Against Campus Spying

New Haven, Conn., Dec. 3 — Following a five part expose in the school paper of the activities of a former F.B.I. agent who is "security dean" (campus police chief) at Yale College, the school administration has finally issued a public order telling him to leave campus politics alone.

The articles in the Yale Daily News criticized John F. Powell, the ex-F. B. I. agent who had been hired by the College to replace the old campus police chief, for turning the campus guards into "spies" and for making "secret files" on the "subversive activities" of students available to "outsiders." Powell, who was unpopular with the students from the beginning, had a reputation for being "tough" on student pranksters, noise-makers and rioters. However, he went "beyond the call of duty" when he began to spy on the political activities and view of students and faculty with a possibility of using the "information" against them.

POLICY STATED

The University Provost, ac-

ording to the N. Y. Times, told Powell officially that: "It is understood that you are not authorized to engage in the investigation of student or faculty political activities or views," and that he was "not authorized to respond to any outside inquiry with regard to student or faculty political activities or views."

Readers of News and Letters will remember articles in these pages over the last year reporting the militant activities of New Haven CORE (Congress on Racial Equality) against racial discrimination in which many Yale students participated. Yale also has a student socialist club, the George Orwell Forum, which has sponsored many radical speakers, including Raya Dunayevskaya, of News and Letters, as well as anti-war groups.

It has been reported by participants in these activities that an "extraordinary" number of campus policemen have been present at their public meetings, and one student reports that he was followed by two plain-clothesmen after a meeting at which he spoke for integration.

Furthermore, one CORE activist reported that he was visited by the F. B. I., shown photographs of students and others who are known for their activities in the integration and anti-war movements, and asked to give information against them. Another former Yale student, who had been active in CORE and also in protests against the "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba two years ago, reported that F. B. I. men had visited him on his job and intimated to his employer that he might be a "communist".

"SUBVERSIVE"

Although this writer has no definite information on the

subject, it seems more than probable that the Yale "dean", Powell, was not just a "former" F. B. I. agent, and that the "outsiders" to whom he was accused of opening his "secret files" may have been other F. B. I. men. It is also important to remember that the "subversive" activities and views that Powell was "investigating" were not Communist, but the activities of integrationists, pacifists, socialists and Marxist-Humanists. Furthermore, if this "investigation" continued after the student left Yale, it is probable that former students may have had their lives or careers ruined by F. B. I. "visits" to their employers simply because they supported integration! This last consideration raises the whole question of how all movements for more freedom or peace in this country are threatened or stifled at birth.

Surely Yale, an institution with a long tradition of free thought, is to be congratulated for curbing its dog. However, one wonders why he was hired in the first place and what harm he has already done. Finally, this is obviously dangerous business for an institution perennially in need of funds like Yale; for the Supreme Court, in the Falk decision, has shown that an individual whose career is ruined by an unfounded "subversive" smear, is entitled to what amounts to a life pension in damages to be paid by the institution responsible for the charges.

Let us hope that the existing "secret files" will be promptly destroyed, and that other institutions will follow the lead of Yale in making sure that there will be freedom of thought in at least one area of American life.

Dwell-In, Dwell-Out to Win Fair Housing for Negroes

Los Angeles—More than 40 Dwell-Inners and pickets have been arrested in the harbor city of Wilmington, Calif. They were participants in the CORE protest against the housing tract called Sun Ray Estates which refused to sell a house to a Negro couple.

After the Negro couple had been refused and told that the house was already sold, a white couple sent by CORE put down a \$25 deposit on the house and simply "Dwelled-In." They were joined on the outside by pickets and Dwell-Outers equipped with sleeping bags and food.

WHILE THE POLICE STOOD BY

When we walked the line, we were met with water from a lawn hose which they used to wet down the Dwell-Outers' sleeping-bags as well as the picket line. They also deliberately washed the mud down from the lawn onto the sidewalk so the pickets would have to walk in a sea of mud.

Some individuals acted as "counter-pickets" and tried to provoke our line. Later they threw stones and manure, took away cameras, put sugar in gas tanks and deflated tires on the pickets' cars.

To add insult to injury, the police who had been watching all this from the side-lines without trying to stop it, finally arrested the picket line for "disturbing the peace." They had been singing.

CORE has charged that the police are their greatest enemies. They have done nothing but take the pickets to jail when one of the "citizens" in the project decides to take over the policeman's duty and perform a citizen's arrest. CORE has therefore been meeting with various agencies of local government including the county Human Rights Commission as well as the Police Department. The only thing the police had to say in their own defense at one of these meetings was that they had pumped up the tires of the pickets after the neighborhood people had deflated them.

The meetings have had some results, however. For one thing the police did agree to protect the picket line, and since that time there has been no more water used, but the line is much weaker than it was.

It was reported that the judge involved in the case has prohibited the sale of the house to anyone except the Negro buyer who had originally placed the deposit on it.

FREEDOM RIDERS ARRESTED

CORE wants to make a national issue out of the housing problem and several Freedom Riders have taken part in the local case. They were among the demonstrators arrested. A call for help from others has been issued, and the meeting will apparently continue, as well, with the police, who want, at this point, to be absolved of any charges by CORE.

Book Review

The Press

By A. J. LIEBLING
(Ballantine Books, New York, 1961. \$75)

Mr. Liebling, the New Yorker magazine's boxing reporter, grand gourmet, and wayward pressman, here collects his views on the American press since the war. One generally turns to the New Yorker, if at all, for wit, not for social pertinence.

Listen, then, to Liebling: "Ever since my adventure" (his discovery in one paper of the shortlived M.B.I., a Mississippi secret police force) "I have wondered how many of the stories worth knowing slip by us . . . so that when their sequelae flare up irresistibly in headlines, we are stupidly astonished."

He cites the nomination of Jimmie Davis for governor on a white supremacy ticket—the cause of the segregation mess in Louisiana—as an example of a missed point. Recent reportage on the OAS, on the Sino-Soviet rift, on the big steel threat, on the UAW convention, etc., would be other missed points.

LACK OF COVERAGE

Why doesn't the press report the news? Liebling draws some distinctions here. There are several kinds of non-reporting. The missed point, already cited, is one.

A second he calls "no-news," the substitution of interpretation—crystal ball gazing by such wizards as David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, and (to Liebling's credit) the Max Lerner-James Reston liblab diviners as well for on-the-spot reporting. No-news results in such fiascos as the mobilizing of Chiang Kai-shek's "Rubber-Type Army," so named because its numbers could be reset with gigantic changes from day to day, and the predicting of Stalin's successor, in which each expert picks his own line-up.

A third is based on the class consciousness of the publishers, as opposed to their reporters. This is reflected in the paranoia of the Chicago Tribune, in the "realism" of the Times and Tribune of New York, with their exhortations to strikers (not employers) to serve the community and to the government to call off rent and price controls.

Non-reportage has its purposes. Most important, it saves the newspaper publishers money they would have had to spend to cover stories. Secondly, no-news mystifies, just as real reporting would make clear. Thirdly, and related, no-news is good news—for the publishers, that is. Freedom rides are "isolated incidents directed from Moscow," (to append a non-story Liebling doesn't place on exhibit).

BOOK WORTH READING

Two quotations must represent the spirit and manner of the whole book:

"The crusade against the destitute is the favorite of the newspaper publisher, because it is the safest." And:

"From Batista to Salazar to Syngman Rhee, whoever is in power is reflected in the fragmentary mirrors of the American press as a grand old man, the father of his people, who,

the informants confide, are not educated up to democracy."

No-news is, in short, an honored part of our age of totalitarianism, like permanent unemployment and the permanent war economy and "liberation" by the Marine Corps. That the Russian press also slants its news, when it reports it, is not an excuse; rather, it suggests that the press is an instrument of the ruling class, whether capitalist or state-capitalist, and regardless of their differing motives for non-reporting.

Liebling would probably reject these implications of his book. He is hardly a radical; he looks back fondly on the defunct N.Y. World, and with a more seasoned eye on PM, and when he looks ahead to a "labor paper" he is chastened by subsequent developments, as in England.

This is a very funny book about a very sad, and continuing development. It should be read by those, like our readers and writers, whose emphases differ from its author's.

R. M. K.

Another Side of Hospital Work

Detroit—At the hospital where my mother works, an aide told her supervisor that she didn't think that it was fair that she should have to do both her work, and someone else's too, in the same day, and then be asked to go to another floor to work. She was fired. Some of the other workers thought it was unfair and as a form of protest walked off their jobs.

FACT VS. FICTION

This is only one of the many things that happen in hospitals.

Some people think that working in a hospital is a glorious job. They think that the workers are doing something good for mankind, and that the nurses, nurses' Aides, maintenance people, and the countless others should be very proud.

As a hospital worker, I can tell you that 95% of the time, it's nothing to proud about. The working conditions in most hospitals are very bad. A nurses' aide works from 8 to 8 1/2 hours a day for wages of 75c an hour to \$10 a day, or if she is lucky, and she works where there is a union, she may make \$15 a day.

As a rule, hospital workers are "jacks of all trades." You would think that anyone working in a hospital would get a discount on their medical bills, from doctors and hospitals, but they don't.

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Ole Miss Editor Defends Meredith

The Ole Miss student government has voted to postpone consideration of a motion to censure school newspaper editor Sidna Brower of Memphis, Tenn., for her defense of the students who ate with James Meredith.

The resolution attacking Miss Brower was sponsored by an officer of the Patriotic American Youth Organization, who declared that the Mississippian editor was not representing the will of the students who elected her and pay her salary—\$100 a month drawn from student fees. The student, George Monroe, of Newton, Mississippi, stated that an editorial appearing in the November 20 edition of the student paper was a "culmination of agitation."

Monroe declared that "Since James Meredith came to our peace-loving campus, she (Miss Brower) has not said one word about the rights of the majority of the students. All she's been interested in is the rights of James Meredith."

FREE SPEECH AND ASSOCIATION

Miss Brower stated, "I think most of them are definitely against violence. I think most of them respect constitutional rights." She asserted that Monroe couldn't hurt her; "he can only hurt the university."

The 21 year old editor deplored the rioting which occurred September 30 and has been a voice of moderation on the campus.

The editorial declared that "it seems that if Ole Miss is to remain a true university and keep its scholars, all students should have the right to associate with whom they please and be able to say what they please without fear of being chastised."

The Campus Senate, composed of students elected by dormitories, fraternities and sororities, voted 42-30 to refer the resolution to the Student Activities Committee for a hearing.

—Reprinted from the Mississippi Free Press Vol. 1, No. 51.

Editor's Note: Since the above article appeared, the Campus Senate, on December 4th, voted 62-27 to censure Miss Brower.

GHANA REPORT

Workers' Opposition to Nkrumah Grows

Accra, Ghana—It is hard to describe to you what precisely has been happening in Ghana because, on the one hand, the American press has been playing up the terrorist attempt on Nkrumah, and, on the other hand, it has not conveyed the feeling that the Ghanaian people do not want to take any steps backward from the revolution to rid itself of British imperialism.

It is not at all the old opposition of Danquah. It is the new opposition from the workers who have made the revolution and made possible Nkrumah's accession to power because he used to be a revolutionary.

HIGH SALARIES FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND MANAGERS

"Now, however," as one Ghanaian worker said, "compare the wages of workers to those Members of Parliament. There was a time last year when all agreed that the workers should have salary and wage increases. The Members of Parliament met and decided rather to double their own pay from £980 (\$2,744) to £1,800 (\$5,488) per annum; Ministers to £5,100 (\$14,780) and the President's to £12,000 (\$28,000).

"The President has a £2,500 pension as ex-Prime Minister plus a table allowance of £2,500 per month plus outfit and travelling allowance of over £30,000 per annum. In short, all totaled, £54,000 (\$156,200) per annum, tax free, for a socialist advocate."

Another mentioned that Nkrumah who pretends to be opposed to tribalism and for nationalism, nevertheless favors his own little tribe—the Nzema. "There are such qualifications as belonging to the Nzema tribe which can fetch one as high a salary as £1,200 per year, even without any educational qualification."

"Statutory Corporations have been set up where such privileged people are employed and the salaries there are as high as £240 per annum for non-matriculated clerks and £360 for matriculants who belong to the Nzema tribe, and they get annual increases of £20 and £40 respectively. Some even get £80 per month to start."

"The Timber Marketing Board had a chartered accountant, who belongs to the Dangbe tribe, as General Manager. This man would employ people of whatever tribe, but either by accident or design, he was replaced by an unqualified Nzema tribesman late last year, and Nzemas were appointed to be Directors, and ever since that time all who have been given jobs there have been of the Nzema tribe — from messenger to secretary."

WOMEN WORKERS

Ghanaian women who work in the offices are mostly spinners and the few married ones who have children either have baby-sitters or maids to care for them. There are day nurseries also to help those who can afford to pay. The charge is about £1 per week, excluding meals, though including light meals such as biscuits and tea or milk.

Mothers who work on the farms take their babies and tie them to their backs as they work. When the children sleep, they are laid down peacefully under the shade of the thick forest. No snakes worry them but one cannot trust the tsetse

and the tumbu flies.

LOW WAGES FOR WORKERS

As another Ghanaian put it, "It is this kind of unfair distribution of wealth, classified society and privileges we want to abolish. That is why we decided to follow the advocates of socialism in the first place."

"The workers' claims were ignored until we began to hum. Then we were given increases of 25s (approx. \$3.50) per month, but we were asked to pay 5% compulsory contribution towards National Development out of our total earnings and 24s (approx. \$3.36) per annum Trades Union dues, which we abhor, because of the pittance nature of our pay, the way M.P.'s and the officials are mis-using funds and the control the Government exercises over the Trades Unions."

An unskilled laborer in Ghana receives 6s. 6d. (approx. 92c per day); a non-matriculated clerk gets £125 (\$350) per annum, rising by £10 per annum to a maximum of £185 (\$518) per annum. A matriculated clerk gets £175 rising by £10 per annum to £325 (\$910). Out of his salary the worker has to pay the compulsory 5% to the Government.

BUT A HIGH COST OF LIVING

With the wage increase prices rose. Electricity charges became 2d. per unit current consumed instead of 1d., and the fixed charge of 4s., became 6s. The minimum charge for a 'bus ride became 2d. instead of 1d. A 16 oz. package of sugar rose from 7d. to 12d. and 12 yards of khaki (which schoolboys use) rocketed from 42s. (\$5.88) to 65s. (\$9.90) to give but a few examples of the cost of living, "under a so-called socialist administration."

Yet another worker told me "The 25s. (\$3.50) increase of pay per month, and the government action of forcefully deducting 15s (approx. \$2.10) per month from our pay packet and the very high increases of prices of commodities, greatly incurred our anger. Working hours were increased from 39 to 42 per week."

These and many injustices made the workers resort to strike action last year, between August and September. It lasted 18 days. Sekondi-Takoradi City area was the centre of the strike. Accra and Kumasi, the two important centers after Sekondi-Takoradi, could strike for not more than five days. I learned however, that since the workers removed miles of the railway line and no ships were allowed to enter Takoradi Harbor or leave it, the strike affected the country badly.

GOVERNMENT ANTI-STRIKE ACTION

The introduction of the 1961 Budget which precipitated the strike was accompanied by a great propagandistic fanfare euphemistically christened "Programme for work and happiness."

When Nkrumah returned from his jaunt to the Communist countries he appealed to the strikers to return to their jobs and he would study their grievances and consider things. Immediately they were back to work, about 50 of the strikers were detained under the pernicious preventive detention act.

BEHIND THE TERRORISM

Such political machinations and socio-economic inefficiency expose that everything is

wrong, and are some of the foundations of the terrorism.

One-sided press and radio reports cover these conditions with fine words, leading to a police state where no one is allowed to express any variant opinion.

No one knows who is behind the terrorist attempts and the counter-terror that Nkrumah has now unleashed, but a good measure of the hostility Nkrumah has aroused from the working people is shown by a remark of one youth who said, "A bomb exploded near our President's lodgings one Sunday and three demonstrators died. It was an unwise bombing because the President was not there."

Another added, "Today he wishes he were like the poor workers earning £15 per month and could move about without any fear of being bombed, as in former days."

Perhaps recent happenings in Ghana surprise outsiders, but to those who are there they are no surprise at all. They hoped there would be a change for the better with a true socialist government, one that, as the Ghanaian put it, "would bring us true happiness, abolish tribalism, patronage in work; one that would not place a premium on illiteracy and ignorance and experiment with our lives."

Nkrumah's party activists and Commissioners, who know if he sinks they sink, are feverishly going about forcefully putting people into the streets to demonstrate in favor of Nkrumah. Conditions are such that no one can utter a word of protest about the demonstrations or refuse to demonstrate because they are always given time off from work to do it.

It has been said that people who call themselves "Unknown Warriors" have given Nkrumah notice that they have 11 more of the bombs to explode. Ever since, Nkrumah has not been able to go out. He is confined, virtually detained under preventive detention in his residence.

Nkrumah is a man who acts rashly and, he has always been proved wrong in all his rash actions. He now wants Obedmah, Botsio and many of his former colleagues whom he had rashly sacked, back.

He has accused them all of being ostentatious for putting up mighty buildings and owning many cars, while it is known that he owns a castle-like mansion in Egypt, and that at the time he sacked Krobotdusei for buying a £8,000 gold bed, he ordered a £5,000 mink coat for his Egyptian wife.

CONDITIONS IN NORTHERN GHANA

Compare the high living of Nkrumah and friends with the conditions which one young disillusioned Nkrumahite told me can be found in the North: "While these socialist politicians can send their children to schools in London, put on the most modern clothes, ride in the most modern cars, can afford the most nutritious food taken in Paris, London and Washington; while Ghana can give loans ranging from four to ten million pounds sterling to Upper Volta, Mali and Guinea, and show benevolence costing millions of pounds sterling to Congo, Angola, Algeria, our own brothers and sisters in the Northern Ghana are going about nakedly. They know that in the South they wear clothes and they are nice, but they cannot afford to buy any. Less

than one per cent of the Northern population go to school and they come South only as farm laborers or soldiers and escort policemen."

Another said, "Because Nkrumah wants to make a name for himself as the leading politician in Africa we are forced to place the country's treasury at his disposal to do as he pleases without consulting Parliament. After all, what is the sense in giving away what we have, only to go borrowing from the US, Britain and the World Bank to finance our development projects, such as the Volta Dam?"

DOUBLE-TONGUED FRIENDS

I was fortunate in being able to speak to people of different strata and one intellectual I met, who was quite disturbed about what outsiders write about Ghana, related: "Some people in Britain, because they hate Dr. Verwoerd of South Africa and his policy towards the black man, blindly comment on Ghanaian issues. For instance, a Rev. Trevor Bush of Trecynon, Aberdare, South Wales, wrote a letter published in the Ghanaian Times justifying the deportation of the Anglican Bishop of Accra, Rev. Richard Roseveare. Mr. Bush, who criticised the critics of Nkrumah, reminded those critics of Christ's warning to his followers that they should not judge "that ye be not judged." Apart from contradicting himself, he made some very silly remarks which annoyed all here.

"Mr. Fenner Brockway also wrote a not too pleasing article recently, but we understand his position. Not very long ago he criticised our Preventive Detention Act and Deportation Act and the pro-Government press took him to task, and no doubt he fears a repetition."

"Perhaps these English writers do not know that apart from Guinea and Nyasaland—who cannot go against us because of their financial obligation to us—all the African states are against Ghana."

He pointed out that "Sekondi College had eight teachers from South Africa, but they had to resign and go back home after less than one year's service because of 'oppression and assumption of airs of superiority by some high-up'. Things the South Africans are trying to avoid in their own country."

OPPOSITION

There are about three groups of political thought in Ghana, but the Convention People's Party does not recognize any but itself. There is the United Party (opposition), most of whose leading members and Parliamentarians are under detention, and the unorganized group of (mostly) youths who in event of the present government falling would not join the opposition because the UP has no clear-cut policy and because they believe in the Federal form of administration for Ghana and are conservative.

The UP is the party of intellectuals and of the feudal chiefs. It should thrive but because of difficulties which beset them, that is government actions and refusal of police permits to hold public rallies, they are not able to get together to formulate any policy to present to the public. Their leader, Prof. Kofi Busia, is in exile and Dr. J. B. Danquah, his successor, has just been released from preventive detention.

—American Correspondent

Must Rehire Fired Men

Jackson, Miss.—The National Labor Relations Board has approved the rehiring of seven men fired from their jobs because of union activities. The federal board also decided in favor of holding another election to determine if the workers at the Storkline plant will have a union. They upheld the union officials' claim that the men had been intimidated by company officials, thereby making the last election invalid.

Carpenters Union Officials for the Carpenters Union, who are trying to organize the Storkline plant in Jackson, said that seven of the thirteen men who they believe lost their jobs because of their efforts in trying to get a union at the plant will be able to go back to work. They said that they will also receive back pay.

Spokesmen for the Carpenters Union stated that there was a tremendous need for the men to be organized in order to be able to speak for fairer wages. Storkline, which is a manufacturer of baby furniture and wooden cabinets for Zenith and other radio and television producers, has a top wage of \$1.49 an hour. They said that most of the men only receive the legal minimum wage of \$1.15.

No Job Security In addition to the very low wage scale the union officials also noted that almost no job security existed for the men. Many, who live as far away as Carthage, Laurel, Prentiss and Mendenhall dared not move closer because of the great possibility of something happening to their jobs.

With a union, the workers would be able to have part of the contract state that workers would be granted a reasonable amount of job security, that they could not be fired without legitimate reasons, and that men would be laid off in relation to the length of time that they had worked with the plant rather than solely by the personal feelings of the employer.

Company Threats In the course of proving the invalidity of the last election, which the union lost by only 26 votes out of 1400, the union cited the extensive interrogation of employees as to their union activities. The union also claimed that company officials had used threats of reprisal against anyone who was involved in union activity.

At the hearing, the union men also told how some workers were promised special benefits in reward for their opposition to the attempts to get a union in the plant. They also noted that some of the union meetings had been under the surveillance by the management.

Asked To Spy The point was also brought out that when new employees were interviewed for their jobs at Storkline, they were asked if they had ever been in a union or involved in union activities. They were also asked to watch the union sympathies of other employees in the department to which they were assigned.

In one of the workers' testimony at the hearing, he said that in January of 1961—at the time that he was hired—the man that interviewed him and subsequently hired him asked in the initial interview if he had ever been involved in union activity.

It is not yet known when the new election will be held but it is expected sometime shortly after the first of the year. (Reprinted from the Mississippi Free Press.)

President Tailors News

(Continued from Page 1)

to the State Department, sent to the Chief of the Public Affairs Division, Assistant Secretary Manning. They wrote: "Once a precedent of regularity control is firmly established, we face the problem of escalation in future years."

AN ATTORNEY-GENERAL "REGRETS" SMITH ACT

The American people have good reason to know the importance of "precedence setting" in matters of civil rights. The first victim in the preparation for war has always been the sacrifice of freedom of the press and the freedom of utterance.

A case in point occurred just prior to U.S. entry into World War II, when 28 leaders of Local 544 Minneapolis Truck-drivers and of the Socialist Workers Party were prosecuted and jailed for their opposition to the war. It was the first use of the infamous Smith Act of 1940 and it was pushed by the Attorney General under Franklin Delano Roosevelt—Francis Biddle.

He has now written a book, "In Brief Authority," in which he admits it was all a ghastly mistake. Biddle now admits that he acted under the Smith Act which "was unconstitutional under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protects freedom of utterance." Now he says of the Smith Act, "It was the first peacetime sedition law since the notorious statute of 1798, which expired in two years and was not renewed."

Biddle also observed that "History showed that sedition statutes — laws addressed to what men said—invariably had been used to prevent and punish criticism of the government, particularly in time of war. I believe them to be unnecessary and harmful."

This type of 20-20 hindsight vision does not rehabilitate the lives of the men who were persecuted and will be persecuted under this unconstitutional act of vengeance. Francis Biddle now wants us to believe that he authorized prosecution only because he thought it would be "knocked out" as unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. What then is he doing about it now that it has, instead, become "the law of the land?" Nothing, of course.

CONTROL PAVES WAY TO LIES

As for the daily press, it was justified, of course, in its loud protests and complaints. No one can be satisfied that the remarks of Kennedy at his press conference on Nov. 20 offer any guarantee that it will not happen again. Quite the contrary. He justified the act and showed indication that it would be used again if the circumstances, in his judgment, warranted it.

Under orders of this kind, misinformation, propaganda and outright lies can be issued by "official sources" as "weaponry" in the "best interests of the war effort" without the general public having any means at its disposal to check on the veracity of the statements. Fear of reprisals will keep government officers from making public statements of any kind. A government-controlled press abolishes our most basic civil liberty.

FREEDOM DENIED TO PEOPLE

The freedom the press wants for itself, however, they have unfortunately too often denied to others. The treatment of labor struggles, the Negro struggle, and unpopular political opin-

ions is anything but full or unbiased.

The press of the South publishes only what they want to publish—channelizing the struggle for freedom in the United States, the demonstrations against segregation, into its racist pattern. In that press, the law-breaking public officials emerge as the heroes while the freedom fighters come out as the villains. They freely censor and distort the news to suit their own ends.

The Southern Negro who speaks up and publishes his own paper, in order to give honest reports from behind the "cotton curtain" runs the risk, as did Charles Butts, editor of the Mississippi Free Press, of being smeared as a "Commie" and beaten up.

In another incident, James E. Mills, editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald, was arrested after he published an editorial on election day urging voters to adopt a proposal to change the form of Birmingham's city government — a proposal which carried despite the opposition of the city fathers. This was not an issue of segregation, since both are white, but a matter of an Alabama "corrupt practices act" which makes it illegal to solicit votes on election day. It is a crime punishable by a fine of \$500 or 6 months in jail, and the court shows every indication of pushing the case to a conviction.

It is not, however, only the Southern press that is guilty. North and South alike, publish only the news they want to print (See Book Review, "The Press" on page 6). They have maintained a conspiracy for years which identifies as "Communist" anything they don't like. They continue to identify Communism, the practice of tyranny, with Marxism, the theory of liberation. They continue to back up dictatorships throughout the world, and identify all opposition to those dictatorships as Communist, regardless of its true nature.

The Zengakuren youth movement in Japan, for example, has been consistently identified in the American press as a "Communist" organization because they have demonstrated against the American security pact and against American nuclear testing. The fact that they have demonstrated likewise against Soviet nuclear testing is not always reported.

When a group of three Zengakuren youth went to Moscow to demonstrate against Russian testing recently, and were beaten by the police there, not one word appeared in the American press. The fact that demonstrations erupted in Japan against Reuther's recent visit there, however, was reported and labeled "Communist" immediately.

WHOSE JUDGEMENT?

The present threat to the freedom of the press posed by the Kennedy Administration's policy to control information, is in fact a threat to all civil liberties. Freedom of the press is the cornerstone of the rights that generations of Americans have fought for and are still fighting to secure.

That Kennedy could, with such seeming ease, impose an edict controlling the free flow of news, is a result of the narrow monopolistic control of the mass media of information which deliberately fails to report fully the mass

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

Russia Tightens Party Control

Every time there is an administrative shift in the top Communist hierarchy, it is reported in the daily press as if it were a great historical event. If Khrushchev as much as hints at "copying" anything "economically advantageous the capitalists have to offer", speculation is rampant that "Russia is on the road back to capitalism".

The meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in November met all the requirements for headlines in the bourgeois press.

The truth of the meeting is the exact opposite of what appeared in the American press. The facts are that there was and will be no "return to private capitalism", since Russia already operates under state capitalism, where the state fulfills the role of the private exploiter. They have found that state capitalism is more efficient in its total exploitation of the Russian working man, and its demands for "greater productivity" are coupled with the "national need" as a driving force. Their talk about a profit motive is nothing new in Russia, as each factory has a "Directors Fund" for gathering up the profits after the workers are forced to meet unreasonable goals. The talk about expanding "the rate of interest on in-

vested capital" only means that it is invested in state bonds and the state needs more working capital to expand its heavy industry.

What was "new" was a return to the old Stalinist form of ever tighter party control over industry and agriculture. In contrast to the so-called "reforms" introduced by Khrushchev in 1957 decentralization, the party has now embarked on the road of re-centralization.

Another new feature is that the Communist Party apparatus will be divided in two, one to take over rigid control of industry and the other to specialize in agriculture.

Both sectors are to act as one to oversee the managers, prevent bribery and false reports, see that the goals of the re-centralized planning commission are carried out. There were too many complaints that local "planners" were planning for their own good, not the national objectives.

Having removed the "anti-party" group, headed by Molotov in 1957, Khrushchev is now applying Stalin's methods, plus a few of his own, to force higher productivity by labor at the point of production. Now the Russian workers have three groups of bosses pushing them onward; the state capitalist managers, the trade union officials and the Com-

munist Party. In the United States the workers have only the first two groups of pushers, the capitalists and the labor leaders.

Russia's "workers advisory councils" are a fourth means of exploitation where by workers are encouraged to "squeal on each other" so that productivity can be raised to equal that of the United States.

Despite the rosy future projected by the 22nd Congress, Russian agriculture and industry still lag and internal crises continue. This to a large measure accounts for the new "soft" policy of Khrushchev in the Cuban crisis.

Russian crises are but a reflection of the internal elements of revolt, for the only method left open to the Russian worker to show his revolt is by slow-downs, his method of expressing dissatisfaction with the State Plans.

It is this worker resistance which will continue during re-centralization as it continued under decentralization. The tightened party control of the country will only intensify the revolt from below.

Any dream of the press that there is any desire on the part of either the government or the people of Russia to return to "private capitalism" is just that—a dream.

SOUTH AFRICA

Protest demonstrations against the segregationist policies of the South African government, which resulted in the deaths of seven people, two white, took place in Paarl, Nov. 23.

The police, heavily armed with machine guns, arrested 300 Africans besides the five they killed. The police terrorism comes at a time when the United Nations has voted to censure the government of South Africa.

Funds to help victims of racial persecution in both The Union of South Africa and the Portuguese colony of Angola are urgently needed. They may be sent to the AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA, 801 SECOND AVE., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. This Committee, not affiliated with NEWS AND LETTERS, is devoted to

helping the struggle for African Freedom. We are glad to help.

NIGERIA

A trial of 25 members of the Action Group is taking place in Nigeria. Many of the defendants are, or were, highly placed persons.

Two are presidents of opposition parties, Joseph S. Tarka, of the United Middle Belt Congress, and Dr. Chike Obi, of the Dynamic Party. The main figure, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, is the head of the Action Group, a Federal opposition party. Chief Akinola Maja, the father of the group, is also a defendant. The accused have been under detention since May and the trial is not expected to end for several weeks.

The "plot", according to the prosecution was to seize the military and airport in-

stallations on Sept. 23, seize the Prime Minister, Sir Abubaker Balewa and other ministers, after which Chief Awolowo, with help from Ghana, was to broadcast that he had taken power.

The facts of the case are not clear, but the facts of life in Nigeria are. The government of Western Nigeria has been suspended by the Central Government. The people of Nigeria, on the whole, are dissatisfied with the graft and corruption of the government officials. Discrimination in the hotels of Lagos, the capitol, still exists, even under the new government. The youth are dissatisfied with the progress made to date. The country is divided between the Moslem north and the non-Moslem south. The workers in the country still suffer from exploitation, only now they have African exploiters in the place of their former British masters.

struggles taking place.

It is in these struggles nevertheless where lies the only guarantee both of its own freedom of the press and the freedom of the utterance of the masses who have no press but have the guarantee of the First Amendment of the Constitution. This they will never relinquish either to the paid press or to the Administration bent on tailoring the news to its war aims.

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