

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Negro Action Will Change Things —Not Politicians or Resolutions

At the beginning of this year a group of workers were talking about New Year's resolutions. Shortly after the starting whistle blew the foreman came around and said our work schedule is ten hours a day six days a week. One worker said, "Some people can make some changes in their lives in '63 but the working people and the Negroes can make all the resolutions they want to, but nothing changes with their lives. We all heard the foreman say that the work schedule is the same as last year. The speed of the line is the same too. Sure it is 1963 but nothing for us has changed and nothing will change, not by resolution at any rate."

#### KKK DOESN'T CHANGE EITHER

The attitudes of the KKK and White Citizens Councils down South have not changed either. Only a few weeks before the New Year there was a bombing of a Negro church in Birmingham, Ala., wrecking not only the church but many Negroes' homes for blocks around. When they massed in the streets in protest they were arrested. Several days later the largest Negro church in Montgomery, Ala., was set afire and burned. It had been reported in the daily papers that integration meetings had been held in both churches.

President Kennedy yelled loud after the two Negro churches were burned down and said the offenders must be caught and punished.

The Chief of police in one town said that no white had set the fire. They were white and when they were apprehended their punishment was minor. Kennedy did not speak again on the bombing and burning of these churches.

\* \* \*

**THERE IS A SUIT** filed in Federal court in Washington, D.C. against Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover by eight people from Mississippi. They asked the courts to order Kennedy and Hoover to use federal agents against local authorities who illegally frustrate the exercise of civil rights. They also urge the courts to direct the Justice Department to arrest and prosecute hundreds of Mississippi officials and private white citizens who have intimidated or assaulted Negro citizens.

When I read of this and the deal between Robert Kennedy and Ross Barnett, Governor of the Mississippi, to get Meredith into the University, one can only say no wonder nothing has changed.

#### THE NEGRO PEOPLE WILL CHANGE 1963

The only changes that have been made and WILL be made in 1963 are what the Negro people do for themselves. The world can see that they are doing plenty.

It is the Negro people that are making the changes and not the Republicans in Congress nor the Democratic Administration who look to appoint a few leading Negroes to some federal post, hoping that this will serve as a pacifier in the mouths of the millions who are struggling and fighting to achieve full human rights.

Maybe nothing has changed in the whites either down South or in Washington, D.C. but the Negro people in the South have shown their courage and determination to get full freedom now.

\* \* \*

#### SOME CHANGES MADE

Up North there has been some talk of making some changes in school books that stereotype the Negro in America. However, one of the new books is for the use in the study of Communism. The officials state that the students will be able to make a comparison between Communism and other forms of government, that is totalitarianism vs. this type of government which is supposed to be a democracy. It is like saying to the students a rattle snake is dangerous and if it strikes it will kill you but there is another non-poisonous snake that it will strike but if it does it will not harm you. Now see which you prefer.

#### A TRUE HISTORY

The Negro people know this democracy for what it is. If students use a history both of America and of Communism they should use as their text the **Supplement and American Civilization on Trial** which appeared in the January and February issues of *News & Letters*. There they will find the democracy of the Southern Whites; the roots of racism; the betrayals of the American Communist.

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### As U.S. Moves to Recession

## Workers Battle Automation

Unemployment last year caused more idleness and more lost production in the than all of the strikes in the past 35 years, reports the Labor Department. In the face of the 5 million now unemployed comes the news that with the combined explosion in population and the increasing unemployment that the spread of Automation will bring, at least 16.1 million new jobs will have to be created in the next five years—just to keep from going over the present 5 million unemployed mark. The simple fact is that capitalism cannot provide enough jobs for the people in this country.

A constant depression faces not only those without jobs today, but many others who will be seeking jobs in the future. In a weak attempt to provide something for the youth of the nation who cannot get jobs, Kennedy has proposed a new type CCC.

On Monday, Feb. 4, 20,000 jobless persons, Jan. 20, 1963, at the Civil Service applications office in Detroit seeking 60 jobs. The applicants ranged from new high school graduates who can't get into industry because Automation has no need for them, to workers with 20 years seniority who have been displaced by Automation.

In the spreading wave of strikes sweeping across the country in the last six months all, without exception, have revolved around Automation and the two overriding issues that have resulted from it: rising unemployment and worsening conditions of labor.

#### STRIKES EVERYWHERE

In both New York City and Cleveland, the daily newspapers have been struck by printers since the beginning of December. The key issue is job security—a security endangered by the automated typesetting machines already far beyond the "experimental" stage and in use by the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Palm Beach Post-Times*.

In the recent East and Gulf Coast longshoremen's strike, lasting 33 days and involving 62,000 dock workers, automated dock loading and unloading equipment and reduction of shipboard crews were the central points, with the latter issue still not settled.

In the eastern part of Kentucky miners have been on strike for seven months (see "New Beginnings," page 6). Unemployment, starvation, and inhuman working conditions for those still working are the spectres haunting every coal region since the juggernaut of the continuous miner first swept through the coal fields in 1949-1950.

Since that time coal miners have been in a constant depression. The work force has been slashed from 450,000 in 1950 to about 150,000 today. Nowhere is the result more tragic than in Eastern Kentucky where miners are forced to work for a take-home pay of \$16 for a seven-day week; families are without food, shelter or clothing; diseases of malnutrition and illness from weakened physical conditions run rampant through communities; children are forced to stay home from schools for lack of clothing. This is in 1963, in the wealthiest country in the world.

In transportation, strikes have recent one in Philadelphia, as well as on the railroads. It is the same in auto and steel. Strikes constantly erupt over conditions of work and unemployment brought about by ever-expanding Automation. During the last auto contract negotia-

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#### THE NEW AXIS



### Two Worlds

## The New Franco-German Axis

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

The pathetic part of the American press's criticisms of De Gaulle is the control it exercises over itself. De Gaulle the invincible is, after all, a creature it invented when, in the post-war years, it transformed the junior general whom Roosevelt had spurned during World War II, into the hero who "had saved France from Communism" in 1944-45 and from "chaos" in 1958. Of necessity, therefore, the underlying motif even of the strongest criticism is: "Keep cool with Kennedy." As for Kennedy, he is "keeping cool" by privately searching for ways to undermine De Gaulle, and publicly saying that De Gaulle couldn't possibly mean what he loudly says he means since his defiance is, in fact, based on "reliance on U.S. nuclear power to deter Russia." Allegedly, it is because De Gaulle "takes United States power for granted" that he allows himself the glory stance.

#### DE GAULLE'S IMPERIAL PRONUNCIAMENTO

A few hours prior to President Kennedy's appearance before a joint session of Congress, where he was to deliver the State of the Union address, integral to which was his concept of the "Atlantic Community," De Gaulle summoned a press conference. It was Jan. 14, the eve of the signing of a Franco-German Treaty that would "guarantee" mutual consultations on everything from language courses in elementary schools to military defense.

The press conference that was so meticulously timed to precede Kennedy's appearance before Congress and Adenauer's appearance in Paris heard the cultured Fuehrer—the face was as cynical as that of Hitler, but his French was impeccable (1)—present himself as an alternate, a superior, leader of Western Civilization. Not only had De Gaulle unilaterally excluded Britain from the Common Market, but from Europe itself. These imperial actions were, in turn, subordinated to what was of world importance: De Gaulle's Europe, not Kennedy's "Atlantic Community," was to become the centre of the universe.

De Gaulle allowed that Britain may earn membership in Europe "in 50 years," provided that she has, in the meantime, broken from her "dependence" on the U.S. and recognized the "primacy" of France. By then, said the man who condescended to admit that he is not immortal, "I will without doubt no longer be here."

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(1) This is the man who, at the end of the war, demanded the "internationalization" of the Ruhr and the Rhineland!

## IN BRITAIN

**American Work Ways Unwanted**

Attempts to introduce American working methods are threatening the Giant Esso petrol firm. The firm's plant at Fawley, Hampshire, is regarded as one of Britain's best models of employer-worker relations.

But now union leaders say the situation there is building up to a strike. And it has produced the crazy position of men asking for a 20s rise, being offered 30s, and refusing it.

In exchange for the 30s, Esso wants its 600 craftsmen to stop their practice of refusing to do jobs outside their trade. The idea: To limit the labour force and speed up the work.

## MASS MEETINGS

Angry mass meetings are being held in the big plant. Wage talks have reached deadlock. The firm is digging its toes in. It admits that its American owners have influenced it, but says the new working proposals, contained in a "Yellow Book," are sensible and that they will not be dropped.

A union official said yesterday: "These proposals cut right across British union traditions. We want to find our members work, not help cut the number of jobs."

"I know American unions win spectacular wages by these methods, but they also have spectacular unemployment. British unions would never agree to get a lot of money for some men at the expense of others." (From the Daily Mail, Dec. 12, 1962, London, England)

**Mine Explosion Hearings Reveal Co. Ignored Safety**

West Virginia — A growing disregard by management for safety practices came through loud and clear from the testimony given in hearings held to seek the causes for the Robena mine explosion that blasted the lives of 37 miners last Dec. 6.

These findings, as could be expected, received only a limited local publicity. This stands in sharp contrast to the publicity given the explosion and events of the next few days as rescue efforts were made to reach the miners.

## THERE FOR EXPLOSION

The news wires hummed carrying the news of the explosion throughout the country. Scores of newspapers, TV and radio networks assigned reporters to cover the disaster. They maintained a constant vigil, along with the wives, families and friends of the missing miners, reporting the progress made with a vain hope that the miners might be found trapped, but alive. On the fifth day, Jan. 10, the last of the mutilated bodies was recovered.

The battery of reporters noted that investigations into the causes of the explosion would be forthcoming, folded up their equipment, and wrote finish to an assignment.

For the Robena miners, however, the story did not end, just as it never will for the 88 dependents — wives and children of the dead

miners—left to mourn because of the neglect of elementary safety practices by the company. This has not been so well covered by the news.

In testimony given at the hearings, it was revealed that the maintenance foreman failed to follow safety instructions called for in turning power on in an area affected by a fan failure.

Robena is a gassy mine, that is, deadly methane gas which naturally exists in the coal seam is given off as the miners cut into it. The ventilating system is designed to provide fresh air, but equally important, to drive off the gas before an explosive mixture can accumulate. Once such a mixture exists, a simple spark can set the explosion off.

## SAFETY PROCEDURE

Electrical warning systems are installed on each fan, so that if one stops for any reason, this knowledge is instantly relayed to an observer. Once the fan stops, power must be cut off immediately from the affected area. The observer then must call the foreman involved and inform him of the fan stoppage. The foreman in turn must get all of his men away from the work area, and make sure that all electricity is disconnected from the main power lines to the machines.

This procedure apparently was not followed in the Robena situation, and may very well have caused the explosion.

## WORK PILED ON MEN IN WRONG PLACE

In addition, the lampman on the outside of the mine, whose job included listening for a warning horn when a fan broke down, was cleaning the bathhouse when the fan stopped. The company, always eager to cut down of the number of men it employs, had added the job of cleaning the bathhouse to the usual duties of the lampman to save a few bucks. And he wasn't where he should have been in order to hear that warning.

On top of this, in other vital life - and - death locations throughout the mine, there was the same kind of situation. One man was doing the job of two or more men, which meant that in an emergency any one of them could be someplace other than where he should be to handle a serious situation.

In further testimony, a miner said he had found gas in the mine just the day before the explosion, had reported it to the assistant foreman who also found the gas, and the ventilation was changed to drive off the gas. In the foreman's record book, no report was made of the gas. Under questioning, the foreman admitted that the company paid bonuses to foremen based on production and cost savings.

Just over two months before the Dec. 6 explosion, another gas explosion at the Robena mine had killed two miners and burned two others so badly that they will never be able to work again.

## MEN DEFEY WORK CALL

After state and federal inspectors had declared the mine safe, the company posted back to work orders. The miners refused for weeks, making sure that there would be no repeat performance. It wasn't the company notices that decided when the miners returned to work. The men had a meeting and voted on it.

## ON THE LINE

**Human Element Challenges Unit Production Practice**

Detroit, Mich.—The new classroom supervisors with their slide rules and unit production are taking over at Chrysler Highland Park Plant.

The old rule of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" has been kept alive for many years gone by. It was trotted out in times of contract negotiations and on the production line in the course

of a day's work. While there was always a difference between the workers and the company on what "a fair day's work" meant, it was used by the men against attempts to be speeded up, and used by the company to try to enforce speed-up.

This day measure could be used when the workers showed they had a voice in and were at the center of production, but that era has passed. With each contract Reuther negotiated, he gave away the control the workers had in exchange for nickel and dime raises.

When all control went over to the companies, they made changes with a vengeance. Now there is the automated machine, the slide rule, the time-study clock, the industrial engineer, classroom supervisor and time study man — all serving unit production.

## FRACTIONS OF SECONDS

There used to be a time when production meant so many pieces an hour, or day. Gone is the hour or day—all is now chopped up into second and fractions of a second, for automated machines kick out production units with this speed.

But hand in hand with Automation goes the fragmentation of the worker. His labor, as if it were something apart from him as a human being, is also divided into seconds and fractions of a second to force him to act with the inhuman speed demanded by the automated machines.

This is unit production, governed by the time clock; unit production in turn, with a slide rule, gives the figure for unit cost. And the handy-dandy slide-rule then comes

up with the most important company figure—the amount of profit per unit produced.

All of this is the way the company would like to see it happen—workers and machines working as one each split second, to make them ever greater profits. But it doesn't happen that way all the time at all.

## CAN'T MEASURE HUMANS

The other day a worker who seemed about to explode came up to me:

"Do you know what just happened to me," he almost yelled, "I was at my machine working, and I see this new time-study man behind me out of the corner of my eye. I just keep on working, and pretty soon he comes up to me. He's got this time clock and slide rule in his hands, and he says according to his figures that I have to get out more production. I almost flipped. I told him that he might look at his watch and slide rule and tell me something about that machine, but he sure wasn't going to tell me anything about myself. I told him that if he thought that machine ran by electricity that he was mistaken as he could be. It runs off my nervous system and my labor, and the company just doesn't have any gadget to measure anything human. I told him I didn't want to see him until he came back with something that could measure me."

This happens all the time. Every day. The company can reduce machines to fractions; they can't do the same to men. The company has changed a lot of things, but there are plenty of changes also going on in the workers. They're not just talking anymore, they're acting, too.

**The Working Day**

By Angela Terrano

**On 'Training' the Young in Russia**

This is the continuation of the article "Maternal Care and Production," which is a review of a report of Maternal and Child Care in Russia. 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 report can be obtained from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

\* \* \*

The Commission visited a kindergarten of the Lenin Arsenal Plant at Kiev and a Creche (nursery) for Rayon (Rural Community): Perchersky-Podulsky District also at Kiev. Both were visited on October 31, 1961.

There is much to be said and discussed about factory and farm nurseries and kindergartens that set-up and controlled by the State. I would like to take this up in future articles, but for the present I want to just give the general impression of the places themselves and of the children.

## THE TRAINING PROGRAM

What is apparent in the report is the strict routines, the neatness and orderliness which both were run; "Even the scissors on shelves were arranged in a geometric pattern." What the aim is of this training should be a discussion in itself:

"The training program, received from central authority, recognizes that every 3 year old child is by instinct an individualist who says 'this is mine.' It is the task of the kindergarten gradually to remove this concept and plant firmly in his

conscious and subconscious mind the concept of the collectivist society. . . . If a child is troublesome and continues an individualist, a great deal of time and attention is devoted to him. Should a child continue to deviate, they suspect he may have some physical defect. . . . After a successful 4 years of kindergarten indoctrination, the conditioned child will now say "This is ours!"

There is a great deal of research going on with condition reflex in the new born even with the fetus. The Russians say the best time for beginning this program is about one year of age. The aim of this is to produce "better brains." However, to me it fortells the advent of earlier and earlier brainwashing.

In viewing the children in the Creche the "delegation was concerned as none of us got the feeling of happiness and well-being one usually encounters in the midst of a group of children of this age (15 months to 3 years). In all fairness the older children were in bed and they might well have lived things up. . . ."

One last quote that I am sure would make that great revolutionist, Lenin, turn over in his grave. Again at the Creche: "In a large playroom, there was an interesting collection of little dolls sitting on tiny chairs. The chairs had the white cloth slipcovers the delegation had come to associate with hospital and clinic furniture. The dolls and chairs were again arranged in precise order and hanging over these playthings was a large portrait of Lenin as a baby."

**Way of the World**

By Ethel Dunbar

**After 100 Years—No Place to Go**

One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation the Negro is yet to find a place where he can have the kind of freedom he wants.

After such a long time you may find that there are half a dozen Negroes in the whole United States who are on the leading staff, and they have to be Uncle Tom to be there. A lot of whites think that Negroes have been given enough to please them, since they have been given these few Negroes in leading positions. But that is not nearly enough to please the Negro people. Not when there are 20 million Negroes in these United States and many of them can't even vote yet.

Our old parents used to pray to the good Lord to come down and do something about the white people who were beating and killing the Negro race for nothing. The black race has always been looked down upon as dogs and animals. All nationalities have used us as a footmat. It is only because the white man has got them to think about us like that, but he doesn't think we know that.

The white man will run his own time out by trying to change everything in such a way that the rich man can have all the profit and get all the

work done without even paying to have it done. The rich man got smart and had Automation do away with manpower, but who will keep money rotating around so everyone can live happily in the United States.

So many wealthy people have gotten to be so greedy, trying to get everything for themselves, that they have almost caused a depression to come back to the U.S. And the government is trying to soak up all the little money that is left with the poor people to try to keep up all these people without jobs.

The Emancipation Proclamation was not written and signed by Lincoln in order for us to go backward out of the world, trying to take over these other countries and get their wealth to make this a better United States for the rich man.

Why don't they do unto others as they would have others do unto them? Why do they leave these other countries with nothing? When these other countries go so low they may make up their minds to go to Russia. The way the leaders of this country are trying to keep the American working people poor, and keep the rich man with all the wealth, will cause the United States to be destroyed by its own people.

Have you contributed to help publish  
American Civilization on Trial?

# Then and Now Wage Battle Hit by Veto

By the Old-Timer

Though the post office as a department of the United States government enjoyed no-strike clauses in its agreement with organized labor, the 100 per cent union shop, with an emphasis on diplomacy rather than the picket line, conducted campaigns for better wages and working conditions and locally achieved more liberal interpretations of the agreement which were at the root of certain grievances.

The campaigns were organized on a nation-wide basis, as much as possible a united front of the postal clerks, city and rural carriers and railway mail clerks.

### SEEK WAGE RAISE

Our aim was to influence the public in the direction of helping us get better working conditions and higher wages. Local 229 issued a statement admitting and explaining shortcomings in the postal service, stating that a raise in wages was all that was necessary to correct the situation, and pleading with whoever received the statement to communicate with certain Congressmen and the President to that effect.

Local 229 of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks was blessed with two very lovely women clerks, Miss Vera Haines and Miss Brinkhouse, who took care of the sale of stamps. They gave a copy of this statement to each customer, and their pleasant personalities did much to create goodwill between the public and the clerks.

On a national scale the local elected two lobbyists, Joe Howard and Pete Hodgins. Their tactics were to contact Senators and Congressmen on the Post Office Committee to line them up on our behalf. Joe functioned as the optimist and Pete as the pessimist—Joe being appreciative of every little thing that was said or done in favor of the Postal employees, while Pete, on the other hand, invariably complained that our interests were being neglected.

### MORE THAN DIPLOMACY

Of course the clerks themselves did not leave absolutely everything to diplomacy. For example, it had been a habit to take the Wall Street Journal as soon as it arrived in the post office and separate it ahead of the first class mail. This practice was immediately discontinued, and Wall Street Journal did well to receive the same services as the other papers. By mistake local letters sometimes got mixed up with outgoing dispatches.

The first campaign I was in was under the Coolidge Administration, and the postal employees lost out. The conservatism not only of Coolidge, but also of Senator Phipps, Colorado's wealthiest citizen, had a lot to do with that.

In campaigns such as these, the politicians practiced a special brand of duplicity in replying to our lobbying and card writing. Their answers built up false hopes and anticipations on the part of the employees, which made the losing of the first campaign the more disappointing when Coolidge vetoed the bill. Needless to say, the clerks were in sore need of the boost in pay.

All workers are invited to write for this continuing series of articles.

### At Local 212

## To Mention Discrimination Is Considered Worst Crime

Detroit, Mich.—Discrimination is a dead-letter word in my local union today. Not that Negroes do not continue to face it, but because Reuther has been able to channelize most union activities along certain lines, such as the broad economic schemes of profit sharing, fringe benefits and a few-penny raises.

A member of Local 212 said, "I have not heard the name of

### FEPC: Committee With No Power

Detroit, Mich. — This writer, being an auto worker in the UAW-CIO, will point out some of the unfair practices and discrimination that exist in the plant where I work, and the auto industry in general.

After being employed in the shop for a number of months, I made application to attend the engineering school. During this period there was a restlessness among Negro workers concerning upgrading to higher classifications in the shop, apprenticeships and skilled trades. This is why I was attending the engineering school.

After three semesters I was shocked and disillusioned by being told by my instructor that the corporation was not obligated to give me employment in my chosen trade. This case of discrimination gave rise to the question of discrimination which existed during World War II.

### MOP BRIGADE ENDS

Industry and the union were under pressure from the government to use all manpower. This put an end to the mop brigade. Through strikes and self-activity, the Negro worker brought the abolition of the mop and broom.

During periods of unemployment—and there have been many since World War II—the burning question has been why the Negro worker is the last hired—and the first fired in the lay-offs.

This laid the basis for the Fair Employment Practices Committees (FEPC). These committees were appointed by presidents of local unions to eliminate discrimination at the hiring gate. The fallacy of this approach is that the company controls its hiring policy, and not the Union or the FEPC. This approach had little or no success, so they expanded the committees to work inside the shops.

### FEPC A JOKE

Among all the organizations which have been formed, together with the committees which are part of them, the FEPC Committees in the UAW are the greatest joke.

This writer says: You show me an organization with an FEPC Committee and I'll show you an organization with a committee that has no power.

There must be a solution some place—a solution which will start to reduce discrimination and unfair practices. But at the time this is being written, discrimination is as great as—if not greater than—it was 20 years ago.

the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) mentioned in this local for several years. If it still exists, there is never any mention of its activities. We still have lily-white departments.

"I am not saying," he continued, "that when we did have a functioning FEPC that it solved or tackled the problems of discrimination, because it was always controlled by the Reuther supporters."

### VERY LITTLE OR NOTHING

Every worker agreed that it meant nothing or very little to them—but at least you had somewhere that you could register a complaint.

Reuther can yell loud and long to the public and the world against discrimination, but he cannot clean his own union of discrimination. Today it is practically a crime when a Negro worker mentions the word discrimination in Local 212.

In this local, for the past 10 years they had one Negro as an officer, administrative assistant or recording secretary. But in the last election, even this was taken away from the Negroes. For the first time in the history of that local union, a white worker ran independent and defeated a Negro Reutherite, who had held office for years; he defeated a well-organized union political machine and caucus of 50 or more Reuther supporters who were supposed to be supporting this Negro who was on their slate.

### INTERNATIONAL THE SAME

Several years ago, a few Negroes from Local 212, along with several whites, were put on the International union payroll. When Automation forced drastic lay-offs of thousands of workers, Reuther stated he had to cut his staff. Not one of the whites was cut off, but the Negroes were, and came back into the shop.

Since that time several more whites have been added to the International payroll from this local union—but the Negroes who were laid off by Reuther are still in the shop. For a worker to call this discrimination is considered a crime.

At a department meeting recently, a Negro worker mentioned discrimination regarding some skilled workers bumping into the production workers department. As soon as the Negro mentioned the word discrimination, the boos and aahhs from the union leaders were so loud they frightened the Negro worker and he rushed off from the speaker's platform yelling: "What did I say wrong? What have I done?"

This is the way discrimination is fought now, by fighting and frightening a Negro when he mentions it.

### DISCRIMINATION MUST GO

Discrimination is something the union must rid itself of. The FEPC was set up for this purpose; today it is called the Fair Practices Department, meaning that it is not only for the purpose of fighting on a local level, but outside the union as well. But as one worker put it, "If it does no more outside than it does inside, it should cease being."

# Labor Must Clean Its Own House



## Editorial

There is not a union shop anywhere, either South or North, that cannot bear a tale of discrimination. The articles on pages two and three bear witness to this.

This is a tale that has become all too familiar in every industry and union from auto to steel to the garment industry. From Reuther's United Auto Workers to Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers to McDonald's United Steel Workers.

Because this has been so, someone like Herbert Hill, NAACP Labor Secretary, could capture the imagination of a good part of the rank and file Negro workers when he charged the ILGWU with discriminatory practices.

Generally speaking when one runs to a Congress with a record that is now superseded in its anti-labor mentality only by its strike-breaking, labor-strangling laws, the rank and file would turn their backs on him. This time, Hill actually had the ear of a good many at the last convention of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). Only the intervention of A. Phillip Randolph who took full advantage of the Congress' anti-labor record to drown the valid criticisms of Hill did the NALC not go on record in support of Herbert Hill.

TRADE UNION LEADERS would be blinding only themselves if they fail to see that there is a job, a big job to do. Which must be done at once—or Congress will make full use of the situation to pass more anti-labor legislation.

### The CIO Knew How When It Wanted To

At its birth the CIO had daring to match its aim of organizing the unorganized, of speaking with the voice of the most oppressed, of challenging the big corporations and unfurling a banner of solidarity with the Negro workers. Take for example its pamphlet *The CIO and the Negro Worker* written in 1941. They wrote: "The new organization, the CIO, determined to keep out every form of discrimination that had held the labor movement back before. It had to keep out racial discrimination as it had to keep out craft discrimination. . . . Negro members have equal voice in the UAW-CIO with all members. In all these unions, Negro members can and do take official positions, are elected to places of leadership by their fellow members. . . . In every case the CIO makes sure that Negro workers receive the same benefits. . . . Negro workers, join the CIO union in your industry. The CIO welcomes you."

Since then, aggravated by the merger with the AFL, it has very nearly buried its own principles. Indeed, in order to gain the support of the skilled trades the former left-winger Walter Reuther has very early forgotten all production workers. The Negro workers will not let him forget that they exist.

Reuther would be hard put to change the shameful fact that to this day, 23 years after the formation of the CIO, the Negro worker remains the last to be hired and the first

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## NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

- 1—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—  
By M. Hamilton, L. Inghram, and others. An account by participants in the Freedom Rides to Mississippi . . . . . 25 c Per Copy
- 2—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—  
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**Editorial****LABOR MUST CLEAN  
ITS OWN HOUSE**

(Continued from Page 3)

to be fired. Walter Reuther, as a union man, should learn a few other facts: that unemployment among Negro workers is four times higher than white workers. That the CIO was supposedly built on the principles of seniority and upgrading regardless of race. Reuther as a union man should know that caucuses fighting discrimination do exist within the unions. If he refuses to listen the CIO will suffer the fate of craft unionism and be only a part of the past.

Only if labor cleans its own house with rank and file workers in control at every step along the way will Herbert Hill's charges become invalid.

**What About the NALC?**

On May 22, 1960 the NALC was organized to combat discrimination. We hope it was precisely these conditions and not George Meany's questioning of A. Phillip Randolph's credentials of representing Negro workers that brought about the NALC.

SINCE ITS FORMATION however, very little has been done and this is saying too much. In some instances local chapters have spear-headed drives such as getting Negro apprenticeships in skilled trades but on the whole it has been limited either to getting a few posts, or subordinating the struggle inside the unions and shops to election campaigns.

**The CIO's 'Operation Dixie'**

Neither the NALC in its two years' existence nor the NAACP's Labor Committee have done anything to help or rather compel "Operation Dixie" to get started instead of remaining the still-birth it has been since it was announced in 1946 to organize the unorganized South.

To break up the Bourbon South and organize the unorganized South is not a job for the weak-kneed and timid of imagination. It requires the guts, the imagination, the principles of the early CIO—the same CIO that cheered when their "Mine Workers struck a great blow for the Negro people when they abolished the differential pay scale between North and South."

It requires the guts, imagination and the principles of the strikes that broke out in the textile industries in 1929 and 1930 and swept across Tennessee and North Carolina.

It requires the heart-breaking tears of the Gastonia, North Carolina textile workers who in 1929 struck against all odds—and by all odds is meant the bosses, the sheriff, the National Guard, the Governor, the Courts, the Clergymen, a part of the press, the state—in an attempt to gain union recognition.

Instead the Reuthers, Dubinskys, McDonalds remain quiet while Herbert Hill chooses to go "through" Congress; and in his anxiety, not to help the Negro workers, but to gain attention, he made a number of errors that labor bureaucrats were fast to seize upon and act as if he now has no case.

**Control Must Be in the Hands  
Of the Rank and File Workers**

Again Reuther would be hard put to convince Negro workers that they have a voice in the leadership of the CIO. He recently had to create a post so that he would have at least one Negro colleague on his Executive Board. He purposefully created the post of member-at-large. A post without equal status of other board vice-presidents, a post that can be eliminated tomorrow and a post that as one Negro worker put it "is nothing but a convenience for Reuther."

REUTHER OF COURSE is not the only trade union leader whose organization has a long road to travel before it can convince its rank and file workers and especially so the Negro workers that it is a union that takes seriously its principles of labor solidarity and no discrimination. McDonald and the USW, Dubinsky and the ILGWU and a score of others have the same road to go.

One thing should be said in Herbert Hill's favor, he has at least made a front page issue of what heretofore only the workers themselves knew. The leadership must now do something more than merely attack Hill. They must clean their house. This doesn't mean that Hill has focused on the most flagrant violators such as the plumbers, electricians, steam fitters, insulation workers to name only a few, nor does it excuse Hill's anti-labor attitude in asking for de-certification of a union.

Neither Hill nor the union leaders are really serious. If they were they would begin with the only way the house can be cleaned and that is to have rank and file committees at every local and national level.

As a very bare minimum a Negro worker said, "One way to begin is to: 1. Make local FEPC's into funded committees with representation on the bargaining committee, instead of the step-children they are. 2. Do away immediately with the lily-white departments. 3. Every case of upgrading must be taken up and become an important function of the local. 4. Every complaint of inequality in apprenticeships must be examined. 5. Each and every point must be in the hands of the rank and file."

These are just a beginning. The time is late. If zero hour is 12:00 the time now is 11:55.

—Charles Denby

**News & Letters**

VOL. 8, No. 3

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at Detroit, Michigan

**Readers'****AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL—  
Emancipation Proclamation, 100 Years After**

It is hard to make fundamental comments so quickly because American Civilization on Trial is really "Marxism and Freedom for the American Scene." To write a fundamental history of the United States in 12 pages that portrays what is basic in human development is nothing short of phenomenal.

But it leaves me in turmoil, because of my desire to apply it, to build around it, when the obstacles are so great.

The treacherous role of the Communists at each turning point is crystal clear. I talked to a Negro woman, who has a sort of Stalinist mentality, when the Bulgarian incident with the African students occurred and asked her what she thought. They are white, aren't they?" she said; and it made no difference to her that she still is partial to the Iron Curtain countries.

Intellectual  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Do accept this modest contribution (£3) to make it possible for you to issue the last two Supplements as a pamphlet. I cannot tell you all it has meant to me.

American Marxists have always seemed to me shortsighted on the question of the Negro's role as the touchstone of American civilization. Their writings, whether mere broadsides or full books, managed at all times to make the Negro into something apart from the labor struggles or the Marxist disputes; or jumping to the other extreme, to make it seem as if it weren't a special question at all.

To have the Negro dealt with comprehensively as an integral part of the very contradictory development of American civilization is a great contribution to the "American question" and I believe it will help us in Great Britain and among the newly developed African nations, as well.

Marxist  
London

\* \* \*

Your two supplements were most exciting reading. This is not the way history was taught to me in school. I'm sure there are a lot of exaggerations in it, but what an eye-opener! I wish I knew how to make it required reading in all schools, from elementary through college.

Teacher  
Washington, D.C.

\* \* \*

I want to congratulate you on the section about the role of the Communist Party. I am sick and tired of seeing the Communists at work among Negroes where they always act as if they had a spotless record. Their role, once Russia was attacked, should put an end to those pretensions. I myself remember that night in Harlem when Benjamin Davis and Mayor LaGuardia were on the same platform telling the Negroes to disperse.

Journalist  
New York

Although the rest of the world may never have heard the statement of Wendell Phillips that Lincoln was a "first-rate second-rate man," which you quote in Part I of your Supplement, I have heard it from you for years, and I don't think it is an effective quote to use because

(1) from the context it isn't clear whether Marx said it, or Wendell Phillips; (2) the fact that Phillips almost got hanged for it makes it tremendously more significant, but few readers would know that, or know the climate of the time enough to know that such a remark would be considered subversive; (3) as it stands, it's simply an insult without any substance, similar to saying "Eisenhower is a jerk," which is certainly true, but doesn't convince anyone, or tell anything new about Eisenhower, or even cook his historic goose.

Furthermore, though I certainly agree with the estimation of Lincoln as a guy who shilly-shallied on the Negro question, I still don't believe he was a second-rate man. He was not the mythic hero American history texts make him out to be, but he was not a second-rate man. If you think he was why do you end this first part with a quotation from him? thus giving his ideas a disproportionate emphasis?

Teacher  
Wisconsin

\* \* \*

I have received many encouraging and favorable comments from my immediate circle of friends on the special Supplement, and am racking my brain for ways to raise that \$2000 . . . I can look forward, I hope, to enlisting the aid of my friends in selling the paper, setting up a fund-raising party or concert or something like that, but they themselves have no money. I do know some business men who have the stuff, and will write them letters to see if they will help get this much needed history-of-our-times off the press.

Student  
New York

\* \* \*

I gave the paper with the Supplement in it to about 20 of the fellows I work with. They have read News & Letters before and have always liked it. But they said this was the best thing they have ever read.

Most of them began talking about what was going on in the South right now—the voter registration and the people who don't have food to eat or shoes for their children just because they wanted to vote. Everybody understands why the Civil War has to be called the Unfinished Revolution..

Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I was particularly impressed with the way you began the second part of your new supplement because you showed how easily they can toss around the word "subversive" at those it does not

not apply to, and yet they do not call the segregationists in Mississippi "subversive" though it certainly does apply to them.

I dare say that just about any worker who has been on an Executive Board in the union has been on the list as a "subversive" at some time or another. During the McCarthy period, when guilt by association was the established way of life in America, it went to ridiculous limits. But it is not something that existed only in McCarthy's time.

At any time in history, when people are opposed to the existing conditions, and pioneering for new ideas, they will find the going very rough.

When News & Letters was first introduced into our plant, for example, some of the "powers-that-be" immediately tried to label it "Communist." A real scare campaign was launched, in fact. But as soon as the men began to read the paper, they knew it was a lie, and the reception has been excellent ever since.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I was very impressed with the first installment of the Emancipation Proclamation story in the January N&L, and even more excited about the projected next installments and the idea of making it a pamphlet. Let me say that I wholeheartedly approve of changing the title to American Civilization on Trial . . .

I am enclosing a check for \$100 as my contribution toward the project.

H. Bear  
New York

\* \* \*

I am very happy that the title of the pamphlet is to be American Civilization on Trial, instead of Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years After. To me it emphasizes that even though the Negro certainly is the keystone of American History, the pamphlet is not a "Negro" pamphlet . . .

I read Part I not as mere history, but as applicable to today's society. To me the important thing to see is what happens when there is a link between philosophy and action. The Negro slaves had been in revolt ever since they arrived in the 17th century, but it was during the 30 year period between 1830 and the Civil War that the action was combined with the philosophy from New England Abolitionism, and the real movement forward occurred.

The same can be said for the Populist movement in the 1890's. Again it was a link between philosophy and action which forced that movement. The reason this is so important for us to see today is because we have the philosophy which must be linked and become a part of the action, in order to have a real movement forward.

Student  
Los Angeles

# Views

## APPEAL FOR MISSISSIPPI VICTIMS

Dear Mr. Denby:

We are writing to you concerning the plight of the Negro in the South. At present there is a voter registration drive in progress throughout the South and because of this registration drive, the Southern Negro is being subjected to many forms of pressure by the segregationists. People are being evicted from the tenant farms, they are being shot at, and they are being cut off from the federal government surplus food program among other things. The people are, in short, desperate. They are desperate for food and clothing and above all, desperate for a chance to live like human beings.

Our organization, Operation Freedom, was set up two years ago to give emergency relief aid in the form of monetary loans and outright grants of cash to the evicted sharecroppers in Haywood and Fayette Counties in Tennessee. Late in 1962 we took on the traditional responsibility of expanding our program into the 18 county delta region of Mississippi. We send you this material in the hope that you will publish an appeal for the need in these areas.

Operation Freedom gives monetary aid but food and clothing are also needed. Food (preferably canned items and food that won't spoil) and clothing (all kinds, including shoes) should be sent directly to: Emergency Welfare and Relief Committee, Haven Methodist Church, 400 Yazoo Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Yours very truly,  
Jack McKart, for  
Operation Freedom

## WELFARE PROBLEMS

I cannot find words to tell you how much I enjoyed the sample copy you sent me. One of the things I found so remarkable about your publication is its stand against both capitalism and Communism. I don't believe Communism (the way it's being practiced today) is true socialism and it's nice to find someone who agrees with one on any controversial subject.

Unfortunately, I'm a welfare recipient. The terrific anti-welfare feelings and sentiments which have their origin with the Kennedy Administration (solidly backed by the hard right-wingers) are causing a great deal of difficulty in this country for the ADC children and mothers . . .

One of our problems is that many mothers, with large families, who are unable to work anyway, are being driven out to work and/or "rehabilitation" and must leave their children unsupervised or uncared for (a violation of the local penal code). The Health Welfare and Education department denies these conditions exist, but these mothers are told to go to work or their aid will be immediately cut off . . .

I've written to many officials and news outlets about these difficulties, but they do little or nothing . . . No

one seems to care or wants to listen. Will you help us? If I wrote you about some of the problems that exist would you be willing to publish it? There are so many people being persecuted by the social workers and the general public (who believe the anti-welfare press and right-wingers) that someone must go to bat for them.

Concerned  
California

Editor's Note: News & Letters will be proud to publish this reader's story. Watch for it next issue.

## NEWSPAPER LOCKOUT

Although we have had no real papers at all in this town since early in December, scab sheets sprang up overnight, like weeds. When the typographers struck the solid papers, the Times and the Journal-American, and, in a demonstration of one kind of solidarity, Mrs. Schiff and her cohorts on the less "liberal" tabloids locked their newsmen and typesetters out, the war was on. . . .

It gives every evidence of being a war of attrition, and ending with mergers and men on the streets, and nifty new four-color automated presses spewing out the same old lies.

D. K.  
New York

It is the publishers, and not the workers, who are responsible for the news black-out in this city. There are rumors here that the publishers have some kind of mutual strike insurance which will enable them to hold out until March. Paradoxically, the two richest papers are being struck, and the papers that can least afford to lose the revenues are part of the voluntary "lock-out."

But if another paper goes out of business in N.Y., I am sure it will be blamed on the "greedy" workers, even though the publishers have refused to bargain on their original offer, which was a farce.

Reader  
New York

## THE NEGRO WORKER

In our shop we have a Negro guy with a Masters Degree, who during period of high employment takes care of furnaces that are electronically controlled and during high unemployment goes back on the production floor.

We have been trying to get him upgraded for years. They say education can solve your economic problems but education won't help a lot of people in this country.

The reward the company gives Negro worker for his education is the furnace. Now they tell him he is too old to be upgraded.

Negro Auto Worker  
Detroit

For years the company has had a hiring form on which the foreman indicates whether he wants a Negro worker or a white worker. If it is a job for the foundry you could bet that he marks Negro. They saved the cleaner departments, such as "press steel" for the whites.

Reuther negotiated contracts with these companies

and it is said that he knows of this hiring form. When we found out about it and raised Cain with the union they acted as if we had committed a crime in finding out about it. The UAW has come a long way since it was first organized!

Negro Production Worker  
Detroit

To me the paper is educating people into a whole new way of life. If it could be made available to more people, we could get that new life a lot sooner.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

## APPEAL FOR HAZARD MINERS

I heard a report of the campaign of terror and violence which the operators launched in an attempt to intimidate the miners on strike in Eastern Kentucky. One picket's home was dynamited while he and his family were sleeping. The home of a grocer's son who had given food to the miners was also the victim of dynamite. Company "gun thugs" sprayed pickets with rifle fire from a passing car in still another incident. The intimidation hasn't made a dent in the strikers' ranks yet.

But the miners can't win by courage alone. Both CBS-TV and the Times have described the plight of the miners' families, living on surplus food, sleeping on kitchen tables in unheated shacks, staying out of school because they have no shoes on their feet. The strikers are sharing everything they have with those worse off, but there is simply not enough to go around.

The official UMW is ignoring them, and only a few neighboring locals have been able to help them. When contributions began flowing in as a result of the TV program on Hazard, the local newspaper owner (the governor's sister-in-law) to whom they were sent, gave most of the aid to the scabs and refused to allow the miners to handle the relief themselves.

The Hazard strikers need canned foods, winter clothes, shoes, blankets, mattresses, soap, and, of course, money. All money should be sent certified mail, return receipt requested, however, since the miners know that many contributions have not reached them. Contributions may be sent to one of the strike leaders, Berman Gibson, 321 Broadway, Hazard, Kentucky.

Perhaps some of the workers who read your paper could get their local unions to support this struggle, also. Committees to collect food and clothing could be formed throughout the country. What has happened in Hazard could happen anywhere.

H. Bear  
New York

What is happening in Kentucky is the back-wash of Automation. The papers are full of America being everywhere in the world winning friends, but what is happening in Kentucky.

Production Worker  
Los Angeles

## Two Worlds

# New Franco-German Axis

(Continued from Page 1)

God rested on the seventh day; De Gaulle will not until he is dead. Will he even then? Unless he is sure of living until the ripe age of 122, he can only mean either that he is a prophet, or that he is confident that the totalitarian institution he calls a parliament "above parties" would carry out his line until glory comes. And De Gaulle's concept of glory envisions not only that "insular, maritime Britain" becomes subordinate to France's Europe, but also that the United States be considered beyond the pale.

Far from De Gaulle acting as he does only because he can depend upon the U.S. for nuclear protection, he is acting as he does because he thinks that nuclear protection is very nearly worthless because of the nearly equal might of Russia. Moreover, De Gaulle thinks he can win over Russia—and from "the yellow peril" at that! As he expressed it in 1959: "No doubt Soviet Russia . . . recognizes that nothing can change the fact that she, Russia—a white European nation . . . is face to face with the yellow masses of China . . . casting their eyes about them on the open spaces over which they must one day spread."

If this is madness, as it is, it is not, however, the madness of an individual egomaniac. It is the madness of the state-capitalist age that has exuded a Mussolini and a Hitler and failed. De Gaulle is ready now to embark on equally fantastic misadventures.

To understand De Gaulle, we need neither "psychology" nor "dependence" on Kennedy and the American bourgeois press. What is essential is that we turn back the pages of history to the Depression in the year after the rise of Hitler, and the attempt of French fascists to take over France.

## TWO TURNING POINTS IN FRENCH HISTORY: 1934-36; 1946-48

On Feb. 6, 1934, the fascists in France attempted to overthrow the government and themselves take power. The riots to that end found the established government, as usual, powerless. But the proletariat rose up spontaneously against the fascists, battled them on the streets and, within six days, came out on general strike, putting an end to the fascist pretensions. The proletarian victory was followed up, in 1935, by the formation of a popular front and general elections in which the Socialists, for the first time, won a clear majority. Even then the proletariat did not let power slip from its hands but followed up the parliamentary victory and ascension of Leon Blum to the Premiership with SIT-DOWNS which covered the whole of France. The following legislation was quickly enacted: the 40 hour week, rise in wages, vacations with pay.

What was the French military brass, including its not-so-junior officers, doing during these three critical years? We have the revealing French pundit's book *The Grave Diggers of France*, by Pertinax, written to expose the rottenness of the French general staff, and to play up the junior General de Gaulle as the head of a free France. When the foundations for French fascism were openly being laid in 1934, but were met by "a veritable popular revolution," Petain, states the January 1935 diary of Pertinax, "was cut to the heart by the fear of social upheaval which in so many a conservative had silenced every feeling of patriotism." (p.423) Petain was for Laval, and Laval, ever since 1935, was for a Franco-German rapprochement. And what was General Charles de Gaulle doing? He was arguing with the General Staff, but it was not about any opposition to native fascism. The French general was arguing as a military man who considered the "defensive doctrine" futile, and wanted to mechanize the French Army.

When World War II broke out in 1939 De Gaulle felt himself vindicated, as if tanks would have won the war! The truth is that he was part and parcel of the bourgeois army and bourgeois class which was undermining the French Republic ever since 1934.

Again Petain thought France needed Laval, and Laval thought France needed Hitler! Petain came to power in France to make it an adjunct of Nazi Germany.

The Allies paid little attention to De Gaulle until the proletariat in France organized an underground. The Allies then recognized him as the French government in exile—in order to make sure to foist him on the National Resistance as "its leader." The fact that the Communists were willing, upon instruction of Stalin who feared independent proletarian rule, to use their prestige as Resistance fighters toward the same end, assured De Gaulle the presidency of the provisional government after liberation. Without them, in 1944, he would have been as powerless as he was in 1958 without the OAS.

This was not because he didn't try to establish his own type of fascist party. He founded the "Rally of the French People," but, as in 1934 the French proletariat would have none of the Croix de Feu, so it would have none of the Rassemblement in 1947. (When I was in Paris in 1947 I had occasion to experience that the Rassemblement, which was supposed to be "above parties," was not above fascistic anti-Semitism.) The strikes of 1947 and 1948, especially the latter, were independent as well of the Communists.

## THE NEW IMPERIALISM

The imperialism of state-capitalism is the key to the understanding of the present stage of imperialism all over the world. It is the capitalism which extended its imperialistic domination from the technologically backward lands to the most advanced, as Hitler had done in his blitzkrieg of Europe. It is the imperialism which refuses to abide "by the facts," that two, and only two, Big Powers remained standing at the end of World War II in place of the several big powers which had divided the world among themselves previously. It would rather pretend to act as buffer between them, not by being a buffer, but by belonging. De Gaulle is asking Europe to belong to him, or to the new Franco-German axis, not merely because of glory hunting or prestige politics, but because of hard economics.

Now that De Gaulle's France has automated its industries, centralized its capital, and, through a Common Market, rather than by a blitzkrieg, accomplished the same for part of Europe, De Gaulle dreams much more fantastic dreams than Hitler ever did, not because he belongs to the 19th century and dreams of past glories, but because he is of today and dreams of future conquests. Without Hitler's armed might and his "secret weapon," indeed disdaining the nuclear might of the United States because

(Continued on Page 6)

# YOUTH

## New Beginnings

By Eugene Walker

In the Jan. 3 issue of *The Reporter* magazine there is an article entitled "The Superfluous People of Hazard, Kentucky" by John Ed Pearce. Before reading this article all I knew about the Eastern Kentucky strike came from a couple of TV news clips which showed a family living in a one-room shack, with government surplus food as their only means of subsistence. It was mentioned that there was a strike, but the issues were never brought forth.

The strike has its roots in John L. Lewis' decision to allow Automation to come into the coal mines as "progress." In return for this, a 40c royalty per ton of coal was paid into the United Mine Workers Welfare Fund. As a result of this decision, 150,000 miners produce as much coal as 700,000 did 25 years ago, as much as 450,000 did in 1950. The wage costs have dropped from \$940 million in 1923 to \$700 million in 1962.

The result may be called progress, but the question is: for whom? Certainly not for the miners. In every one of the 32 Eastern Kentucky counties, between 22 and 40 percent of the people are on government surplus food. Because of the introduction of Automation, hundreds of truck mines have opened in Kentucky during the past 15 years. Miners who work in these mines do so for as low as \$4 a day and \$16 a week.

These miners are striking as much against the UMW as they are against the truck mine operators. The strike began when the UMW revoked the welfare cards of the miners, which entitled them and their families to free medical care. **Strike Grows**

The UMW told the miners that this was being done because the mine operators have not paid the 40c royalty per ton of coal. Miners began striking the truck mines in order to get a union contract. The UMW then announced that they were selling four of their six Kentucky hospitals. Overnight the strike grew.

The miners of Eastern Kentucky are caught in a dilemma. If the mines remain unorganized, the miners will lose the UMW benefits; if they become organized, even more will become unemployed as the truck mines will close. The miners themselves are seeking fundamental solutions to this question of Automation.

Although they support the UMW, they are not getting support in return. One union official says: "They don't know what they're doing. They've got no authority. They holler because we didn't strike these mines not paying scale and the royalty. But you couldn't get one of them to sign a grievance, and before we can call a strike we're required by law and the UMW contract to go through regular grievance procedures, then strike if it isn't settled. If we don't we're violating our own contract..."

"Can't Feed His Kids"

Contrast this with one of the organizers of the strike who says: "Why Godamighty, it ain't right! Man out here bragging he made \$60,000 in 60 days and the men that made it for him taking \$4, \$6 a day! It ain't

Have you contributed to help publish American Civilization on Trial?

right a man gives his kids cars to drive to school in, and them just in high school—and the man that makes it for him down in the mines can't feed his kids, can't put shoes on 'em."

To the union official it is contract rights; to the strikers it is human rights. If Automation is progress then it must be progress for the half million miners who no longer produce the coal. A change must be made so that no people can be called superfluous.

**It Does Affect Youth**

One may ask why should an article such as this be put in a youth column. The answer is that this problem is affecting young people's lives. Their right to education and to a decent life is endangered by a system which maintains unemployment and economic crises.

A system which focuses on Eastern Kentucky for a moment at Christmas but does not mention what these men are fighting for, which will pay \$52 million for 1000 invaders and nothing to the miners of Kentucky, demands to be looked at. I hope that some youth will start looking.

In Preparation:

### The Young Marxist Humanist

White and Negro youth write of their own search for philosophic clarification and answers to problems they face in school, at work, in society. First of a planned series of works for which all youth are invited to write.

### Detroit News & Letters Committee Discussion and Activity Schedule:

All attending requested to bring items of food and/or clothing to aid Operation Freedom in the South, and Kentucky Miners.

#### March 8—DeGaulle's Challenge to Kennedy

The drive toward war and the roles of the pacifist movements.

#### March 15—Labor Must Clean Its Own House

Theme of the discussion can be seen from articles in this issue on P. 3 and in the Editorial. Caucus members are especially invited to participate.

#### March 22—The Young Marxist Humanist

Youth are particularly invited to attend. Discussion on the position of youth in the totality of society, and the need for an adequate philosophy to link both theory and action in the changing world of today.

Place:  
News & Letters Office  
8751 Grand River  
Detroit 4, Mich.  
TY 8-7053

Time:  
Business Meeting:  
7:30 p.m.  
Discussion:  
8 p.m.

## Everyone's Eyes Must Be Opened

Lebanon, Tenn. — I am writing this to try to open the eyes of the whites in this small town of Lebanon, Tennessee. Apparently there is something obnoxious — to a white man — about a Negro defending himself and speaking up for what he believes.

The Negro realizes that for 400 years we have been told sternly or kindly, laughingly or threateningly, that the black man is docile, tractable, stupid, sensuous, and dangerous to white civilization if (but of course that was impossible 400 years ago) he ever chose to assert himself.

### MOVING AGAIN

Now hundreds of years later we have started once more to assert ourselves. We are using our energies to erase the evils and despicable shame of segregation. We have stopped using excuses, for we feel that it is time we improved our conditions, which should have been improved decades ago.

We have stopped using such excuses as "I'll lose my job." What job? Who wants a job where you work seven days a week and make \$15. I don't. I certainly feel that my services are worth more than that.

Many Negroes have stopped saying, "I can't go to jail." That has been proved through the Civil Rights groups.

We realize what segregation can do and has done for the past 400 years. That's why we have mobilized to erase segregation whether it is found in our social life, economic, or religious ways of life. We have made our exit from the wilderness and started our fight for FREEDOM.

—Teen-Age Freedom Fighter

## Two Worlds

### New Franco-German Axis

(Continued from Page 5)

It has been brought to a standstill by the equal nuclear power of Russia, De Gaulle has, by sheer daring (Mao has a much gall when he challenges Russia) laid down his gauntlet and demanded that Kennedy, not Macmillan or even "continental Europe," but Kennedy's USA—pick it up.

His only concern now is that rebuilt Europe still lacks nuclear power. This is the Achilles heel of De Gaulle's hard economics underlying the Common Market, and hard politics underlying the new Bonn-Paris axis. Let's see whether, in recognizing this vulnerable point (through which Kennedy hopes to regain dominance of Europe), De Gaulle has become vulnerable, not in the heel, but in the head.

"Touched in the head," or otherwise, De Gaulle, as we see, has found the vulnerable point in both the Anglo-American axis and "the Warsaw powers," including the Sino-Soviet orbit. All the outcry in Europe against one-man domination has been words, just words.

Whether it is De Gaulle's intellectual chauvinism or France's central geographic position which has led him to play for the very highest stakes—forcing Kennedy (or Khrushchev) to play power politics according to the tune he, De Gaulle, calls, does not matter. What does matter is that he has, with the Treaty with Adenauer, created a new, a powerful, a frightening axis in Europe. Frightening because despite the dissimilarities of our "prosperous" times against the depression of the 1930's, despite the dissimilarities of the personalities of Hitler and De Gaulle, despite the dissimilarities between the Nazi terror and the French democracy, there is more than merely a reminiscent analogy between the present axis and Hitler's.

### SHADES OF HITLER, OR STATE-CAPITALIST MADNESS

The underlying similarity between the opposite personalities of the living De Gaulle and the dead Hitler stems from the economic compulsion of the imperialism of state-capitalism. Ever since the Depression sealed the fate of competitive capitalism, capitalism has tried to hold on to its power through some form of the State Plan. Rich countries like the U.S. could hold on through a comparatively mild admixture like the New Deal; defeated (from World War I) and impoverished countries like Germany did not stop short of fascism. Fascism's search for "lebensraum" was an expression of the impotence of capitalism; even with totalitarian methods it could not hold on to power unless it "expanded" its foundations.

Only by not being confined to Germany, only by centralization of European capital, could the "master race" hope to challenge the United States' world position. Hitler would have liked to have created a German-British axis before undertaking the task of world destruction. He almost succeeded at Munich. When that failed, he went it alone, never fooling himself that Vichy France was a substitute for the greater power of England.

(The outcry that one cannot use the term fascism except to describe a petty-bourgeois mass party a la Nazism forget (1) that Mussolini's fascist corporate state was not quite the same as the Nazism of Germany; (2) that by no accident fascism at first called itself National Socialism. It was only after it had total power that it showed its true visage of centralization of European capital and the horrors of the concentration camps; and (3) that once Nazism was defeated, it would surely not reappear in the same form, especially when the capitalist crisis today comes, not from a depression, but from a prosperous state-capitalism hungering for single world domination. The truth is that fascism was no sooner defeated than the United States found that before it could "claim" Europe, it would have to rebuild it, and it would have to be done on an all-European scale. Hence the Marshall Plan.)

De Gaulle is a man with an elephantine memory which goes back not merely to the France of Louis XIV, and of Napoleon when French culture held sway throughout Europe, but to the beginnings of civilization. To him France is not "just" France, not even "just Europe;" she is the finest European flower of Graeco-Roman culture, that is to say, of all of Western Civilization (and was there ever any other that wasn't absorbed by it, including Egyptology?).

Yes, De Gaulle remembers everything. But he has learned nothing, nothing at all from the fall of empires in general, and class societies in particular. He is blinded by his culture, his state, his military caste, his class. He fails to recognize the decay of capitalism, the disintegration of all class civilizations, from the fall of the Roman Empire to the collapse of France in 1940. His class may let him get away with it in Europe and even, perhaps, in the United States. Surely there is a group of apologists, from both "left" and right, that stands ready to expound his "cause" and to show that he not only "has a point" (Europe has a right to "independence from American domination") but he also "has a value" (his "little bomb" should not be dismissed.) **WHICH WAY OUT?**

What they all too easily forget is that neither De Gaulle-Adenauer, nor Kennedy-Macmillan, nor Khrushchev-Mao found a way out of the capitalistic kind of chaotic production and perennial wars which have brought us to the razor's edge of mankind's extinction. Automated production remains value production, brought to an extreme by the fact that the violent and incessant technological revolutions are constantly throwing out the only surplus-value creating substance; living labor.

Because the terror is rooted in the relations of production and the need to control the working class, only the working class can destroy it, at its root. DeGaulle may have found the weak point in his own class, but he has never yet found he can hold power when the working class en masse turns against him, as they have done in the past turning-points in history, which did away with outright fascist pretensions in 1934-35 and De Gaullian ones in 1947-48. It will do so again. No one else can.

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# War and Peace — Three Views

## Scotland

By Harry McShane

GLASGOW—The recent narrow escape from nuclear war, and all that such a war entails, should cause all of us to have another look at our movement if only to find out why it is we are making no impact on the working people of this country. We must admit that the activities of the movement, such as they were, did nothing to alter the course taken by the leaders of the States involved in the recent crisis. It is also true to say that the demonstrations held during the crisis were not all for the same thing.

We expected the Labour Party to jump on the side of America, which they did. We expected the Communist Party to say that the American photographs were faked, and to come down on the side of Russia, which they did. Some who took part in demonstrations against the missile ship at Holy Loch were calling for missile bases in Cuba. Khrushchev, according to these people, was right when he set up the missile sites, and the decision to dismantle them was an example of great statesmanship. They were not concerned about what the people of Cuba might want.

The Young Socialists were split. The Scottish Peace Committee, like the British Peace Committee, confirmed the opinion that it is a department of the Communist Party. The Committee of 100 and the C.N.D. came out of the crisis with some credit, but even among some of the leaders of these bodies there were some actuated by anti-Americanism.

Only a small minority of the Socialists remained true to the principles of International Socialism. This is the most **DIS-WAR-WORK FOR A LIVING**

The idea that war between the great powers might possibly be fought without the use of nuclear weapons can now be discarded. Even before Russia produced the atom bomb, America supported her nuclear policy by contending that it was necessary in order to prevent the invasion of Europe by Russia's enormous army. Both the C.N.D. and the Committee of 100 have performed a service by drawing attention to the horrors of nuclear war, but it has diverted attention away from the horrors of war, in any form.

Near where I live, there is a shipyard on the verge of closing down, but there are another two almost entirely engaged on naval work. In one yard there is a missile ship under construction. Without the naval contracts, the most profitable of all, a considerable number of shipyards would require to close down. The firms that supply machinery and other equipment for these ships would also be affected. This dependence on war work in order to get a living has always been an obstacle to the anti-militarist struggle.

The great weakness in the Clydeside struggle during the first World War lay in the fact that it was not directed against the war, but confined to wages, dilution, and similar issues. This caused the dispute between the leaders of the Clyde Workers' Committee and those associated with the anti-war campaign conducted by John

## Canada

By Norman Epstein

Vancouver, B.C. — The most frightening thing about the present war crisis is the powerlessness of ordinary people like you and me and millions of others throughout the world to intervene in any effective manner. We are all threatened with being blown off the map and we have no say whatsoever in the decision to do so.

Governments of the world have between them, and in some cases individually, amassed the most fantastic collection of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons for killing, and over-killing every human being on the face of the earth.

### U. S. UNILATERALISM

The decision of the U. S. Government, more than a decade ago, to start the production of H-bombs was made, not only without consulting her British and Canadian and Latin-American satellites, but without ever asking the American people themselves if that is what they wanted their national effort to be directed towards.

Maclean. It was not until early in 1918 that the leaders submitted a resolution against the war to a meeting of shop stewards. The occasion was the introduction of the Manpower Bill which threatened workers employed in the war factories with a callup to the armed forces.

More could be said about that situation, but I mention it in order to emphasize the difficulty facing those who desire to build a serious anti-militarist movement. Such a movement calls for a high level of political consciousness on the part of those participating in it. The positive content of such a struggle must consist of an unqualified recognition of the need for a complete transformation of society. Nothing can be gained by separating the war danger from the capitalist set-up that brings it about. Unless masses of workers are convinced of the correctness of this standpoint, we will be as feeble in the next crisis as in the one from which we have just emerged.

### AGAINST BOTH SIDES

The tendency of many Socialists to detect the faults in American policy, and to see nothing, or very little, wrong with Russian policy, is very disturbing. Many of the absurdities that emanate from the Communist Party are accepted without question by some who, for reasons best known to themselves, have not become members. Support for

If we take sides during the period of war preparations, we cannot avoid taking sides if war breaks out. This also applies to those who, while opposed to nuclear war, see some virtue in Britain remaining in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We must come out against the two power blocs. Alongside the fight against war there must be a real live campaign for the replacement of Capitalism by Socialism.

A negative approach will have little effect on workers who earn their livelihood by making the munitions of war. Unless we win the support of the workers, the next crisis may lead to world war. The need of the moment is a fearless anti-militarist movement based on the needs and interests of the working class.

On important matters, then, including matters of life and death, neither the U.S. nor our country nor Britain can call itself democratic. In such matters we differ little from Russia or her satellites, where decisions to launch sputniks and build multi-million-ruble missiles are made exclusively at the top...

Wars will only stop when people refuse to cooperate with the state and its war machine; when they refuse to work in weapons industries; when they literally over-run in their hundreds of thousands the nuclear bases on both sides of the Iron Curtain; when the students show the contempt for military training on campuses which such training deserves; when people literally take the problem of war into their own hands.

### ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

In its widest sense, the anti-war movement includes the millions of people throughout the world who are demonstrating in one form or another — via petitions, meetings, marches, pickets, sitdowns — for peace, and particularly against their own government's military activities. More specifically, however, I am referring to such bodies as the Committee of 100 in Britain, whose members and supporters have been arrested by the tens, hundreds and thousands for sitting down at RAF or USAF or NATO or Polaris bases; in the Russian and in the American embassies; in front of Macmillan's automobile and in front of Gaitskell's; on Parliament Square and Trafalgar Square and in front of the Air Ministry; and in city centres or rocket sites throughout the length and breadth of England, Scotland or Wales.

I am also referring to the massive student organization in Japan known as Zengakuren, who organized the magnificent demonstration against the military pact with the U.S. on the occasion of Eisenhower's cancelled trip to Tokyo, and who, like the Committee of 100, have been attacked in Moscow for demonstrating there against Russian as well as American nuclear bomb tests.

And I am referring to the CNVA in the U.S. one of whose gallant members has recently been sentenced to six years for swimming out and touchy a newly launched Polaris submarine.

### WHAT PRICE OBEDIENCE?

The issue which we must all face was highlighted by the Committee of 100 at one of their trials last February. In the courtroom, a member of the Committee, conducting his own defense, interrogated Air-Commodore Magill of the RAF as follows:

**Question:** Would you press button you know is going to annihilate millions of people?

**Reply:** If the circumstances demanded it, I would.

This reply is exactly the reply given by Adolph Eichmann, in his words and in his practice. And what about you and me — are we prepared to obey all orders? Are we prepared to entrust our lives to people who would obey any order? (At this moment our government is a member of a military alliance, NATO, one of whose member governments, the Portuguese, is using its arms to perpetuate atrocities against the people of Angola equivalent to those practiced by the Gestapo. If we do not reply to these questions actively, then we share the guilt of any consequence likely to ensue.

# Amsterdam

(Editor's Note: We print below some very brief excerpts from the report of The International Anti-War Conference, called by The National Committee of 100 of Great Britain and co-sponsored by The War Resisters International and Zengakuren of Japan, which was held Nov. 10-12, 1962, in Amsterdam.)

There will be no transcripts of the Amsterdam speeches. The purpose of this introduction is therefore to convey some of their substance and to highlight the points of departure contained in the propositions.

The mood of the conference was unmistakable for what Tony Sythe called "moving from an anti-Bomb to an Anti-war position." We are moving towards a fundamental change in position and it remains for us nationally and internationally to discuss this matter further, clarify our thinking and make our conclusions widely known.

Keiichi Suzuki from Japan explained that the fact that Zengakuren did not formally subscribe to non-violence did not mean that it was in favor of the opposite. It simply indicated that they were for something different, effectiveness, and would interpret methods in relation to effectiveness and the

particular circumstances of the case.

Professor Frits de Jong had opened the conference on a fitting note. The future of mankind was now at stake; war was no longer an acceptable means of politics and for the first time in history we faced the necessity to end it; war was the product of the discord of empires. The balance of power had become the balance of terror and that in turn was a fiction to cover American superiority in long range weapons and Russian superiority in the shorter range ones. We in the movement should take issue with all practices that lead to war, neutralize critical points of contact, stand firmly against all witch-hunting and break the spell comprised of the belief that under the bomb we are safe.

There was a good deal of discussion of suitable forms of international action next Easter. It focused particularly on what might happen in Germany. The press there is especially hostile and this means a need for extra care in not giving grounds for misrepresentation. There was agreement that the situation required something of an East and West character that made it clear in practice that we were equally against the nuclear weapons and military alliances of both sides.

## A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M. D.

### Medicine's Measure Must Be Man

Recent words of a Mexican physician, Dr. Ignacis Chavez, aroused my interest. He spoke of the present dehumanization of the physician, and the dehumanization of medicine. He would like to see the passing of the "Brain-man" — the pure scientist, and the "Hand-man" — the technician.

Science, he says, without relation to man may be science, but it is not medicine. This statement brought to my mind an expression from the early writings of Karl Marx and his more universal truth: To have one basis for science and another for life is a priori a lie.

### NEED NEW RELATIONSHIP

Dr. Chavez spoke of a climate of work among doctors in a group effort and friendly cooperation, and of a new kind of hospital with patients receiving not only medical attention but human sympathy and help in the solution of their problems.

There are other men groping for human values. A professor of psychiatry, writing in a widely read medical journal, emphasizes the decline of the clinical tradition in medicine — concern with the individual patient's well being — and deplores the emphasis on experimentation and the laboratory. He states that in seeking monuments of "Big Science" we are being directed from our real purpose — the enriching and broadening of human life. This is true in all fields of science and has led to abnormalities in science in general and medicine in particular.

The 20th century scientist has become a business man — attracted by publicity, power and expense account. He is obscure in his thinking, losing his cre-

ative power, and a pawn in the hands of business and government.

### SCIENCE PROSTITUTED

The physical scientist, working under sponsored research and making a discovery has to hand it over to business or government who then might put it to use in a way totally different from that originally intended. "The scientist's fate was sealed when his contribution made money for the corporation and brought power to the military," notes a California physician.

This physician goes on to say that in the medical field today, administration, research and practice are separated from one another. Superb technicians and organization men are arising who know little about medical practice and treatment. Institutes, organizations and large scale research studies have replaced individual research motivated by curiosity and implemented by personal effort. The scientist — physical, medical and most others — are not trained for the kind of decision-making and action that is basic to all medical treatment — i.e. the process of making a choice.

The assessment of the patient's condition and the timing of the intervention has to be learned largely through practice. It is not only how a treatment works, but to determine to whom, where and when.

This is the movement from theory to practice and back again to theory that is the field of the clinician. The doctor-patient human relationship is central to all treatment.

In this field of human relationship and human values there is, however, a great deal of confusion. For every physician like Dr. Chavez there are many more to whom man is not the measure of value.

Have you contributed to help publish American Civilization on Trial?

## Workers Battle Automation

(Continued from Page 1)

tions, the auto workers forced Reuther to negotiate on working conditions, striking after the economic issues were settled. In the last steel strike, it was the steelworkers' determination to resist the company's demand for full control over working conditions that kept them going for the 118 day strike that ended with victory on this issue.

### PROFIT SHARING FARCE

In the face of these continuously demonstrated efforts of the working class to free itself from the crushing weight of capitalist production relations, Reuther and McDonald strive to nail the rotting carcass of capitalism more firmly on the backs of the workers through "profit sharing."

Reuther, speaking before auto and other industrialists at the Detroit Economics Club on Feb. 4, said that "profit sharing has created a new dimension in collective bargaining," and that the recently negotiated profit sharing (sic!) contract between McDonald and Kaiser Steel should set the pace for collective bargaining in the future. Contrast this high-flown and utterly barren view of alleged profit-sharing to the worker's burning need for a job and his equally burning desire not to be dominated by Automation.

That master of substitution, Reuther, further showed this talent he abundantly possesses in referring to the 35-hour week. The union, he said, will not press for the shorter work week, but will seek "a flexible work formula" to avoid unemployment.

Reuther's flexibility has resulted in 200,000 fewer auto workers today than there were five years ago. Thousands are walking the streets while those working are forced to work fantastic overtime hours because Reuther does not see fit to negotiate such a basic thing as an eight-hour day in the UAW contract.

By the Administration's own figures, the army of the unemployed reached 4,672,000 in January — practically what it was when Kennedy took office two years ago. In the face of this, for Kennedy to single out for condemnation the struggles of the workers for a shorter work week, as he did in his January Economic Report, shows clearly his contempt for the working class.

### TAX PROGRAM FOR WEALTHY

According to this master of "keeping the country going"—right into the ditch of a never-changing 5 million unemployed—what would supposedly do the trick is a tax cut, publicized as "helping most" those in the lowest economic brackets. Let's see. According to the proposed tax cut, a couple making \$3,000 and now paying \$60 in taxes, would by 1965 pay \$14—a saving of \$46. But a couple making \$50,000 now and paying \$14,198 in taxes, would, in 1965, pay only \$12,265 — a savings of \$1,933.

Here's another measure. The tax reduction for those in the lowest economic brackets (\$5000 and less) will be from 20% now to 14% in 1965 — a difference of 6%. For those in the high brackets (\$400,000 and more) the cut will be from 92% to 65% — a difference of 26%.

The cornerstone of Kennedy's tax cut program rests on more and more profits for the capitalists, whose spokesman he truly is. New equipment — Automation — is Kennedy's cry, and this Administration will give businessmen all kinds of tax benefits to provide them with

more money to get it. The rich get richer, the poor get poorer.

### NATIONAL DEBT IS ONLY THING OWNED EQUALLY

At the same time, JFK proposes a fantastic budget, higher than anything ever seen before either in war or in peace time history: \$98.8 billion. Of this total, 60% is earmarked for war preparations in national defense and space projects, a full 10% is for interest on the national debt alone, leaving only 30% for everything else to meet the crving national problems of unemployment, education, highways, slum clearance, conservation and a host of other needs.

This budget will raise the national debt to an estimated \$315.6 billion by 1964, raising it by \$12.1 billion over the \$303.5 billion debt estimated for 1963. This, in truth, shows the essence of capitalism, long ago seen by Marx who wrote:

"The only part of the so-called national wealth that actually enters into the collective possessions of modern peoples is — their national debt . . . And with the rise of national debt-making, want of faith in the national debt takes the place of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which may not be forgiven."

### PREPARE TO CHAIN LABOR

As if a permanent army of unemployed, an even greater number of semi-employed, burdensome taxes, and miserable working conditions were not enough to pile on the workers' backs, the preoccupation of Congress seems to be: how to shackle labor so it can make no independent move at all. One bill introduced would outlaw any strikes in transportation, another would give the green light to using anti-trust legislation against labor.

James Hoffa, Teamster Union president, is right when he says the new legislation would completely destroy the organized labor movement. And it is very sad commentary indeed that Hoffa is the only labor leader who has spoken out forcefully against these bills.

Those who expelled him and his union from the AFL-CIO as being unfit to travel in their hypocritically righteous circles stand cowardly speechless, while the weapons to destroy organized labor are being openly prepared by Senators and Congressmen who have tried to whip up a national anti-labor atmosphere.

The law of anti-strike injunction, however, is not enough for the Harvard man in the White House. The heavy hand of his Administration reaching for governmental compulsory arbitration has been clearly indicated. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz showed precisely the road the Administration is going to take, in a recent speech to the National Academy of Arbitrators, when he charged that both labor and management have been playing "brinkmanship." He said the Administration's decision has been made, and unless the strikes can be settled peacefully through collective bargaining, the public (that is, "public interest" Kennedy) will force the settlements.

It all adds up to one predominant fact: preparations for war in the future (and the defense budget leaves no doubt about this) means preparations today for the complete control of the workers. The preparations are well underway.

### ANOTHER VOICE RINGS CLEAR

The fact is, however, that the crisis is so total that the Administration is not capable of coming close to meeting it,

## Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

## African Students Attacked in Bulgaria

African students studying in Bulgaria have encountered so much discrimination in that Communist country that they have been forced to make public demonstrations and to seek refuge elsewhere. A demonstration of over 200 African students protesting to the Bulgarian government was met by 600 militiamen who beat them with clubs and hauled them off to jail.

Ghana's Ambassador lodged a strong protest over the treatment of the students. "We have been insulted in every possible way. We were molested in the streets, called 'black monkeys' and 'jungle people,'" said Robert Kotey, a Ghanaian agricultural student. "We soon realized that to study in a Communist country is a bloody waste of time," said student Kofi Buckle.

The story broke in the papers only after the attack by the militiamen. Actually, the case of discrimination began last summer. Though the New Statesman of London did not report it then, its correspondent, John Morgan, finally got around, this Feb. 22, to describing his experiences last summer.

"The Africans were popular with Bulgarian girls . . . One July night a murderous

fight broke out at a restaurant when some of these boys expressed their attitudes, snatched an African away from a girl and punched him . . . By all accounts the brawl was ferocious; at least a number of bodies were carried away . . . Africans were invited to swing from branch to branch down the Boulevard Rouski, were derisively offered bananas at the vast TSUM stores in the heart of the capital city."

The incidents were quieted down until the African students began to organize themselves into a Pan-African Students Union. The Bulgarian Government objected. The Africans then opposed the totalitarianism of the Communist Party and the so-called Fatherland Front. Not only did the Bulgarian Government then refuse the independent organization of students but called it "fascist or anti-popular inclinations." The leaders of the Pan-African Student Union were taken into custody. It was during the demonstration of the rest of the African students against the arrest of their leaders that the attack by the militiamen occurred.

The students now talk of

the fact that, besides the abuse and attacks on them, there have been all sorts of kangaroo courts called "Comrades Courts" set up to deal with so-called "anti-social manifestations" on the part of African students who would not willingly let the Bulgarian version of Communism be stuffed down their throats. Finally, they point out that there are many inequities in the university since children of "Heroes of Socialist Labour" need not pass university examinations to get in, yet these privileged "students" went around passing remarks like "black monkey" at social gatherings.

The last straw after the attack and arrests came when the hundreds of African students began leaving Bulgaria, but other hundreds, still trying to get out, could not. Thus 70 students from Kenya have been trying to leave, but have been denied a visa and traveling money. Fifty students arrived in Vienna recently with the help of the Austrian Students Association and told of the difficulties of the remaining students.

REMEMBER—AFRICA  
FREEDOM DAY—  
APRIL 15

### Michigan's New G.O.P. Constitution

A Romney-inspired, Republican-backed new Constitution is up for approval by the voters of Michigan on April 1. Framed under rules which guarantee domination of the state by a Republican minority, it continues to give vacant land in the upper peninsula the same voting rights as the industrial cities of the state.

The Constitution eliminates some state officers from being elected by the people and makes them officers appointed by the Governor.

While everyone recognizes that the Republican policy of financing the state through sales taxes on beer, whiskey, cigarettes and gasoline, which hit workers hardest, has solved nothing in the past, the new Consti-

Nothing demonstrates this more clearly than the break-up of the Common Market which brought defeat to Britain's entry, a Britain through which Kennedy hoped to exercise his own leadership of the Western world in his quest for world domination.

This impotence of capitalism to solve the crises that it has produced and that have brought the world to the brink of nuclear annihilation stands in sharp contrast to the determined activity of the workers.

At the end of January there were no less than 20 major strikes in which Administration mediators were involved and this is in addition to hundreds of others that are taking place across the nation.

The voices of the workers ring loud and clear through their actions. They know the way to sanity in the world can only come through sanity in production which they are demanding. They are now saying much: they will have much more to say.

tution makes it illegal for the legislature to pass a graduated state income tax, which is the only logical way to finance the state.

The civil rights sections of the Constitution are a step backwards. Provisions for search and seizure maintain antiquated provisions which both fail to safeguard individuals and violate the United States Constitution. Legislative committees can suspend the rules of administrative bodies, rendering the state F.E.P.C. even more ineffective than it is now.

The right of people who rent property to vote on bond issues is denied, making the owning of property a pre-condition for voting on these issues.

The Governor is given the right to reduce expenditures for vital services such as public health, safety, welfare and education if revenues fall below estimates. Other new provisions make it possible for the Governor to organize, reorganize and manipulate state boards and commissions to suit his own political purposes.

On the whole, the new Constitution is designed primarily to continue the rule of a minority of residents and big-business over the will of the majority in the big cities like Detroit.

The Constitution should be rejected by the voters. Labor and Negro organizations to do just that, while the Republicans are banking on the hope that a non-presidential election year will bring out few voters.

### Latin America

Much has been made of the need to develop the economies of the Latin American countries with "Alliance for Progress" funds. Yet if the funds of the Latin American capitalists were retained and used for this purpose, there would be little

need for the U. S. Government to foot the bill.

South American capitalists have over \$11 billion salted away in U.S., Swiss and European banks or invested in the European Common Market. It is estimated that they withdraw \$800 million every year to invest outside of Latin America. At the same time, the World Bank made loans in South America to the tune of about \$325 million—on top of \$1 billion in "U.S. aid." Private U.S. capitalists invested \$144 million and withdrew \$37 million.

An example of the favored treatment which U.S. capitalists receive in Brazil was the recent "nationalization" of a section of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. holdings. Not only was the company promised full restitution for the properties, they were guaranteed against future inflation and granted a huge loan to expand their activities in other parts of the country. To pay for it a special tax on grain was passed which will raise the price on a loaf of bread by 700%.

### Nazi Speaks

Former Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, a convicted Nazi war criminal who served 10 years, is free and speaking before school children—voicing his pro-Hitler views under the Adenauer Government of West Germany.

Doenitz spoke before 300 high school children at the invitation of the faculty of a Geesthacht high school. Showing no regret for his crimes as commander of the German U-boat squadrons during World War II, Doenitz complained that Hitler made a grave mistake when he refused to build even more U-boats before the war.

The government of West Germany and the school system are full of these Nazis, who are "ex's" by Adenauer's decree.