

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

10¢

VOL. 9 — NO. 3

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

MARCH, 1964

10c A Copy
6d in Great Britain

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

New Automation — More Speed-Up

They are saying that we are in the first stage of Automation. Some contend that there will be a second, third and fourth stage in this development. At our last contract ratification, a worker read a statement from a magazine by the then Secretary of Labor, Goldberg, which said workers have not yet felt the real effects of Automation.

As it was reported in past issues of *News & Letters*, statistics show that from 1953 to 1960 Automation had eliminated 1,600,000 jobs in major industries and at the same time there was a 17% increase in production. From 1961 to 1963 there was a 21% rise in production as a result of Automation, while Automation was eliminating 200,000 jobs per month. The AFL-CIO has lost one-half million members through Automation and speed-up.

NEW MONSTERS ON STUB FRAME LINE

The automobile companies are now in the process of model changes, and I have witnessed some of the new monster machines. When comparing the new machines with those of past years, one will have to say that we are entering this second stage of Automation. Now it takes 12 workers to assemble a frame before it is placed on the line for completion by other workers. One of these new machines will replace all those workers on the next model.

Reuther plays with words about his coming contract demands. He speaks of profit-sharing, double-time pay for work over eight hours, and the shorter work-week. Management has been quietly watching and waiting. As soon as Reuther mentioned working conditions by saying his union will do something about the pace of production, Henry Ford II yelled out against his statement. Ford said, production and more production, when he said that "each individual worker must not be interfered with."

SCORES RALPH MCGILL

Ralph McGill in his syndicated column "Marxist Philosophy Is Outmoded by Material Progress" (*Detroit News*, March 13, 1964) reports that a professor at East Berlin's Humboldt University, a Robert Havemann, "has demanded in public class room lectures that Marxism and dialectical materialism be thrown out the window because they retard scientific progress."

McGill then goes on to say that "Marx wrote that man could be rescued from the 'kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of abundance' by the scientific theory which he propounded." He further states, "Marx admittedly had much of his argument, or dialectic, from Friedrich Hegel."

When you read the column and know any of Marx's works and writings, one can see how these "experts" try to confuse the minds of people by twisting and distorting Marx — saying Stalin, Tito, Mao and Khrushchev are all Marxists. The same is true of dialectical materialism and the class struggle — to Marx it was what kind of labor should man perform?

Marx's criticism of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* is that it is not the consciousness of man that determines his existence, but on the contrary, his social existence which determines his consciousness. Where Hegel saw objective history as the successive manifestation of "World Spirit," Marx instead placed the objective movement in the process of production. Marx separated labor from product, and from property, and looked for the contradiction within labor itself. Marx posed dialectically the fundamental problem, what kind of labor should man perform; which is today being battled out the world over.

"DESPERATE HUNGER"

Automation has made this question urgent in the United States — which neither McGill nor professor Havemann can answer. As McGill stated in his column, "We now have the means of increased material welfare, but even in the more advanced industrial states we are confronted with problems of unemployment; surplus food commodities are needed to keep a shocking number of persons from desperate hunger."

The reason the "experts" do not have the answer is because they can only see wealth and technological development outside of the working people.

Marxism is in the aspirations and actions of the working class. As far as today, nothing short of a philosophy, a total outlook, which Marx first called not "communism," but "Humanism," can answer the manifold needs of the working people. His analysis of labor, and that is what distinguishes him from all other Socialists and Communists of his day and ours, goes much further than the economic structure of society. His analysis goes to the actual human relations, "to have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie," he wrote.

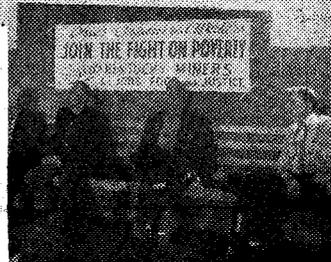
"Freedom is so much the essence of man, that even its opponents realize it, in that they fight its reality. No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others." Marx continues, "every kind of freedom has therefore always existed, sometimes as a special privilege, another time as a universal right."

MINERS' COMMITTEE HOLDS KEY TO AREA'S FUTURE

HAZARD, KY.—"They've tried to run us off, buy us out, scare us away. Everything—just to get us to quit. We just won't." The words were said matter-of-factly by a leader of the striking miners in southeastern Kentucky, where for the past five years the coal operators and miners have been locked in a life-and-death struggle. The massive power of the operators—stretching from the local official politicians, boards of education, police, papers and courts to the state governor's chair—has been mobilized in an offensive to destroy the organized labor movement and to crush the fighting spirit of the striking miners.



Miners and wives ask all to join the fight on poverty.



Efforts to destroy the organized labor movement, represented by the United Mine Workers union in the area, have been almost completely successful. However, far from breaking the spirit of the striking miners, the years of battle have united many of them into a solid unit.

COMMITTEE FORMED

Out of the experiences and the needs of the roving picket organization formed in 1959 when the struggle exploded into violence, a new organization recently emerged. On Jan. 31 of this year, the striking miners and their families organized themselves into the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment.

The Committee meets every Saturday afternoon in a local union hall, and anyone is welcome to attend; women participate actively; one woman is on the executive committee of the group. Recognizing that their battle is one that faces oppressed people everywhere, the Committee is exerting great effort to forge links with the whole of the labor movement, the youth and the Freedom NOW Movement. (See related story this page and others on pp. 3, 6 and 7.)

ONE MEETING

The full scope of the committee's activities can be seen from the order of business during a recent meeting.

1. Petition campaign—all present took petitions urging the passage of a federal law to have all mines covered by federal safety regulations (at present, mines employing 16 men or less are exempt from these safety provisions.)

2. Work on local Federal projects—voted unanimously to send letter to Washington protesting out-of-state workers being brought in to work on federal projects designed to provide local employment, and warned that picket lines would be placed around every federal project in southeastern Kentucky if the situation was not corrected.

3. Frankfort demonstration—committee members reported who participated in Freedom March held on previous Thursday in the state capital.

4. New members—invitation extended for any in audience to join the committee who had not as yet done so. Women and men signed independently of each other.

5. Visitors — chair invited visitors to introduce themselves, and speak if they wished. Visitors included six students from George Wash.

(Continued on Page 8)

Hazard Miners Join In

Black and White Support Frankfort Freedom March

Combs, Ky. — Five carloads of unemployed miners and their wives from the Hazard area went to the Freedom March at the State Capital in Frankfort on Thursday, March 5. We wanted everyone to know that we feel the colored people and the poor whites have to fight it together.

My husband only got two and a half hours sleep the night before he left.

He got up at 2:15 a.m. to gas up the cars so we could leave at 5 a.m. It took us four and a half hours to make the drive. It was the day there were several tornados here in Kentucky, and flooding of some of the cities.

CROWD CAME OUT STRONG

There was nothing but snow, rain, sleet and wind all that day. It all but blew us off the steps of the Capitol building when we got to Frankfort. But the crowd came out strong despite it all. The papers reported that 10,000 were in the March, but at the meeting they reported there were 30,000. It surely looked more like 30,000 than 10,000 to me. The papers said that normal population of Frankfort is only 18,000.

It looked to me as if at least two-thirds of the crowd were Negroes. I was sorry there weren't more white people with us. What impressed me the most was to see all those old Negro people — some of them were on canes — marching with their signs: "Let's Bury Jim Crow" and "Fight For Freedom."

Our signs said: "Hazard Unemployed Miners Want Jobs, Justice and Freedom Now." I helped make the signs, and

I sure did like putting in the word "Now" after "Jobs, Justice and Freedom." Because that's when we have to have it — NOW.

MINERS A "SURPRISE"

We were tickled to see how surprised some of the state troopers looked to see us there. They had hundreds of state police there, from all over the state, and the ones from our area spotted us right away, and nudged each other to make sure they were seeing right.

When the reporters saw us there they ran over and took our picture. We held up the signs real high to make sure they could read every word — but we never did see a mention of it in any of the papers the next day.

Neither the Governor nor his Assistant ever appeared. Rev. King spoke and got a nice reception, but I think Jackie Robinson got the biggest applause. When he said that the Governor should come out there on the steps and start speaking with his mouth instead of just a pencil the crowd really roared.

After the march we drove back home. It must have been almost 9 p.m. before we got in. The papers reported that it was the biggest demonstration the capital had ever seen.

—Miner's Wife

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The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

'Good Union Man' Changed

The union, its merits, its past history, and what it is today, is always the topic of conversation at the non-union shop I work in when something goes wrong and there is some disagreement between the women and the company.

HERITAGE OF UNIONISM

Just recently I had such a conversation with a woman I was working with. She comes from the coal fields of Harlan County, Kentucky, and has some relatives still there, and the heritage of unionism is deep within her.

She said to me people don't realize how much the union has done and what it was like before the union. She continued, "No one believes this but I used to work with a woman that worked at Ford before the union got in. She said that the foreman used to come in with whips that they used on the men and 'us women had to bring in sacks of potatoes to give to the foremen so we could keep our jobs."

"It's just like when you told the girls here that the miners and their families were starving and that some were working in scab mines for \$3 or \$5 a day. Some girls didn't believe that any one could make so little in this country. But I know because just last year my brother was working a pony mine and made just \$5 a day."

TURNED INTO OPPOSITE

In this way, the conversation very often turns to the union,

19 Years After Hiroshima Blast

New York, N.Y.—Thirty survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will arrive in the United States in April, on a global mission of good will and peace education exchange.

Among those coming is Tokie Kawamoto, who with her husband Ichiro Kawamoto founded the Folded Crane Clubs—groups of children of high school age or younger who visit hospitalized hibakusha (A-bomb survivors), aid destitute survivors' families, and help with the upkeep of the Hiroshima Peace Park and their own Children's Memorial grounds.

The folded paper crane, long a symbol of longevity in Japan, became a symbol of peace through the story of Sadako Sasaki, who was two years old when the bomb fell on Hiroshima in 1945. She was over a mile from the center of the explosion, and her health seemed unimpaired until she was 12. Then she fell ill with leukemia. Because of the legend that he who folds a thousand paper cranes lives a long time, Sadako in her hospital bed tried to fold a thousand cranes. She made 964, and died. A statue of Sadako Sasaki stands on top of the Children's Monument in the Peace Park, holding in upstretched arms a gold crane.

Tokie and Ichiro Kawamoto earn a meager living at sewing and occasional day labor, but take no pay for their work of mercy and peace.

During her tour with the World Peace Study Mission, Mrs. Kawamoto wants especially to speak with children, young people, mothers and teachers.

—From World Peace Study Mission, National Office: 325 Lafayette Street, Second Floor, New York, N. Y. 10012.

what it used to be and what it is today. Recently while spending a couple of days in the hospital I met a 30-year Ford worker who likewise had unionism deep within him but had seen his union turn into its opposite and was quite disturbed that this had happened. He said this to me: "Today, at Ford, if you get your production out, keep your mouth shut, don't put in any grievances, you'll get a pat on the shoulder and be told that you are a good union member."

He said there is no longer any union at Ford Local 600. "I helped fight for the union years ago. We used to meet in the basement of condemned buildings so that the company and the police couldn't find us. But today, the conditions at Ford are worse than then. I will be retiring soon so I have been very quiet lately—so now they tell me I am a good member."

"I voted for Stellato in the last election. I know what he is, but Becker wouldn't have been any different. As long as Reuther is there, they will all dance to his violin."

"Before anything can be done, they have to get rid of Reuther. To me, he is no different than any politician or Hoffa—at least the teamsters do something for their men."

GET RID OF OLD MEN

"The company, with the help of the union, is getting rid of the older workers. They have all kinds of ways, but the first and foremost is the medical. They say an old guy can't do a job. They keep him on the labor pool and he never gets back to his job. The company is making men retire at 58 and 59 years of age."

"The committeeman goes up to the guy, puts his arm around him and says, 'Listen Joe, just think how nice it will be to retire. You get double pension' (until 60 or 62). Joe says 'I don't want to retire,' but soon he gets a medical notice and is told that Friday is his last day. He goes to the committeeman, who says he'll see what he can do. He comes back and says, 'Sorry Joe, there's nothing I can do.'"

WANT UNION OUT, TOO

"The company is also working to get rid of the union altogether. With the help of the union they are getting rid of the older worker, but on their own they are keeping the newer workers out of the union."

"They hire some guys and then a few days before they should get their seniority they are laid off. A couple of days later they get recalled and they never have seniority and never join the union. That's the oldest trick there is."

"There just isn't any union at River Rouge any more."

His parting words were that something has to be done and it could and will be done but "the first job is to get Reuther and his boys out."

MORE ON KENTUCKY FREEDOM MARCH

I'm only sorry we couldn't have had more in the march from Hazard. I wish we could have taken hundreds with us. We just didn't have enough money for gas and oil for more cars. But our signs carried our message for all of us.

Miner's Wife
Combs Kentucky

The newspapers gave out

Peace Marcher Jailed in Albany, Ga.

John Papworth from London and two young East Indians recently completed their 18 month Peace Walk which included Iran, Russia, Europe and the USA. Since January, Mr. Papworth has been speaking around the U.S. After completing his schedule in Georgia and Florida, he returned to Albany, Georgia to act in support of the imprisoned Cuba Walkers there. This walk began in Quebec early in 1963, but had been mired in the police-state restrictions of Albany since December 23. Mr. Papworth has just been released from jail in Albany, what follows is a brief account of his stay there.

18th February, 1964

CITY JAIL, Albany, Ga.—My cell is the size of a railway carriage with a two tiered bunk on either side. On the wall between the bunks is a water tap and basin and next to it, touching the mattress of the lower bunk, a W.C. (toilet) . . .

THE CELL IS CRAWLING

with cockroaches, the covers of the four mattresses stained with unnamable deposits and the place reeks of a compound of carbolic and urine. Worst deprivation of all is the complete absence of daylight, for the cell is lit by a bulb in the corridor outside which throws in oblique shadows of the bars across this page as I write. It burns all night and all day.

On Saturday evening I came along to the City Hall and asked the Police Captain to release my friends from their unjust imprisonment so they could continue their peace march to Cuba. He told me to stop my impertinent nonsense and begone, but I said I would wait until they were released. He said I should have to wait a long time and went off.

I think he actually went to telephone the police chief because some time later a burly pale-faced man in a mackintosh strode in and asked me aggressively what I wanted. I asked him if he were Mr. Prichett, and on his acknowledgement gave him a civil "good evening," and explained my mission. He glowered at me and told me to "get out" and when I explained I would go if my friends were released, he seized me in a rage and threw me against a door so that I bruised the side of my face slightly, and told the captain to "book" me.

* * *

I could not have chosen a worse time to come in. When I arrived there were already six people in the cell and by morning there were eleven, and one drunk had vomited over my clothes . . .

One had read "Mein Kampf" and thought it the most brilliant book ever written. All were ardent segregationists and declared their beliefs were based on the Bible. I asked them if they realized how their low wages were simply a reflection of Negro poverty and that until the workers, both black and white, were together, the struggle to raise wages would always fail . . . They were really quite impressed with this argument.

Their contempt for Negroes was like racial feeling every-

10,000 as the number who marched at Frankfort. But they announced 32,000 from the speakers' platform. I think they just don't want it known how many really marched. There are some of the worst liars in all the world down here in Kentucky.

Miner Who Marched
Hazard, Kentucky

where, blind and unreasoning, but when Mr. C. B. King, my Negro lawyer came to see me I noticed they did not hesitate to ask him to do errands for them, and their manner was civil

* * *

19th February, 1964

. . . Peter Light is a young fellow of twenty or so from Canada whom I had met in the temporary office of CNVA here

White Support - Right Kind

Dick Gregory lunged at a New York dailys' remark about the danger of Negroes losing liberal white support because of the public school boycott he is participating in. He said he wouldn't care if they left the black man alone because of their neutrality, but he wasn't rejecting white support as such. There was a white boy he met in the South, who marched on the snowy picket lines with the sole of his shoes gone. That was white support, Gregory asserted, and he wanted that kind.

—From the Atlantic Inquirer, 953 Hunter St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

in Albany before I came in. I caught sight of his face near the floor of the corridor yesterday when four policemen frogmarched him to the door of the adjacent can. He had been distributing leaflets outside City Hall protesting about City Jail conditions and the imprisonment of the Peace Marchers, and had been arrested almost at once . . . There are eight girls in and I have not seen one of them, but their voices are becoming clear to me . . .

At nights the jail seems to be getting noisier. I think there are a large number of Negro girls in the one part. Last night our own girls were singing freedom songs in a deeply moving way. Always there is a great deal of laugh-

ter and animated conversation from their part of the jail and it makes the place sound very homely. When they sang "We Shall Overcome" it seemed the whole jail was full of the sound and we all joined in . . .

Scratched on my cell wall are the words "We are in here so that others may be free—Freedom Marchers," and another effort simply states "Quebec-Cuba Peace March." So I am by no means the first occupant of this call for a cause . . .

* * *

At my court hearing, where I am to be charged with loitering and refusing to obey a police officer, I shall plead not guilty to the first and guilty to the second charge. I will seek to ask Mr. Prichett whether throwing me against a door is normal police behaviour, or whether it was a temporary lapse on his part for which he may wish to apologize. Such conduct I did not expect, for I never saw a Chief of Police before. For the rest I shall simply ask to be given the maximum sentence so that the world will have a measure of the wrong being done to my friends.

I see little violence here, but it seems to lurk about all the time . . . Two days ago I was visited by some detectives. "Stand up so we can look at yer," said one.

I ANSWERED without moving, "Gentlemen, I do hope that the normal courtesies of civilized intercourse have not been suspended merely because somebody has been so misguided as to intersperse a row of bars between us."

They gave me a long vacant, puzzled stare and departed. But the "or else" assumption behind their peremptory command made me wonder to what length they would normally go to secure compliance.

One kills time by writing about this and that, stripped to the waist and occasionally flicking a cockroach off a bar.

—John Papworth

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ADDRESS

CITY STATE

Picket Denied Federal Aid

HAZARD, Ky.—There's a very strange office in Hazard. I mean the one that's giving out the federal government grants up to \$1,000 for people who've been hit by floods to fix up their homes.

You take last year, when we had that big flood. The government offered us low-cost loans to fix up our places that were damaged by the flood. Three quarters of my home was washed away, but I couldn't borrow any money, because I've been on strike against these coal operators to try to get better working conditions. I knew I couldn't pay the money back.

GRANTS OFFERED

But now, in January, there comes the news that the government is giving us the money. All that we're supposed to have to do is go down to this office and fill out this form they have to apply for the money.

I know plenty of people around here who have plenty of land, a lot of acres and livestock. They could have sold some of what they had to get the money they needed to fix their places up. But they didn't have to. They applied for the grant, and they got it. Of course, none of them are strikers.

Now you take me. I've got a little piece of ground my house sits on, and another ten by twenty plot that I use to put in a garden to grow our vegetables to help keep us alive. Now I can't sell any of that, not and have anything at all left.

Of course, that doesn't make any difference. You see, I'm a picket. I've been strikin' for a long time now, and I mean to keep it up—and they know I mean to keep it up. So when I get down there to that office, they always run out of the forms you have to fill out.

I was there in January, and the man told me he was so sorry, but he just ran out of forms. But he was real nice. He said for me to come back the 15th of February, and he'd be sure to have a form for me. Well, I was there on the 15th of February, only for some strange reason, they'd run out of forms all of a sudden. Just like the last time.

Now I know it's not strange, and everyone else around here knows it's not strange. It's just like the surplus food, the food stamps, the public works jobs, unemployment compensation and everything else around here. If you're a scab or a friend of the operators, you can get what their lackeys in those offices in Hazard have to give out. But if you're a picket, a striker and a fighter, you'll wear your feet down to your knees before you'll get anything.

Miner Corrects False Impression

Combs, Ky. — I attended a meeting held in the Hazard court house where some local politicians and some outside officials were talking about getting in some work for the unemployed miners.

The talk was about setting up a program to do some general cleaning up in the community, with the work going to men around here. The men would work an hour for each dollar they got in assistance. It's not much, but it's more than plenty of the scabs are making who work in those non-union dog holes around here.

One of the local two-bit politicians got up and said something about not getting hopes up too high, because a project like this would probably take some 250-300 men — and he doubted that there were that many around.

SAYS HIS PIECE

When he said what he did, my hand shot up in the air. When he saw me, he broke off what he was saying real quick, then said that no questions would be answered during the meeting; that anyone could come up after the meeting to ask any questions they wanted answered. It was plain he didn't want me to say anything.

Only I wasn't about to be shut up that easy. I hit the floor right then, and told him and the others there:

"What're you talking about, saying you doubt there are 250-300 men around to fill those jobs? I can personally give you the names of over 1,000 men right now who are unemployed and would be glad to do that work!"

Then I told them a few other things and sat down. A reporter from an outside paper came over to me and asked me if I really knew that many men who were out of work. When I told him there were probably more than that, he asked me to get him their names, and I did. I don't know if anything will come out of that or not, but I sure hope so. We can use all the help we can get.

'WE FACED ARMED GUARDS . . . POLICE . . . DEPUTIES—WE STILL ARE'

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Visitors at a meeting of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment asked what the Committee was doing and what could be done to help. The following speech by a Committee member answered.)

We used to have 500 to 1,000 when our fight first started, meeting in this room. We faced armed guards, we faced the state police, we faced the deputies. We still are facing them.

The reign of fear in this county is what keeps this house from overflowing today. Many of the people are afraid to talk together, afraid to meet together as we are doing.

Some of you say those people are not union men. You may be right, but I know that I worked by their sides, and I know them. They don't want to see the union go.

MINERS WERE RAILROADED

We've been panicked-at. Part of our membership has been indicted in circuit court. They have been railroaded. And if it had not been for the help of some of the labor movement—especially in Washington, D. C., and in New York—they'd be in the penitentiary today.

The Committee For Miners has been furnishing counsel. And that has taken most of the finances that have been coming in. This committee we have formed here is operating without proper funds, but we're doing all we can. If we had the necessary funds, this organization would grow throughout all of Kentucky.

We've never made a breakthrough yet. We made a March on Washington. We saw our officials and got a lot of promises, and that's about all we did get.

Whatever money has been appropriated to this area has been put in the hands of the state politicians. And they are determined that this group—this committee—will NOT get the money.

The only thing that the public officials seem to be doing is voting themselves their own pay raise.

WE MUST BREAK THROUGH

The discrimination against us by the state government and the public officials in the enactment of any legislation has got this county down and got it isolated. There is not one public official who has met with any of the outside visitors who have been coming down here to see things for themselves. They don't want outside visitors to know what's going on. But until we break through that isolation we'll never get anywhere.

We've been trying for weeks to get a place to hold a student-miners' conference in. In my own opinion, we don't have much chance of getting one.

We need financial aid more than anything. You can't afford to go to jail without an attorney to get you out. We're not afraid of the law. And if we had our freedom and rights we wouldn't have to go to jail. But we don't have that.

We appreciate whatever you people can do for us. What we want you to know is that we don't intend to surrender and be slaves. That's about all I have to say. And that's enough.

ON THE LINE

Notes on Tax Cuts, Spending, and Grievance Settlements

By JOHN ALLISON

In recent days we have been getting the "pros" and "cons" on the tax cut the workers received in their pay checks. The workers in the shop are talking about the advice of President Johnson to spend the increase.

This brings up another question. What about the unemployed, retired workers, children out of school, the poverty-stricken, and the workers replaced by Automation? Add up all of these human beings and many, many more—what advice does President Johnson, or any other capitalist, have for these people on spending.

While we are on the subject of spending, the workers are discussing the way executives are robbing the stock holders and workers and government without going to jail. No one is telling this group how to spend their reward for riding shot-gun over the working man.

HOW ABOUT QUOTA CUT?

For the first time since the Second World War, the working people in the U.S.A. have received a tax cut. Now that the war is over, and there is no need to fight anymore, let's have a cut in workers' production quotas.

All the companies are making money. The corporations are not suffering, nor the government. All elements in the economy are doing fine except labor. City, County and State taxes, and the cost of living, are killing the working man dead.

Production is another killer of the worker. Buick first, and now Chevy, went out on strike over production standards. The Negroes are probably the only ones that have more unsolved grievances than the auto workers.

The thing to remember about both Buick and Chevy, as well as all auto local unions, is that the union will not write up a grievance unless it is a very, very good one. Union policy is: don't clutter up the grievance

machinery by filing questionable cases.

So when you have 130 filed but unsettled grievances piled up at Chevy and over 200 at Buick, the thing that hits you is: Why haven't these workers been on strike long ago? And the answer is equally clear: Because the international didn't let them.

WRONG WAY TO SETTLE

One of the disturbing things about the reports coming out of the Chevy negotiations is that some 100 grievances were settled in one day. I can only hope that they're not settling the grievances the way a bunch of ours were.

We had over 25 grievances piled up, and a strike vote had been approved. At the same time the workers voted to walk out, the company fired a well-known union leader in the shop. When negotiations reached the Appeal Board, everything was suddenly settled: In exchange for the rehiring of the labor leader, the 25 grievances were thrown out.

Question: How can a union have hundreds of unsolved grievances without striking? Answer: The poison book — Contract.

The workers did not write this poison book. Walter and his boys, and the corporations with the government as a silent partner, did.

The Taft-Hartley Act, all anti-labor laws, all contracts, are written by enemies of labor. The unemployed, young and old, women and men, are all victims of a system designed to keep labor in chains.

Fired Nigerian Miners Demand Inquiry

Nigeria, West Africa — The Federal Department of Labour has intervened in the dispute between the management of the Nigerian Coal Corporation and the Nigerian Coal Miner's Union over payment of the Mbanefo awards to the miners.

The dispute came to a climax when a faction of the union headed by Mr. E. A. Basse, their general president — with the backing of the Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Labour Front — demanded the removal from office of Mr. Onoh, chairman of the corporation, and the dissolution of the corporation's board.

COMPANY FIRES MINERS

The Nigerian Coal Corporation dismissed 73 miners charged with taking part in what was described as an "unofficial go-slow strike".

An official statement by the Nigerian Coal Corporation warned that much as the corporation would pay the Mbanefo award, "any miner who goes on an unofficial strike will be dismissed accordingly." This altogether rash, punitive and downright victimisation is without precedent in the history of industrial relations in this country.

The number of coal miners dismissed from the services of

the Nigerian Coal Corporation rose from 73 to 158 when another set 85 miners who were on afternoon shift at the Ekulu mines refused to work when they were informed about the strike.

A total of 3,960 applicants queued up at the Ira Valley Enugu, seeking to fill vacancies created by the dismissed, and in response to an advertisement by Mr. Josiah Agu, the corporation's Personnel Manager for applications from miners who were retrenched in 1960.

WORKERS DEMONSTRATE, HOLD MASS MEETING

As Mr. Onoh announced that he was determined to arrest any act of subversion in the coal industry, about 200 miners demonstrated before the offices of Mr. P. Anthony, Principal Labour Officer in Eastern Nigeria, and demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed miners. Mr. Anthony said that he did not want to go into the matter again until the Premier, Dr. M. I. Okpara returns.

A three-man delegation from Enugu was to meet Prime Minister Balewa to demand the suspension of the board of the Nigerian Coal Corporation; the reinstatement of the coal miners who were dismissed recently by corporation; and also the immediate appointment of a high-powered commission to

enquire into allegations of corruption and mal-administration in the corporation.

These decisions were taken at a mass meeting of Enugu workers, at which was passed a four point resolution on the industrial crisis in the corporation. The resolution claimed that the state of affairs in the corporation had fallen below the expectation of all reasonable people.

MINERS DEMAND INQUIRY

Meanwhile, the Federal Minister of Mines and Power, Sule, arrived in Enugu with a mission to see what could be done. He said he would look sympathetically into the case of the 158 miners who were dismissed after the "unofficial go-slow strike".

He stated that he would see to it that "an industry which once helped the country is saved, and would therefore not want the infiltration of politics into the affairs of the Coal Corp." He further said that the federal government voted 1.5 million pounds for it under the development plan.

He also addressed members of the Nigerian Coal Miners' Union who carried placards criticising the management of the coal corp. and demanded an inquiry into its affairs.

The premises of the corporation headquarters were highly policed as some coal miners moved in to see the Minister.

Editorial

War on Poverty—or War on Poor?

President Johnson's "War on Poverty"—like so many other things emanating from the seat of American capitalism sounds good, but is, in fact, only a new form of the infamous labor camps that we have seen previously in totalitarian countries throughout the world.

Johnson's call is for "a new national job corps (which) will build toward an enlistment of 100,000 young men. They will be drawn from those whose background, health and education make them least fit for useful work." The first alarm was sounded, according to the Administration, because so many youths were being rejected for the draft. Not only does the concern seem to be more directed towards assuring a future supply of cannon fodder for the next war than towards educating our young people adequately; it does not even approach a solution for the army of the permanently unemployed, which is the real threat that worries the Administration.

A DROP IN THE BUCKET FROM A SEA OF POVERTY

There will be 26 million youth coming of age in the next 10 years. This means that the labor force of the United States is expected to grow about 50% faster over the next decade than it did over the past one. Johnson's program of 100,000 for his "job corps", and the additional "200,000 American men and women between the ages of 16 and 21" for whom "the Department of Labor will provide work and training," represents less than a drop in the bucket when the true magnitude of the sea of poverty he is attempting to bail out is exposed.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council reports that 3.7 million jobs were eliminated from factories, farms, railroads and mines in the past 10 years. At the same time, the civilian labor force increased by eight million while total employment increased only 5.8 million. The jobless, as a percentage of the labor force has constantly risen from 2.9% to the present 6%. In a single year, 14.5% of the nation's 55 million families suffered some period of unemployment.

The constant introduction of Automation into industry eliminates more jobs each year than it creates, and makes fewer jobs available—and not just to the young people. The competition between the youth and the older displaced workers will become sharper as time goes on. Johnson, meanwhile, has not even pretended a program for the ages between 40 and death.

Twenty-five years ago, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that, "One-third of our nation is ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-housed." That is as true today as it was then—except that the profit level has risen by 200% while the level of nationwide poverty has remained the same.

"EXITS FROM POVERTY"—FOR RICH OR POOR?

The number of millionaires rose from 27,000 in 1953 to 100,000 in 1961, while those with five million dollars or more, rose from 2000 to 10,000—a 500% increase. When President Johnson promised that "Our tax cut will create millions of new jobs—new exits from poverty", the exit from poverty was being well planned, indeed—for the capitalists. The recent tax cut will help these people keep an even greater share of their wealth. For the worker, the tax cut averages about \$2 a week.

President Johnson has chosen a wonderful time to discover poverty among the voting public—just before another national election. It is reminiscent of the discovery about the time of the last election that Negroes lacked civil rights in the United States. Four years after that great discovery, there is still no law on the books to guarantee civil rights, only promises.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE OR POLITICAL WEAPON?

Little can be expected from Johnson's "war on poverty", either. Even in those areas where some form of public assistance is available, it is used as a political weapon—as in Hazard, Kentucky—to reward friends of the political bosses and punish coal miners who are out on strike.

The administration of new federal funds will likewise be turned over to the ruling local politicians. Johnson in fact, has stipulated that the work and training provided to the 200,000 by the Department of Labor "will be provided through state and local governments and non-profit agencies." How those words will be interpreted by the segregationist leaders in the 17 states who have made segregation their "way of life" within these so-called United States, is well known.

THE SILENT LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The trade union bureaucracy, meanwhile, who are supposed to look after the jobs and working condition of the membership, organize the unorganized, and expand the role of organized labor in the community are far more occupied today seeking out investment counselors to look after an estimated \$60 billion in pension and welfare funds under their care.

Membership in the unions is declining as Automation eats away at the jobs under union contract. There are few new members to sign up, and it is a rare case when a non-union plant signs a union contract today. Union political activity is restricted to electing members of the Democratic Party—the party which fosters the filibuster and upholds segregation, and does not do much more about unemployment, than the long-rejected Republican party did.

Small wonder that the millions of permanently unemployed workers, Negroes and youth, feel that this is not a war on poverty, but a war against the poor.

Readers'

KENTUCKY MINERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

If we could make contact with the auto workers, it would be very good.

There is no question that the people here and the people everywhere want organization. The point we want to make is that our organization is not just for the miners, but for all people.

Member, Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, Kentucky

When we picketed the White House in Washington, the police kept us in one line on one side, and the spectators had to keep moving along on the other side. At one point a woman with a baby came by and was walking right by me. The police came over and told her she'd have to move, that this was a picket line. She looked at him and said, "I know it. I'm picketing, too."

Our line kept growing all the while we were there. We only walked it for half an hour, though. If we had gone on for longer I'm sure we would have had quite a line.

Miner Combs, Kentucky

We visited one family during the bad weather to take them some clothes. Somebody had put a bar of soap in the box, and when the 14-year old girl saw it, she ran straight to her mother and asked, "Oh mom, could I please go wash?"

One of the little boys saw a pair of red rain-boots in the box and asked could he have them. His little bare feet were as red as the boots, and when he put them on they were sizes too big for him, but he started to dance around and sing, "They fit me, they fit me!"

I'm pretty used to things around here, but I just couldn't keep back the tears.

Miner's Wife Kentucky

It's hard to take pictures of the poverty in Hazard. This is not only because it makes you feel physically sick to see the depth of the suffering there. It is because the people are sick of having their pictures taken, while their misery goes on and nothing is done about it, except that more people come down to take pictures.

One woman, living in absolute squalor with her husband and their ten children—8 boys and 2 girls, aged 16, 14, 13, 11, 9, 8, 7, 6, 3, and 2—sprang up when we went to her door crying, "No! No, you're not taking any more pictures of us! I'm no monkey! I have feelings like anybody else! I'm a human being just the same as people that have things!"

Her husband works at one of the dog holes for \$3 a day, when he gets that. The Committee members have pleaded with him to come out of that mine and join with them. It is hard to see how he could possibly be worse off than he is now. The pickets know that he would, in fact, be much better off. They would all help him. They do even now, even though some of the unionists who have contributed food and clothing have given strict orders

that nothing they have donated to the pickets is to go to the scabs.

Nevertheless, the pickets have collected food and clothes for these 10 children



out of their own pockets—and have brought it to them, themselves.

Another miner who works in a scab-mine said he couldn't keep us from taking pictures of the outside of his house, but he would not let us take any pictures of his children. He said that men who talked too much to the TV and newspaper men, and whose pictures had been in the papers or on TV, had been given a rough time later by the operators for things they had said.

What hit us was the fact that none of the miners working in these scab mines wanted us to feel they were against the union. They wanted the union back.

Unfortunately, they did not all feel like the miner's wife who said, "It would be more honor to me to be shot down for stealing than to scab."

Visitor Kentucky

Editor's Note

The Kentucky miners need all the help they can get. We urge readers to send all the donations possible—food, clothes, and money. Packages and checks may be sent to the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, c/o Mrs. Charles Moore, Combs, Kentucky.

We were glad your representatives could get a first hand view of what is taking place in Eastern Kentucky.

We are all stranded in the same boat. Individually we cannot accomplish anything but if we will come together with the same goal in mind, we can accomplish a lot. We are sending an article on automation, and as you will see we stress the point that automation is being used for the benefit of the few to the detriment of the masses.

Our organization is young but growing steadily. What we need most is financial assistance so we can do a better job of organizing all unemployed people in surrounding counties, so that we can do a better job.

Secretary, Appalachian Committee for Full Employment Hazard, Kentucky

Editor's Note: The article on Automation from Kentucky will appear in the April issue.

We're fighting for safety, too. A man who works in a small mine is just as precious to his family as one who works in a big mine.

Miner Combs, Ky.

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

The white man can believe it or not, but his time is running out just as sure as he was born. He has been laying out some of the worst laws, contrary to the good book, the Bible, which has all the laws for man to go by.

By changing the world into an Automation world we will destroy all mankind and leave nothing for man to do but die from these great monsters that they have built to save the rich man with all his wealth and wipe the poor man clear off the earth.

The white man has had the world in a jug with the stopper in his hand for more than 100 years. The Negro has had trouble, trouble all his days, so it is time to overcome.

E.D Detroit

The most important thing about the recent Chicago demonstration, in which the schools were boycotted for the second time within four months, was that even though fewer students stayed away this time, it was still a tremendous success in the face of the strongest opposition the city machine could bring to bear. The mayor, the Negro alderman, the state's attorney, and a score of others made all kinds of threats, but a great number of people went along with the boycott anyway. He hope that we will be able to get some mileage out of this.

Boycotter Chicago

SOUTH AFRICA A POLITICAL PRISON

The situation in South Africa has progressively worsened throughout 1963; there are at least 5,000 political prisoners in Verwoerd's jails and it is said that 360 political trials were held in Johannesburg alone between April and September last year.

Men have been sentenced to death for sabotage, which in South Africa includes striking for better living conditions and even painting slogans on walls. The No-Trial Law, passed in May 1963, has enabled the executive to act against opponents of the regime unchecked by the rule of law. The judicial machinery of the country is by-passed completely by this measure. Acquittal in a court of law no longer ensures release from prison, and there is no guarantee that even the completion of a prison sentence will ensure release.

In October 1963 the United Nations passed a Resolution calling on the South African Government to release all political prisoners and to abandon trials of political leaders. Only one nation voted against this resolution—South Africa.

News & Letters

VOL. 9, No. 3

March, 1964

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan.

Views

The South African Government has ignored this Resolution and political trials are continuing all over the Republic. Mental and physical torture is used widely to extract confessions and "evidence". Some of South Africa's most respected and experienced political leaders are being tried for their lives in Pretoria.

We appeal to you to sign the enclosed Petition, collect as many signatures as you can, send money to the Defence and Aid Fund, send letters of protest to the South African authorities. An international wave of protest must support the United Nations' resolution and show the people of South Africa that they are not alone in their heroic struggle for basic human rights.

—World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

* * *

(Editor's Note: Letters, aid, and requests for further information should be sent to: World Campaign, c/o Anti-Apartheid Movement, 15, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.)

ZIP SUBVERSION

Truth is not only stranger than fiction. It is funnier, too. I don't really know whether the following is funny or sad, though. You decide.

It seems, in case you missed the item, that Atty. Gen. Phillip H. Haggerty of Arizona recently had occasion to receive a letter from the Communist Party. In Haggerty's reply (released to the press) he blasted them—as follows: "The subversive nature of your organization is even more clearly designated by the fact that you do not even include your ZIP code on your letter."

This brought out the humor even of the *Detroit News*. In an editorial on it, they concluded: "The ZIP code is obviously part of a grand conspiracy by the collectivists in Washington to give every American an ID number, the better to keep track of him and filch his freedoms. Haggerty is clearly promoting its use. Now, then, Mr. Haggerty, or whatever your name REALLY is, would you please tell the Committee when you first started taking orders from Moscow?"

Still Laughing
Detroit

HOMELAND OR GALUT?

It seems that inhumans such as George Rockwell hate the Jews even more than they hate Negroes. That advocate of hate would only expell the Negroes to Africa. He would send Jews to the gas chambers.

Yet, this poor imitation of a human being is free and not in prison, where he really belongs. He received a charter from his state to peddle his dope. It would seem that our "statesmen" in Washington, must consider it quite legal to burn Jews in gas-chambers. No wonder those good "Christians" did not lift a finger to save Jews in

Europe. There is no other logical explanation for their behavior. . . .

Some Zionists claim that America is a Homeland, not a Galut. Two fairly recent incidents should shatter that illusion, it seems to me. In Los Angeles, a celebration for Israel was attacked by members of Rockwell's Nazi Party. A number of Jews were given medical treatment. At Brighton Beach in Brooklyn, a highly populated Jewish section, another group of Nazi gangsters attacked some members of a Zionist Youth organization, who also were observing the anniversary of the creation of Israel. The victims were all on the Jewish side. . .

I must say, this is some "Homeland" where things like this can happen! Can anyone imagine such incidents occurring in Israel?

I will conclude with this thought: America is at present my home and I joined the Army to defend that home. But Zion is my eternal Homeland.

M. E. Ben-Ami
New York

THE NEW PAPERBACK

The cover of the new paperback edition of "Marxism and Freedom" looks wonderful. I know three people I will sell it to immediately when it comes off the press. When the weather breaks there will be a lot more we can do to promote it here. There are bookstores I have in mind to contact about it also.

Committee Member
Pittsburgh

(Editor's Note: There is still time for readers to take advantage of our special pre-publication offer, in order to get the new paperback edition at \$1.50 a copy. See order blank, page 7.)

THE ITALIAN SCENE

Before studying what happens in the Italian Communist Party one must ask what is the social composition of the Party, and when he finds out that only "12% of the total force of the Party" (say 200,000 people) are workers, in a country where we have 16 million workers, you will easily understand that the Communist Party is the party of the worker's aristocracy.

If any split occurs, you will not see people going to the left, but people going to the right, like Reale (Hungary crisis), Giolitti (Pessi), and so on. Then the break of the Socialists has given birth to the PSIUP which — by taking the left wing of the Socialist Party (reformist workers)—shoots it not between the Socialist and the Communist Party, but to the left of the Communist Party, transforming the unsatisfied socialist workers into maximalistic ones. Is it clear, this process?

The revolutionary minorities have been very little affected so far. To become a revolutionary Marxist, it takes time and study, and people in the two main parties have been diseducated during 20 years.

R. R.
Italy

N.H. PRIMARY

Since I am neither a Republican nor a Democrat, I normally couldn't care less about things like the New Hampshire primary. But I really relished what happened up there this time. It sure did seem as though every time Goldwater and Rockefeller opened their mouths, they lost another dozen votes. The only reason Lodge looked good was because he wasn't there to let people know what he thought!

Socialist
Detroit

* * *

One reporter who interviewed voters after the primary was over, said that the lady who best summed up what most of those he talked to felt, was the lady who said that every time she listened to one of Goldwater's speeches she liked how he spoke real well. Then she would go home and think about what he said, and start to worry.

Housewife
Detroit

BLACK AND WHITE

I plan to write the editors of the *Young-Marxist Humanist* shortly. They have a good outlook and it sounds very reasonable. You state, however, that the workers and others are not passive. How can this be? Most of the new social activists are Negroes, very few whites. Even the insurgent element in the Negroes are a minority.

Sure there needs to be more social and political reorganization. But, how is this going to happen without something like the 30's — the Depression—to wake the masses up.

The Automation pamphlet is very interesting.

Student
Tennessee

* * *

We have an organization set up to try to get something in here for the unemployed. The name of it is Appalachian Committee For Full Employment. We now have a very large membership if we can keep them all together, but we don't have enough of the Negro miners with the Committee. We want especially to have some of them on our executive board.

They need the fight even more than the white people, the way I see it. They have been pushed to the back when any help has ever come to anyone, and I would like to see them in front for a change.

We know just as they do that they have a living to make the same as the white man, and that, inside, all our souls are the same.

Miner's Wife
Combs, Kentucky

* * *

The black and white didn't use to hee-haw together very much before, in this part of the country. But I tell everybody we better start heehawing together now or we'll all be lost. We have to be together in this fight, because their fight and our fight are the same.

Unemployed Miner
Hazard, Kentucky

* * *

(Editor's Note: For more on this question see "Two Worlds", page 5, columns 4 and 5).

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

A Forgotten Page of American History

Negro in the Populist Movement

(Editor's Note—A reader writes as follows:

"I re-read my copy of *American Civilization on Trial*, and was struck once again with the amazing fact that your group—almost alone, pointed out that the Negro question was a 'national question' long before the Freedom Now movement forced everyone to recognize it.

"And now, it seems that you are again almost alone — among the 'experts', that is — in seeing that the critical link today is the link that must be made between the white workers and this independent Negro movement . . . In *American Civilization on Trial*, you had a section on 'Black and White Unity' in the Populist Movement, and several years back, if I remember correctly, you ran a 'Two Worlds' column on that subject, which was excellent. Could you run that again sometime?"

We gladly reprint that "Two Worlds," originally published in *News & Letters*, February 1959.)

As the latest crop of books from white Southern "liberals" once again proves, the plea for time to "readjust" (another civil war?) is based on the most popular white fetish that the South has "always" been solid on "the race problem."

The truth is that one of the greatest pages of our history — the Populist movement — had its Southern chapter written by white and Negro acting together. "Never before or since," writes the historian, C. Vann Woodward*, "have the two races in the South come so close together as they did during the Populist struggles."

The simultaneous growth of monopoly and depression during the turbulent eighties and "heart-breaking" nineties found the agricultural South at the mercy of the city merchant and ground beneath the wheel of the railroads with their high tariffs, established by an unholy combination of railroad tycoons and the Government. In sheer self-defense, the farmers—white and black, middle class and poor, West and South—united to challenge not only the unbridled rule of Eastern capital, but also their own race prejudices.

One of the incidents during this period will show just how strong the unity of action between white and Negro was. A Negro Populist, H. S. Doyle, was confronted with a lynch threat. A white Populist leader, the Georgian, Tom Watson, then declared:

"We are determined in this free country that the humblest white or black man who wants to talk our doctrine shall do it, and the man doesn't live who shall touch a hair of his head, without fighting every man in the People's Party."

In those days Tom Watson meant what he said. He followed this declaration up by giving Doyle shelter and sending out riders on horseback for assistance. We have a description of this from the biographer of Tom Watson: "All night armed farmers roared into the village. The next morning the streets were lined with buggies and horses, foamed and tired with travel'. All that day and the next night they continued to pour in until 'fully 2,000' Populists crowded the village—arms stacked on Watson's veranda."

POPULISM AND NEGRO SELF-ACTIVITY

Populism was a power to be reckoned with both in state and national politics. It was instrumental in the election of Populist governors as well as state and national representatives. The National Colored Farmers' Alliance alone numbered no less than 1¼ million. Although separately organized, from the white agrarians, it waged its battles together with them. At one blow the unity of white and black not only shattered the Solid South but threatened to do the same to the two party system.

Tom Watson gave expression to the Populist principle of a united front of white and Negro in these words:

"Now the People's Party says to these two men: 'You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars both'."

It is true that by the time of World War I the old Watson became a race-baiter. The greater truth, the one that will live in history, however, is that, under the impact of the objective situation, that man was spokesman for, and a practitioner of, black and white unity. Of course, he buckled under when the different classes within the agrarian movement separated. When industry won the battle over agriculture, planter and cotton picker found different class alignments. The irresistible power of an idea with a mass following was no longer irresistible when the mass—in this case the National Colored Farmers' Alliance—called for a general strike of Negro cotton pickers.

Poor and rich divided, and so did the South. The president of the National Alliance (white) advised the farmers "to leave their cotton in the field rather than pay more than 50c per hundred to have it picked." The schism within the movement made it easy for the industrialist to unite with the planter to thwart the strivings for a truly new social order.

The point is that while the Populist movement did sweep the country, it had found its most radical expression in the South. This was seen both in the white agrarians' attitude to the Negro, and in the Negro's trying to push the movement forward by mass action of the cotton pickers. As we have seen, at the very height of the prejudice-ridden post-Reconstruction period, when the South was supposedly solidly white in thought and action, the unity of white and black shattered both the Solid South and the two party system. In the same way, the self-activity of the Negroes foreshadowed the class struggles to come and which we are living through today.

* Prof. Vann Woodward is one of the very few white historians who have made a great contribution to the study of American history by not neglecting the role of the Negro. See especially his work, *TOM WATSON, Agrarian Rebel*, from which the quotations in this article are taken. (Rinehart & Co., New York, \$5.)

YOUTH

French Students Protest U. Conditions

NEW BEGINNINGS

A Challenge To Thought

By EUGENE WALKER

There has been a recent revival of the study of some of Marx's writing. Among those seeking to interpret Marx are Sidney Hook, who in a new introduction to a book entitled From Hegel To Marx attacks much of the humanist interpretation of Marx; Daniel Bell, who in The End of Ideology declares the sterility of Marx's ideas for our age.

In contrast to these are works by Erich Fromm and most notably by Raya Dunayevskaya who in Marxism and Freedom presents a much more vibrant and meaningful presentation of Marx's ideas.

However, I do not wish to treat in any detail the books mentioned. What I would like to do is propose a thesis concerning the study of Marxism for our day and ask for the readers' comments on this thesis.

A LIVING PROCESS . . .

Marxism, I feel, cannot be something which is thought of as a theory of 19th century political attitudes left to lie in books. Instead it is my contention that Marxism is a living process. I do not mean that it is living because Russia and China parade around in supposed Marxist cloth—but rather that the struggles of human beings—who are overthrowing the old and creating the new everywhere from South Africa to South U.S.A., is Marxism.

. . . A LIVING FORCE

The spontaneity and creative energy of people—whether it be the Hungarian Revolution which was the first blow to Russian totalitarianism, or the 1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott

which commenced the Freedom Now struggle in the United States—all support the contention of Marxism as a living force and not one found only in books. These people may not have heard of Marx, but in the two-fold process of destroying the old and creating the new, they are practicing the ideas which Marx set forth as a theory of liberation from his earliest Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts through the Communist Manifesto to Capital.

Marx has often been accused of writing in dry economic terms. But central to all of Marx's writing was the human being reacting to society. Marx was compelled to analyze the economics of society in order to interpret the human being's struggle for freedom.

. . . FOR HUMAN LIBERATION

Central to our understanding of Marx's ideas as they apply presently must again be the human being reacting in society. A proper interpretation of his ideas begins here. To see Marx as he analyzed his society and created a theory for human liberation, is to see Marxism as the activity and thought of human beings who are reconstructing society.

Paris, Feb. 21, 1964 — Today the streets of Paris' student quarter were empty of students . . . but full of policemen. The newspaper, Le Monde, estimated that over 5,000 policemen had "occupied" the Latin Quarter as of 7 p.m. last night in order to prevent a student demonstration which might have "embarrassed" de Gaulle's government during the visit of the Italian president here. The demonstration, planned for today, had to be called off by the student union. With 50-100 cops on every corner, no more than three students could even gather.

"GIVE US THE MEANS . . ."

Today's "ghost-town" of a Latin Quarter contrasts strongly with last November's student demonstration in which thousands of students battled the police and when the day ended in bloodshed and many arrests. But the basis of student unrest is the same: on the facade of the student union (UNEF) building in Paris there is a ten-foot banner which reads: "The students want to work — give us the means."

The means: first this means money. The students have demanded that the government, as an immediate stop-gap measure, double the number of instructors and classrooms, issue certain class books free of charge, recognize the Union, and begin serious discussions of a "student salary plan" — recognition that students work too and are part of society.

In fact this would only be a stop gap. Today in France, so-called "discussion courses" have up to 150 students in the room, and it is impossible even to get into a lecture (much less find a seat) unless you arrive 40 minutes early. The students have almost no contact with the instructors, and almost as little

Hazard Youth Group Started

Hazard, Ky.—A youth group has recently been organized in this area to both help and get help from the newly-founded Miners' Appalachian Committee for Full Employment.

Of the 40 young people who attended the second meeting only one was working. None had got through high school. Two were seniors in high school who were hoping to finish. In ages they ranged from 16 to 21.

They talked about how to get education and jobs for young people and agreed that they needed some sort of organization of youth to accomplish this, but they wanted to get advice from the adult group on how to go about getting the training they felt they needed.

Several of the young people attended the regular meeting of the Appalachian Committee the next day.

with each other as there is neither time nor a place for them to meet.

STUDENT DEMANDS

Here is what a recent UNEF pamphlet said: "Two conceptions of the university are struggling today . . . Which should we choose? The Traditional University? Privilege of rich men's sons which dispenses an anachronistic erudition and is attached to an arbitrary and out-dated system of selection. The Technocratic University? This is the very one which the Gaullist power wants to establish, placing the students under the thumb of corporation executives, pushing specializa-

tion to the nth degree". The pamphlet answers: "We don't want to be either book-worms or robots."

More than the material difficulties and the type of courses, the students complain of "cramming and passiveness in the face of dogmatic instruction," and "conditions which prevent any active participation in the work." Their conclusion is that they must intervene themselves to create a "democratic university," "We want to apply our own solutions to our own problems," the pamphlet concludes, "the Sorbonne belongs to the students."

Academic Freedom Threatened

Recently a TV news program carried an item on the fight for free speech on the campus of the University of Minnesota. It resulted in a dialogue between a professor Sibley, who is a pacifist, and the Public Works Commissioner of St. Paul, Milton Rosen, who said we need more Joe McCarthy's in this country.

Sibley was cheered, and Rosen jeered by about 2,000 students—whereupon Rosen demanded an investigation of the university by the state legislature, and won his proposal. The aroused student body has mobilized 500 students to go throughout the state in "truth squads" in an attempt to counter the threatening "red scare."

The state of academic freedom on the campuses in this country is becoming very alarming. Men like Governor Wallace and other reactionary segregationists get the platforms—and when students protest, they win as a "victory" the right to hear some Communist speak. Then the door is closed again. This is really worse than defeat.

These Communists not only don't represent any true opposition to the reactionaries—they don't even attract any audience to hear them, except a handful of old radicals. But the Wallaces—and the Malcolm X's—

attract enormous audiences.

In fact, at Michigan State University, a coed named Jackie Korona, who is supposedly an integrationist, wrote an article in the student paper there which stressed that Wallace was a "gentleman," and an editorial in the same issue said that Wallace could not "help his belief that segregation is a just way of life". Student members of the NAACP and SNNC, white and Negro, picketed the paper carrying signs that read "Hitler was a gentleman too."

That very same week, a Professor Revilo P. Oliver from the University of Illinois attacked President Kennedy in a John Birch Society magazine called American Opinion—saying Kennedy was assassinated because he had ceased to be useful to a Communist attempt to overthrow the United States. Despite enormous student and faculty protest against this Birchite using his position as a professor to give his views respectability, the university ruled that Oliver had published this in a non-university publication, as a "private citizen" and therefore he had not violated any university rules.

The same university fired another professor not too long ago for allegedly advocating "free love" just because a letter by him on the subject had been printed in a student paper.

"SEDITION" TRIAL

Meanwhile, the case against the students at Indiana University, which has come to be called the Bloomington "Sedition" case, has been going on for almost a year now. The first indictment was based on a speech given last March by a Negro leader of the Young Socialist Alliance at a public meeting which 125 students and faculty members attended on the university campus. The speech was an analysis of the Freedom Now movement which had been given dozens of times at other campuses—from UCLA to Harvard. Yet on May 1 last year three students were indicted for participating in this meeting.

The next night, after posting \$1000 bond each, they met with two lawyers and other friends to discuss their defense. The lawyer's home at which they met, it later developed, had been "bugged" and the entire discussion was tape-recorded.

This private conversation was then used as a second offense, the county prosecutor claiming that the defendants had assembled "voluntarily participating therein by their presence, aid, and instigation" to secretly plan the violent overthrow of the state of Indiana. They faced a two to six year prison term if convicted. The indictments were dismissed on March 20 and the 1951 Indiana law held unconstitutional by the Monroe County Circuit Court.

Its HEW That Needs Education

The reader may find it hard to believe, but the following letter is not a satire, nor a joke. It is the actual answer sent by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) to a youth in southeast Kentucky.

"We understand that there are eight in your family. Your father has been unemployed for six months. You and your family do not have enough to eat. You are 17 and you and your sister want to go to high school.

"We suggest that your father inquire at the county office of the Department of Economic Security as to any help that may be available for persons in your circumstances.

"We sincerely hope that you will be able to attend school next year, and that you will remember that you can secure knowledge even though you are not attending school. There are libraries and night courses available in many communities. We would suggest that you discuss your ambition with the counselor of the school you hope to attend."

Sincerely yours, John J. Hurley Acting Director

Discussion Article

African Asks: What Civilization?

The definition you give to "civilization" is only acceptable by those who believe in justice and equality among the people and the races.

But some consider civilization as technical progress. So, for them, the word civilization will mean something else. Even though they believe that there must be some kind of equality among men, they won't let the oppressed people struggle for their rights. In fact, they will think that those people are not fit enough to rule, or that they are going to make bad use of their freedom.

See, I am not speaking only about the white Americans who don't want the Negroes to be emancipated, because they seem to fear an eventual black supremacy. I include also those European people who still want to maintain the right of exploitation upon the African nations. Should those people understand that real civilization is based on freedom and equality, maybe we shall live a better life.

But as long as the powerless will remain subject to the exploitation of the powerful, there is not going to be any civilization, even though we all become technically advanced people.

As Marxist-Humanists, can you tell me the differences between socialism and communism? Why are people so scared of communism? Is it because communism denies God's existence? Is it because the communist principles are believed to be unworkable? What is your opinion about that subject?

—African Student

Since there is much confusion between the terms "Socialism" and "Communism" and because the Russian totalitarians masquerade themselves as

"Marxist"; we call ourselves Marxist-Humanists, not only to separate ourselves from the Russian system which is a theory and practice of enslavement—but also to show that it is the Humanist roots of Marxism on which we base our philosophy.

By Humanism we mean man as the center in any future society. The self-activity and creativity of workers, Negroes and youth fighting against exploitation and segregation in our country, and all over the world, are the beginnings of that Humanist society—but unless they continue to control their own destinies in any future society, that society no matter what it calls itself, will be just another form of capitalism—i.e. state-capitalism—as are Russia, China, Cuba and other satellite countries.

When seen from this vantage point, the dispute between Russia and the U.S.A., or Russia and China, is not an "ideological" but a very practical one—which one will win the right to exploit all of us, the whole world?

We invite our readers to write in on this question and add what they will to it.

Editor, Youth Page

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Negro Demonstrators Scorn 'Leaders'

In San Francisco

For the past month or so, Civil Rights demonstrations have focused attention on the large cities of the North. San Francisco has had a number of such demonstrations against job discrimination. The latest was against a G.M. agency office on March 14. The most dramatic was the "civil disobedience" demonstration that took place in San Francisco's famed Palace Hotel on March 7.

It is difficult to get from the newspaper reports the number of youth participating. They do report however that 600 sat down at one entrance and in the lobby of the hotel while another 250 sat-in at the carriage entrance. The demonstrators here were extremely active, chanting, clapping, singing, sitting-in, lying-in.

MANY WHITES TAKE PART

Many, many of the San Francisco demonstrators were white. Again it is difficult to determine the number. The reports play up the fact however that out of the 167 arrested only eight were Negro.

One of the most important developments came when these youthful demonstrators found themselves in opposition to many of the Negro leaders, whom the Negro youth have labeled as "Uncle Toms."

Miss Tracy Sims, 18, chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Sheraton-Palace, which spear-headed this drive, became a Civil Rights fighter during the Woolworth and Kress boycotts of 1960 when she was 14 years old.

She is also chairman of the

MIGRANT CHILDREN

7-Year-Olds Are Given Piecework

"Recently this reporter . . . visited migrant camps in North Carolina. We saw dozens of kids as young as seven picking potatoes under a blistering sun. They were performing hard, adult labor, working rapidly, mechanically, without pause, dripping sweat as they stripped potatoes from the plants . . ."

"Like the adults, the children work at backbreaking piecework rates. As each 30- to 35-pound basket was filled, the child would lift it and empty it into a field sack. Each sack, filled, would net the child's parents seven pennies—about one mill per pound."

—A. E. Farrell in Good Housekeeping

From—
National Sharecroppers Fund,
112 East 19th Street, New York

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San Francisco Youth For Jobs, an organization formed to get more jobs for persons under 25 and to curtail job discrimination.

San Francisco Mayor, John F. Shelley, in two days engineered a so-called agreement, that appears to be binding on no one but the civil rights organizations, with all the hotels in the city. Although the agreement called for dropping charges against the sit-inners the judge refused to drop the charges saying he would be no party to any agreement by the Sheraton-Palace Hotel not to prosecute.

UNIONS READY TO AID

Keeping in mind the objectives of Miss Sims' organization to end job discrimination, what is most exciting in the accounts of the demonstrations is one small paragraph of six lines which stated "while ticklish negotiations were going on, (Mayor) Shelley also stalled off several unions which said they were going to put hundreds of their members on the picket

line. However, no further details are given of the unity between the unions and the Civil Rights organizations. One can just say that it is about time that there was some real active support on the part of the unions.

A LOUD SQUEAK

While the newspapers lauded the "End of the Hotel Siege" and the judge refused to drop the charges against the sit-inners and some Negro leaders called for an end to such demonstrations, 300 demonstrators on March 14 protested job discrimination at a Cadillac auto agency's office in San Francisco by "marching in serpentine chain inside the agency when police arrived." Out of the 300, 110 were arrested.

Mayor Shelley's attempt to put an end to "this kind of mass demonstrations" has not exactly succeeded. As Dick Gregory, who was present at the Palace "siege" put it, "The wheels that squeak the loudest get oiled."

—N & L Committee Member

In New York and Chicago

Both New York and Chicago have seen the promises of a second school boycott against de facto segregation fulfilled. In both cities, the first boycotts were overwhelmingly successful.

In New York City, 464,362 children, almost 45 percent of the entire enrollment, both Negro and white, stayed away from school on Feb. 4. In the second boycott on March 16, 267,459 students, or 26 percent of the citywide enrollment, took part, despite the fact that the second demonstration did not have the support of many of the civil rights leaders.

The absenteeism at the predominantly Negro schools in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant was almost complete. The number of pupils absent was over the total number of Negro pupils in the system—264,616.

In Chicago, the second boycott on Feb. 25 was likewise almost complete in the pre-

dominantly Negro schools. In schools with 90 percent and over of Negro students, 80 percent stayed out. The figure went as high as 85.5 percent in a school with 99.8 percent Negro students.

A total of 172,350 students stayed out of classes during Chicago's second boycott, as compared to 224,770 students who participated in the first boycott on Oct. 22. In many respects, however, it was a far more significant demonstration because Mayor Daley's powerful Democratic city machine had conducted a well-organized and highly publicized anti-boycott campaign in a determined attempt to defeat it. Instead, the Negro rank-and-file defeated the machine.

The result was a dramatic demonstration by the rank-and-file in the civil rights movement; not only against de facto segregation but against many of the "old time" Negro leaders and politicians, from whom the Negro community in Chicago seems to be turning decisively.

OFF THE PRESS THIS MONTH

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As Miners' Wives Picket

25 Police Watch 5 Women

Hazard, Ky.—For about six or eight weeks they had 25 police guarding five of us women. They had us charged with breach of the peace, disorderly language, and blocking the public highway. We weren't guilty of any of those things. All we were doing was stopping the scabs.

Most Effective Pickets: Wives

COMBS, Ky.—From the very start, the women were in on the picketing against the scab-mines.

One day last year when the men were going to picket one of the scab mines, they were afraid it was going to be pretty rough, so they told the women to go home. Instead of that, the women got into their own cars and took off to a different mine in another direction.

WOMEN IN TROUBLE

Before long, somebody came to the mine where the men were and told them the women were in trouble, and several of the men took off right away to go help them. When they got to the tippie they saw the women up on it, with sticks, beating the blazes out of the scabs up there.

A fellow standing below watching it asked the men, "Aren't you going to go help them?"

The men just stood there and grinned. "We'll just sit here and watch," they said. "Those women don't need any help from us!"

SCAB IN TROUBLE

The same day, some of the women pulled their cars across the road to stop one of the scab trucks which was filled with coal and on its way to the tippie. The truck came to a stop facing up the hill, and the driver yelled to the women to get out of the way or he'd get out and beat them up.

As he kept yelling, one of the women got out of her car and slipped around to the back of the truck. She pulled out the pin holding the tail gate—and that was all she had to do. The coal spilled out all over the road.

The best time we had doing that was when the police were all up at the High Sheriff's mine. The police knew we were sure to be at that mine to try to stop them from loading coal over that tippie, so they all went up this narrow road to get up there ahead of us and to be ready for any trouble when we got there.

A PRETTY SIGHT

We knew they were there waiting for us. Only just then, up that one-way dirt road comes as pretty a sight as you ever saw: a scab driver with his truck loaded with coal, on his way up to the tippie. We just let him go by, and when he started up a pretty steep grade, we just pulled the tail gate pin. You never saw such a pile of coal like that dumped in the middle of that road.

It was beautiful. The police were all trapped up there at the top of the hill; they couldn't go anywhere. And on top of that, no other scab driver was going to load a pound of coal over that tippie for a long time—until all of that dumped coal was cleared away. We figured our work was done there, so we just turned our cars around and went off to another mine.

We haven't been able to

We got one scab up on a tippie one day and told him to send his men home, but he wouldn't listen to us. We took off his shirt and ran it up on a pole, and we were going to take off his pants and run him down through town that way, but the police came up and we had to leave.

One mine we went to, we looked around and found the operator holding a gun on us. We were going to take his gun away from him, but the police came up too soon that time, too.

The police didn't always get there fast enough though. One day we ran some of the scabs right off one tippie. We never did figure how they did it but they ran right up the chute—they looked like dogs running after rabbits they moved so fast.

PRIVATE PROPERTY?

The cops used to follow us everywhere. One day we parked, and they parked and waited for us to go again. And finally they came over and said, "Look, we know what you want to do—you want to go over to that tippie over yonder. But we're here to follow you, and we're going to stop you because that road is a private road, and you are not allowed to go up there."

We told them we knew the property on each side might be private, but the road was county property and we had as much right to it as anybody. Then I told them, since they cared so much about personal property, they'd better never come on mine or I'd run them off for sure.

PRIVATE PROPERTY!

It wasn't long before I got the chance, either. I live about 20 feet from a railroad track, and there's a switch right in front of our house. One day the cops and the national guard set up a machine-gun on that switch. This was to take care of three little pickets we had there. Then about 8 or 10 police cars pulled up, and some of them parked their cars right against our fence.

I came running right out, and I told them that was my personal property they were on and they'd better get their damn cars off it and fast.

They told me, "We're police, and we can park anywhere we want to." But one of the railroad detectives was a little bit smarter than they were, and he came running over to tell them, "You heard what the lady said; I think you'd better move." It really did my heart good to chase them off.

The police around here hate me, for sure. But they couldn't hate me any more than I hate them.

Miner's Wife

picket since last year when they indicted the men in court on those trumped-up charges. But there are still a lot of other things to do. We distribute the clothes and food that is sent in. We visit the homes to see who is in the worst need. We do a lot of letter-writing. I guess there isn't much we don't do now . . . except picket.

—Miner's Wife

Miners' Committee Holds Key

(Continued from Page 1)

ington University, who said they would return to campus to organize programs among students to help.

6. Youth—report given on progress made in organizing a local youth group.

7. Financial secretary's report—amount in treasury reported; hat was passed for contributions; amount collected was reported.

This skeleton outline of the meeting cannot reflect the spirit and fighting determination expressed in many ways by the people present. (For one example, see speech printed on page 3.)

There are many lessons that can be learned from southeastern Kentucky, for the situation here mirrors the future of workers everywhere. The forces contending for power here exist in every shop, mill, mine and factory throughout the rest of the nation. The only difference here is that the two forces stand eye-to-eye to each other, stripped of all hypocrisy.

It must be remembered that miners were first to feel the effects of, and the longest to suffer the ravages of Automation, which was introduced in the coal mines in 1949-50. Since that time, the miners have seen their work force slashed from some 450,000 men to some 120,000 men today.

The miners were the first to sound the alarm that Automation was a destroyer of jobs as well as a killer of men. Far from lightening the work load of the miner, Automation, the continuous miner, meant inhuman speed up for men damned to work on these energy-draining monster machines.

STRIP MINING INROADS

In this same period, strip-mining operations mushroomed. These operations could be worked without union men, with less expense to the operators in wages as well as in costly equipment needed for deep-mine operations. Strippers could also rip the coal from their seams without concerning themselves about replacing the gouged-out earth. And stripping took its toll: accounting for about 10 percent of coal production in 1950, it accounts for about 25 percent today, or an increase from some 40 million tons stripped in 1950 to well over 100 million tons now. In Kentucky alone, over 800 miles of terrain is stripped.

Nowhere were the effects of these combined forces felt more than in southeastern Kentucky. Marginal mines closed down; larger operations began to cancel their union contracts with the United Mine Workers. By 1959, in Perry County, where Hazard is located, the pattern became unmistakably clear. The operators were out to break the UMW. The men came out on strike.

Rifle fire crackled in the mountain hollows as pickets sought to stop scab miners from working and hired company thugs tried to discourage the pickets. Strikers' homes were dynamited, including the trailer occupied by Berman Gibson, one of the strike leaders. The home of a local merchant contributing food to the pickets was also dynamited, along with a church being constructed primarily through the efforts of the merchants. Coal tipples were also dynamited, and pickets' cars parked along the roadside were often riddled with bullets. The women joined their husbands on the roving picket lines. (See stories, p. 7).

The High Sheriff of the

county, a notorious non-union mine operator, hired 73 deputies—more than had ever been on the force in the history of this area, including the strike-ridden period of the early 1930s. As one of the pickets said, "The High Sheriff picked up every trigger-happy rum bum who could never get a job and pinned a badge on him. These were the deputies—and not one of them could have passed the test to be a deputy."

It was war, years of war. The control of the operators over the local petty officials now was thrown into the scales. Under the food stamp plan, unemployed pickets were charged \$40-\$50 or more for the maximum of \$72 worth of stamps allowed a month, while scab miners making from \$3 to \$12 dollars a day got the same amount of stamps for \$2.

Unable to break the determination of the pickets, the operators turned to another source of power they controlled: the courts. Trumped-up charges were brought against 18 of the pickets. If convicted, they face sentences ranging from a \$10,000 fine and 20 years in jail up to life imprisonment and even death.

MINERS FRAMED

These court cases are now pending, and the framed miners need all the aid they can get. An idea of the ruthless determination of the coal operators can be gained from the charge of robbery with intent to kill brought against ten pickets in January 1964—for something that was supposed to have happened in October 1962.

Interestingly enough, two of the ten men charged have confessed to the crime; their bail has reportedly been paid by the operators, and their families have been taken care of by the operators.

Another sidelight to this show is that only one of the three men against whom the alleged crime was committed said he could identify anybody. The other two said it was too dark and foggy to identify anyone. The third however, reportedly said he recognized two of the ten men and named two prominent picket leaders . . . neither one of whom could have been at the place at that time according to witnesses.

LAST UMW MINE GOING

As indicated, the success of the operators in breaking the UMW in Perry County is nearly complete. The last union mine in the county has given notice to the UMW that it is canceling its contract in April.

The striking miners, however, have by now gone beyond just simple unionism. They all want the protection that a union can provide, but they also are demanding entirely new human relations—not only in the mine, but in the community.

They know what a complete victory for the operators represents. They see daily the abject poverty destroying those scabs who work for \$3, \$5 a day. This is the only future for the miners and their families if the operators win.

The government has sent in projects designed to help the unemployed, but the operators and their allies are stopping any real effort in the area. They know that if other industry comes in that they will lose their cheap labor, and are doing all they can to prevent any such development.

LINKS TO THE FUTURE

The striking miners know all of this. It is why they have organized themselves into the Appalachian Committee for Full

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

OUR EXPLOITED CONGRESSMEN

To hear them tell it the most oppressed, poorly paid and underprivileged group of men in the United States are our beloved Congressmen. At great trouble to themselves, they seek to gerrymander the home constituencies to keep themselves at the thankless job and to serve the interests of their masters, Wall Street. What devotion!

Obviously they should be offered something other than standing in line for surplus food! They thought so and, by God, they did something about it. They built themselves a new home, through the sweat of our own brows. The price was modest enough \$94,000,000. Considering that it will house 169 men, but with feeding facilities for

3,000 people, a garage for 1,600 cars, 18 committee ante-rooms, 51 committee rooms, swimming pool, gymnasium, volley ball courts, massage tables, steam tables, a \$7.5 million railroad to take them two blocks, who among them can complain about the price?

The style of the huge pile of marble and granite is known in architectural circles as "early ugly Stalin", copied, no doubt, from the man of the same name. It is named, appropriately enough for the man who sneaked a bill through Congress, tacked onto another bill, to authorize its building—Sam Rayburn, southern segregationist since deceased.

Each of the Congressional

suites includes two bath rooms, a kitchenette and a huge vault (to keep whiskey in?) Furnishings per suite will cost \$10,000 each.

Since those who must suffer under such miserable accommodations should at least have a bit of pocket money to jingle, they also tried to vote themselves a \$10,000 a year raise on top of their \$22,000 a year salaries. Only the demand for a roll-call vote prevented the vote-conscious congressmen from passing their bill. In this election year, they just didn't want it on their records.

In another hundred years, if they are not too tired they might get around to a civil rights bill.

Uncle Toms Boycott Civil Rights

The recent wave of school boycotts of northern schools to protest de-facto segregation in the school system of Chicago, New York City and Boston met with overwhelming success. Thousands of students and teachers stayed at home despite the threats of reprisal by school authorities.

The sour apple in the barrel for Chicago was the Rev. (Uncle Tom) Jackson who organized the Baptist Ministers against it and urged his Negro following to boycott it. The other Uncle Toms who follow him were: the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., the Presbyterian Interracial Council, the Catholic Interracial Council and the African Methodist Church.

In Boston the opposition was led by Cardinal Cushing, who called the Negro demonstrators, "truants."

Passports?

The system of issuing passports for Americans to travel abroad was adopted in 1926. During recent years, passports have been denied to people whose political views the U.S. State Dept. found objectionable.

This law has finally been challenged by William Worthy, a Negro journalist who visited China, Hungary and Cuba and was arrested when he re-entered the country in Miami, Florida.

Recently a Federal Court of Appeals in New Orleans found that it was a fundamental right to enter the

country freely. The Justice Dept. is expected to carry the case to the Supreme Court.

South Africa

Ten men, headed by Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress Party, 6 Negroes, 3 whites and an Indian, face the gallows in South Africa if the charges against them are sustained by the segregationist all white government. They are charged with an attempt to overthrow the segregationist government, end segregation and establish free voting rights for all South Africans.

Typical of such governments, they charge a "communist plot" although none of the men is now, has been or ever was a Communist.

Death is not uncommon among those awaiting trial. At the inquest of Looksmart Solwandle, a "Detainee," it was reported that "the detainees are ordered to undress and squat on the ground and a stick is then placed in front of their elbows and behind their knees, while their hands are handcuffed. A canvas is then placed over their heads and a series of electric shocks administered." One of the 20 witnesses who testified at the inquest of the man thus killed said, "I was taken to the Pretoria morgue and confronted with his body and told that there was plenty of room for me there as well." The policeman told him, "We are at war and your life means nothing."

30 year old Fipho Tyitya,

also a "detainee" was found hanged in his cell at Port Elizabeth. (See Readers' Views for information on a world protest about this.)

Malaysia

The threat of open warfare exists between Indonesia, and the new country of Malaysia. Men of that country have already been killed in border skirmishes but the country is ready to fight back when invaded.

Sukarno, who has been playing the middle game between Russia and the United States, getting aid from both while pretending to be a "socialist," seeks to divert attention from his home economic troubles by involving the country in a war, in which he can exterminate his opposition at home.

Desegregation

Here is the champion record for law-breaking in the United States. Ten years ago the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that segregation in schools must end "with all possible speed". Here is the record today (in the first column is the total number of school districts; in the second, the number of desegregated districts):

Alabama	114	4
Arkansas	415	13
Florida	67	16
Georgia	197	4
Louisiana	67	2
Mississippi	150	0
N. Carolina	171	40
S. Carolina	108	1
Tenn.	154	44
Virginia	130	55
Missouri	1597	203
Oklahoma	1180	197

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

Statement of the National Editorial Board

- Part I—From the First Through the Second American Revolution
- Part II—The Still Unfinished Revolution
- Part III—Imperialism and Racism
- Part IV—Nationalism and Internationalism
- Part V—From Depression through World War II
- Part VI—The Negro as Touchstone of History
- Part VII—Facing the Challenge: 1943-1963

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Employment, through which they are demanding a decisive voice in determining what projects come into the area as well as how they are to be executed. It is nothing short of trying to take their destiny into their own hands and making a new world for themselves. The links the Committee is making with the rest of labor, the youth and the Freedom NOW Movement are important not only to the Kentucky coal miners, but to all of those they are trying to reach.

Unless he has obtained a special permit, a South African professor delivering a lecture at a white club commits a criminal offence.