

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Company Policies Breed Death

This column in the last issue dealt with the merger of the two union caucuses in Local 212 of the UAW. One was the Green Slate (better known in the shop as the Reuther Slate) and the other was the Rank and File Slate, which organized several years ago on the basis of the rank and file workers' opposition to the Green Slate.

The last election was the first time in 15 years or more, that an opposition slate won top positions. And after six months in office, those bureaucrats in the leadership of the caucus double-crossed the workers who supported them and put them in office by joining with the Reuther Slate.

Local officers meet with the company once every week. A worker from the Outer Drive Plant reported that at a recent meeting, the company tried to use my column which mentioned the merger of those two slates against the union officers.

He wanted his views known:

The big majority of the workers in Local 212 were definitely opposed to any merger by these bureaucrats—but they were doubly opposed to the company using this against the union. As though workers do not have many more complaints against the company.

#### WORKERS DROP DEAD

For years workers have been raising the question of inhuman speedup which has gotten to the point where workers drop dead in the plant, others on their way to work, and still others at home. We never heard of the company discussing these issues with the local officers unless the workers threatened to strike.

In the past several months, the company has hired a few Negroes in positions where there were none before. Some in supervision as foremen, one in first aid, and a few in skilled labor. A worker at Nine Mile Press said that Lynn Townsend, Chrysler president, had a meeting with supervision at that plant and wanted to know why no Negro was on as foreman in the plant. After those supervisors told Townsend they could not find one with the ability, he said they had to make it a must. The time had come when they could no longer continue to use this excuse.

Workers know this is not just a change of heart by the company; they know it is because of the mass demonstrations and protest by Negroes and their white supporters. That is the reason, the only reason, we are seeing some minor changes in the company position after so many years and years of practicing discriminatory policies.

A White Citizen's Council leader on supervision, several months ago, made some vicious public statements about Negroes and some white workers. The company simply transferred him to another plant, and some White Citizen's Council members in the plant boasted that he got a better job and an increase in salary.

#### WHERE'S ACTION ON THIS?

There are some Birchites in the plant, who every worker says are in the skilled department. These Birchites must work on Sunday, because practically every Monday morning all the men's rest rooms and doors to all stairways have stickers pasted on them saying: "Guns did not kill Kennedy, but Communists did."

Workers write all kinds of remarks on these stickers, such as: "You damn Birchers are mainly responsible for it," or, "A damn fool like you did."

Neither the company nor these union bureaucrats seem to make any effort to check this or those Birchers.

#### MORE DEMONSTRATIONS NEEDED

After all these years that these union leaders have waved a banner as the leading organization in the field of Civil Rights, and especially in the UAW, it was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) who had to come out in a demonstration against General Motors to expose their segregated policies. GM tried to hide behind the UAW leaders by saying that they do not discriminate because they agreed in a contract with the union that they would not. But Negro and white workers told of discrimination in GM plants in Michigan which is unbelievable.

Before the company can use anything a worker says about union leaders against the union, let them first begin to recognize and respect workers as human beings and not just things.

Their first step could and should begin at the point of production where workers are forced to keep pace with a machine and the production line. Their time study crew sets the production above what they think it is possible for a worker to do. If by some miracle the worker makes it, then the workers are re-timed and the standards are set higher. And all the pressure and threats of being fired are put on them to get the latest standards.

When these union leaders fail to support the workers, or betray them, this column will continue to expose them. But the company cannot tell the workers anything. Where the union leaders fail, it is always in not fighting on principled grounds against the inhuman bondage that the company is always—day in and day out—trying to force on the workers in the shop.

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

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## The Freedom Movement

# NAACP Forces GM Talks On Up-Grading Negroes

On May 4, for the first time since the 1961 strikes during the last contract negotiations, a mass picket line of about 500 surrounded the General Motors Building in Detroit. This was a militant, vocal, interracial group representing many thousands of union members who were at work, mainly in Michigan, but also representing other states. The Buffalo contingent had especially outstanding picket signs with such slogans as "Racism Hurts All Labor;" "Automation Layoffs — Lily-White Departments — Slow Upgrading — What Is My Job Future?" This picket line, called by the NAACP, was distinguished from traditional labor picket lines by the presence of the student youth and the singing of Freedom songs. This continuous picket line, which began at noon and ended at 6:00 P.M., stopped only twice for mass rallies — at 1:00 P.M. and at 4:00 P.M.



Photo by The Detroit News  
DEMONSTRATORS from many states picketed the General Motors Building in Detroit on May 4 from noon to 6 p.m., protesting discrimination in hiring and upgrading by the giant firm. One immediate result of the demonstration: talks with the NAACP were scheduled by GM, as well as with Ford and Chrysler.

#### G. M. NEGOTIATES

Though this world's most gigantic corporation issued a barrage of statements denying the charge of discrimination in its hiring policies, it nevertheless immediately after the picket lines captured world attention, agreed to negotiate the question with the NAACP. Even without the threat of demonstrations, Chrysler and Ford did the same.

What the talks between the NAACP and the Big Three of Auto will resolve remains to be seen. But one thing is certain—the top labor leadership of the AFL-CIO in general, and the Walter Reuther UAW bureaucracy in particular, stand accused, whether the leaders of the demonstration intended this or not, of countenancing — not only by silence, but also by indifference — the very practices of which management stands accused.

Edgar Holt, new head of the Michigan NAACP, revealed to the second rally that in a G.M. plant in Flint segregated shower facilities are maintained to this day. That this should persist for more than a quarter of a century in the very city where sit-ins by Negro and white workers successfully triumphed over the combined might of company-owned courts, National Guard machine guns and tear gas, and managerial arrogance to force G.M. to sign its first Union contract in history—that this racist arrangement should prevail in Flint not only exposes the hollow character of the non-discriminatory clauses which Reuther and G.M. agreed to contractually, it emboldens the counter-revolution to infiltrate the labor movement. It makes an empty phrase of the call for labor solidarity with the Freedom Movement.

#### SILENT BUREAUCRATS

Not only have the racists, the White-Citizens Council members, the Ku-Kluxers in the Southern unions been tolerated to spread their venom against Negro brothers in and out of the plant, but they have not been brought to heel or exposed in the Northern plants and unions.

In a Chrysler plant in Detroit, Birchers are contemptuously plastering the workers' wash rooms with hate stickers unchallenged either by management or by union bureaucrats. In a Ford plant, also in Michigan, a local union election campaign, in recent election, was degraded by the winning candidates' undisguised or hardly disguised appeal to

## Kentucky Miners Acquitted, Defeat Coal Operator Aims

HAZARD, Ky.—Coal operators who were backing the prosecution of seven miners who were "roving pickets" have failed again in their effort to railroad them to jail or death on trumped-up charges.

After deliberating only one hour and 18 minutes, a Letcher County Circuit Jury found the seven miners "not guilty" of charges of armed robbery and assault with intent to kill. The verdict came on May 4,

following a week-long trial during which guilty sentences ranging from \$10,000 fine and 20 years in jail up to life imprisonment and even death hung in the balance for the miners.

Acquitted and freed were Berman Gibson, Charles Moore, Charles Hicks, Walter Fugate, Harvie West, Lowell Sammons and Charles Engle.

The decision is a defeat for the coal operators, who have been trying for years to break the fighting spirit of the miners and their families. With the conviction of these men, who were among the leaders of the fight against complete coal operator domination, the coal operators hoped to break the resistance to them.

#### OPERATORS TRIED BEFORE

The operators had tried before to have indictments brought against these miners in Perry County, where they lived. However, among the grand jury hearing the indictments were miners who knew the truth, and the grand jury there correctly dismissed the charges.

Only the operators were not through. They knew that Letcher County was not known for leniency toward union men, and succeeded there in having indictments brought against the pickets.

One measure of the determination of the coal operators to break the miners' resistance can clearly be seen in the charge itself. The indictment against the pickets was brought in Letcher County in January of 1964—for an alleged beating the pickets were supposed to have committed in October of 1962! They were accused of beating three scab miners from Harlan County who were on their way to work for the South East Coal Company in Letcher County, and of taking a rifle from their car.

Indicted along with the seven miners were two others, Sherman Neace and Darrell Turner. These two, however, had "confessed" to being among the pickets, who had committed the alleged beating, and were witnesses against the seven miners. Their trial is still pending. The chief testimony against the miners came from these two men, the police and one of the supposed victims.

#### TESTIMONY BARES LIES

But their testimony was so conflicting that it was just too much for anyone to swallow. Neace, for example, claimed that Gibson was carrying a chrome-plated shotgun at the

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# After Enoch, Enter Harold —Workers Will Still Decide

GLASGOW, Scotland — Mr. Enoch Powell, M. P., threw caution to the winds when he addressed East Renfrewshire Tories, in Glasgow, on Friday evening. He came out strongly against the trend towards state intervention in industry. He went all out for the affairs of industry to be decided "by the market, by supply and demand, by price, by competition, by the whole machinery of capitalism."

He paid his tribute to the part Scotland played in giving us the "profoundest insights into that wonderful instrument of progress and improvement which has been given to mankind, in the form of capitalist competition and free enterprise."

### SMITH WOULD SAY

Adam Smith would feel flattered if he could hear Mr. Powell, but, because of his great insight, he would probably tell Mr. Powell that the State is forced to intervene in order to save capitalism. He would point to the fact that Britain is no longer the dominant capitalist country and that she has to fight for a share in the world market. He would probably quote Marx and point to the proletariat as the grave-diggers of capitalism. He would support all possible measures to pacify the workers.

Mr. Powell said much that many other Tories would like to say but dare not do so with a general election in the offing. As it is, they look like losing some seats in Scotland. They would lose more if they dared to repeat Mr. Powell's remark about the distribution of industry, rents and housing subsidies. It may be different when the election is over.

### ENTER WILSON

Mr. Powell's Glasgow speech has been seized up with glee by Mr. Wilson. He says that Mr. Powell is right when he tells the Tories that they are unable to plan. He puts the question: "Is the Prime Minister going to tear up his pronouncements and support genuine effective planning?" As we all know, Mr. Wilson aims at modernizing British industry by turning everything, including all places of education, into means of production. This is what he calls "Socialist" planning. He stands for some kind of socialism that does not interfere with capitalism.

According to the "Sunday Express" for 5th April, Mr. Wilson told the directors of the I.C.I. that he wanted industry overhauled in such a way as to reduce the number of small firms, particularly in engineering. The industry was far too fragmentary and what was wanted was mergers and amalgamation. This, he believed, would

produce more and bigger concerns, and would cut down expensive imports. He followed the example of the late Hugh Gaitskell, and assured the directors that he did not want to take over the I.C.I.

It is important to note that Mr. Wilson is not concerned about ending capitalism. On the contrary, he is seeking the help of big business for his planning policy. According to the "Sunday Express" he is attending a number of secret meetings with big business at which he put himself in a favorable light.

Capitalism will not be in danger if he becomes Britain's Prime Minister after the general election. Mr. Wilson seems to forget the workers, but it is they who will decide whether or not capitalism will stay or go. They will not concern themselves about the dispute between Harold and Enoch.

From The Marxist-Humanist (Scotland, No. 16, 6th April, 1964).

# Nigeria Mine Workers Union Blasts Council, Lists Evils

NIGERIA, Africa — The Nigerian Mine Workers Union described the working conditions on the Plateau Minefield as horrible, and called for the abolition of the Joint Industrial Council, which the union said failed to fulfill the conditions establishing it.

Presently, the union's case before the Morgan Salaries and Wages Commission at its second and last sitting in Kaduna, on the 12th of February, the General Secretary of the Union, Mr. Ojebi, said that there was nothing like permanent establishment and job security in the minefield.

He pointed out that there were members of his union who had put in upwards of 30 years service who are still on the daily paid system, adding that there are also cases where workers were dismissed with only six day's pay, re-

gardless of their length of service.

### DENIED SOCIAL AMENITIES

The Secretary accused the management of making the public believe that their workers were being provided with free housing, while in actual fact, the rents were being deducted from their meagre wages. He explained that the daily minimum wage in the minefield is four shillings, and declared, "How can a person with a family live on this wage?"

Mr. Ojebi requested the commission recommend 20 pounds per month minimum wage for general labour, free housing for workers, improved adequate medical facilities, the abolition of the daily paid system, and annual leave benefits.

Giving evidence for the Native Authority Staff Association, the Secretary General, Malani Ali Sambo, requested 5s (five shillings) a day for general labour and uniform service for the N. A. workers and their government counterparts.

### AWAIT DECISION

In his closing remarks, the chairman of the commission, Mr. Justice Adeyinka Morgan thanked the unions for their cooperation and expressed the hope that nobody would have cause for complaint when the commission submitted its recommendations.

During its two-day sitting in Kaduna, the commission heard evidence from representatives of seven unions, including the Northern Federation of Labour, the Northern Nigerian Rural Health Workers Union, the Northern P.W.D. Workers Union, The Northern Division of the Joint Action Committee, the Northern Textile Workers Union, the Nigerian Mine Workers Union and the Native Authority Staff Association.

# Nigerian Labor Girds for Battle

Nigeria, Africa—Mr. Wahab Goodluck, President of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, asked Nigerian workers to be prepared to return "battle for battle" if the Morgan Salary Commission fails to meet their demands.

Mr. Goodluck spoke at a mass rally of workers in Enugu on Tuesday, Feb. 18, at the end of the two days sitting of the commission in the Eastern Nigerian capital.

He urged workers to channel all their problems through the Joint Action Committee, because, according to him, that body is the greatest "might" of the workers in the country today.

There were shouts of support when Mr. Goodluck suggested that any trade unionist who does not wish the J.A.C. to remain a permanent central labour organization should be regarded as an enemy of the workers.

Before the rally dispersed, the workers adopted a resolution passed by the regional conference of J.A.C., that the body must remain as a permanent central labour organization to fight labour issues for Nigerian workers.

## Profiteers

If you should happen  
On Wall Street to pass  
All kinds of swindlers  
And profiteers en masse.  
To the welfare and safety  
Of the American Nation  
Would they bring disaster  
Thru greedy inspiration.  
To mankind at large  
A plague and a curse  
Those, who would glorify  
The size of their purse.  
If there should ever be  
Peace, in this warlike world  
Deeds of these merchants  
Must be, forever foiled.  
Then, shall we have  
Prosperity and peace  
Greed, murder and strife  
Among nations shall cease.  
M. E. Ben-Ami

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### Who Will See Light First?

I have been wondering who would be the first to give up the Civil Rights Bill to the black race of people. Will it be the North or the South?

A friend across the back yard fence called to me and said that he believed that the South would give up first to the bill, because the Northern white people think that they have not been as hard for as long a time on the black race of people as the South has. So he thinks the Northerners will hold out a little longer.

### ALL WANT FREEDOM

I told him what I heard H. W. Armstrong say on the radio every morning at 5:30. He says he wonders what nation in the world doesn't want to be free. White people know that they would not live anywhere in the world without being free. Not for anything in this world, because they know what it means to be free. But some of them just want to keep others down under them, and that is the black people because they were once slaves.

But the Negro knows that the white man has always sat back on his throne dressed in his white shirt, and seen to it that the Negro does all kinds of hard work that helped America become one of the greatest countries in the world. And now, since the Negro knows all of this, then why can't he become a free man too?

After these 100 years of fighting freedom, these white Americans see where they can pass a bill to give the black man his freedom. They have turned the whole world into an Automation world to hold onto all they can, and give the black race nothing to do and nowhere to go.

### JAILS FOR FIGHTERS

The black man can't do anything to help himself to become free without being put in jail—just for trying to do something about living a clean life like all human beings are trying to do.

These white leaders do not realize that they are the ones who are keeping things so messed up and so far behind by trying to keep the Negro down.

Every four years when it comes time to vote, they get together and start some low-down person like Governor Wallace going around making speeches against the bill that they are supposed to pass. Bills like the Civil Rights Bill that they just can't pass until they send someone out to see if all race haters are willing to give up hating a man just because he is black.

Governor Wallace just has to tell the people what some old governor and president says about not giving Negroes their rights in their time, and that his talking against Negroes is not as bad as what older leaders say. So he says that he would prove it by going around campaigning to show the Civil Rights leaders that the North is just as much against giving Negroes their freedom as the South.

### WHO DOESN'T KNOW?

And it is true—from the way the Big Three auto plants try to keep the white separated from the black worker. What Negro doesn't know that?

The good book is right, because it says do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Which is no more than right, and we will march until we make our way come straight.

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# Kentucky Miners' Acquittal Foils Operators

(Continued from Page 1) time. Later a Hazard policeman admitted under oath that the gun was under lock and key in possession of the Hazard city police at the time Neace claimed he saw Gibson with it.

Jason Combs, a Baptist minister, testified that Neace had offered to keep his mouth shut about the case for \$10,000. Neace, of course, denied it.

The morning of the alleged beating, according to virtually all witnesses, was dark and foggy, making visibility very difficult. From the beginning, only one of the three alleged victims of the beating, James Powell, claimed he could identify anyone. The other two said it was too dark and foggy to see much. Powell, however, said it was clear and continued to identify Gibson as the man giving orders to the men who attacked him. Under cross-examination, however, Powell was forced to admit that he had earlier told the grand jury that he could not make any positive identification.

## COURTROOM ROARED APPROVAL

When the verdict came, it set off whoops of joy in the courtroom, as miners and their wives who were present cheered and roared their approval.

Later, the wife of one of the defendants said, "I feel like a new woman with our men out of bondage. The day this trial ended I felt better than the day I was married. My heart was ready to burst by the time it all came to an end. Then I could shout with joy. And the whole courtroom seemed to want to shout with us."

Students and workers who have responded to appeals by miners for aid, share in the victory. They have initiated campaigns for food, clothing and funds to help. However, too few rank-and-file work-

ers have learned of the pressing needs facing the miners and their families in the area. They remain in horrible poverty, and need the solid support of the rest of the workers in the county to help create a new life for themselves.

Workers are urged to help

these miners and their families, as well as learn from their experiences with Automation in the mines about the need for independent action.

Those who wish to help should contact: Lola Moore, Financial Secretary, Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, Combs, Kentucky.

# Burroughs: Another Sweat Shop Makes Move Overseas

DETROIT, Mich. — Recently Burroughs Corporation stated that they were closing down their Second Avenue plant here in Detroit and shipping those jobs that were performed there to overseas plants. They reported to the press that "only" 1,500 workers would be laid off.

One of those laid-off workers had a different view of the situation. She said, "The layoffs began long before the report was made to the press—there are many more people laid-off than they try to lead you to believe. I was hoping the people would go on strike because anything that Burroughs gets they deserve. They needed a union in there a long, long time ago."

## PATRIOT'S BUSINESS

Another ex-Burroughs employee added, "When we buy something made in another country they tell us we are not patriotic, but when they shut down a plant, lay off a couple of thousand people and move to other countries, that's good business. To me it's monkey business."

"They have given their workers nothing but dirt. We voted

for the union because we had no seniority rights. In this lay-off they have people working with less seniority than some that are out in the street."

Burroughs used to have a reputation of not having layoffs as well as being a "nice" place to work. Speak to workers that have worked there in the past 10 years, especially since they initiated the "group incentive" work and you find out that it is just one more sweat shop.

## INCENTIVE AND SET-UP MAN 'FOR THE BIRDS'

"That group incentive was for the birds. We had one set-up man (they're worse than any foreman) tell us we just played around; we could do more if we wanted to. I tell you my two riders fell asleep in the car every night on the way home, and if I didn't have to drive I would have, too. That guy got it in the neck too, and I'm glad. Maybe he thinks differently about the company now, since he worked himself right out of a job."

Another woman told of how they refused to take her off a job, even though the doctor said she could not do it because the chemicals she worked with caused rashes and sores all over her hands. The company doctor in the plant in which she worked insisted that the job had nothing to do with it. Her foreman refused to give her another job and kept insisting she would have to quit if she couldn't do the work.

She held on until the layoffs started. One week after she was off she was taken to the hospital with blood poisoning. I have heard of many experiences involving company doctors and it makes you wonder if this is part of the precious doctor-patient relationship that some say would be lost if we had so-called "socialized medicine" here.

I remember when I was hired in at Burroughs a few years back. They showed us films of what the company stood for—their concern with the individual's well-being, and their concern with the four freedoms. It was so overwhelming in fact, that they had to add another, that of the "freedom of free enterprise."

—A.T.

## Take Off Blindfold

It really got me when Johnson told the Ohio students at his stop-over there on his recent "poverty-swing" that: "You can't see poverty from Washington, D.C." I was recently a visitor to that "fair town"—and if you can't see poverty in the Negro ghettos and slums of Washington, D.C. you must be blindfolded!

Student  
Los Angeles

## On the Line

# Secret Agreements Squash Workers Efforts to Fight

By John Allison

Every man and woman in auto knows only too well about the secret agreements made between union and company officials against the best interests of the workers. There is always one rule of thumb when production especially is in contest: you lose on the spot—or by way of secret agreement.

The shop always reminds me of the time I was in the service. I read the Articles of War, and knew what they said. When you were given an order, you had to take it — and if you lived through it you could protest. I've read the poison book, the contract, and it says pretty much the same thing. If your foreman gives you an order and you believe it's wrong, you still have to do it—then file a protest. If you live through it.

## THE RUN-AROUND

Only that protest, or grievance, is something else again. You file it and it goes through the time-consuming grievance process—while you're still doing the work you're protesting, of course. And you try to keep tabs on it to find out how you're making out.

But just try to keep tabs on it. You go to your steward. He doesn't know, it's out of his hands. The same with the foreman, with the committeeman, with the local steward—it's like it just disappeared into thin air.

So you either throw up your hands and say "What's the use," or you get mad and keep after them. And if you're the type that keeps after them, after months of run-around, the big news finally gets to you: the grievance has been pulled "without prejudice." What this means is that a secret agreement has been made along the line to throw the grievance out. But you're still on that job you were protesting. You can be sure of that.

## LIKE A WILL

It's the same thing when the national contract is negotiated. Only after the national contract is settled do the local union and local supervision get down to settling local grievances. Well, maybe settling isn't the most accurate way to describe it. These agreements are like the situation you have when there is a reading of a will. You don't know what you have until it's too late to do anything about it.

Now it doesn't always go exactly like this, but a lot of it depends on the person involved. Like a recent case where a worker I know was told to op-

erate a big hi-lo fork lift in a narrow roadway area where women were working.

For this area, there was a smaller hi-lo that was to be used, but the supervisor had ordered it moved to another place. The worker knew if he tried to operate that big hi-lo in that small area that he risked the very good chance of breaking a woman's leg—or worse.

## OH, THOSE AGREEMENTS

The foreman came over and told the worker to run the hi-lo. The worker said no, he wanted to see his steward. The steward came over, talked with the foreman — and told the worker he had to run the hi-lo. The foreman and steward had agreed.

The worker said no — and called his committeeman. The committeeman talked with the worker, then went to see the supervisor. The committeeman came back and told the worker he had to run the hi-lo. The committeeman and supervisor had agreed.

But the worker wasn't through yet. He saw the plant safety man coming through the department and called him over and explained the danger of running that big hi-lo in that small area. The safety man said: No, don't you run that big hi-lo there. We have a small one that is supposed to be there and no place else. And off the safety man went to see the supervisor.

In a little while the supervisor came over and said he didn't know what he was thinking about when the committeeman came to see him, but of course the small hi-lo was the only one that should be used in that small area. And he went away to give the order to take the big hi-lo away and to bring the smaller one back from where he had ordered it in the first place.

Of course, it isn't every plant safety man who will act like this. As a matter of fact, where it comes to production, they'll hardly ever do anything. There ought to be more safety men like him. But far more important, there ought to be more workers like this one.

# Mine Operators, Police, Payday — and Pickets

PERRY COUNTY, Ky.—The law and the operators work hand-in-hand here. You can see it, but you can't always prove it.

For instance, I got to wondering how come the police cared to drive up to the mine-office of one of the scab-mines every Friday morning, every week. So one day I made it my business to be near the office when they came by, and I just happened to be facing the window so I could see everything that happened inside.

With my own eyes I saw the man open the desk drawer and take out an envelope and hand it to the police. The police put it in his inside coat pocket and they said a few things back and forth, and then the police left.

## PAY-DAY FOR THE POLICE?

Now, Friday, happens to be payday at the mine. And I don't know what you would think, but I figure it's payday for the police, too. Nobody could prove a thing, because they would never pay-off the police with checks, only with cash, and nothing is ever "on the books" that way.

They used to pay-off the police in one of the hollows here. They used to brag that they got \$10,000 for their work. They would all be there together—the police, the operators and the insurance agents. They were in with them because if there was no union, they figured they could sell more insurance.

The law around here has always been rotten. The High Sheriff here is one of the operators. In fact, even when every other mine in the county was unionized, his mine was always a scab-mine.

## FALSE CHARGES

Once in 1959 they tried to get Mrs. Berman Gibson on charges of breaking a truck windshield with a rock. It turned out that she was on her shift at work in the hospital at the time it happened.

The woman who did do it, did it in order to save her daughter's life. The driver admitted under oath that he was going to run over the girl with his truck.

He was an operator of one of the scab mines, and he drove his own truck. The women were there trying to shut down the mine, and this woman's daughter who is 25 years old and the mother of two small children, was standing in the road when the scabs started up. The mother saw that this operator was going to run down the girl, so she picked up a rock from the road and threw it into his windshield. No doubt that was the only thing that kept him from killing her.

When that story came out, they just kept putting off the woman's trial for a year, until the time ran out, and it was closed book.

—Miner's Wife

Read Chapter 17

## "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"

in

## Marxism and Freedom

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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**Editorials**

**DeGaulle's Fakery Toward NATO**

The combination of De Gaulle's withdrawal of French naval personnel from NATO headquarters, and the current NATO meeting in The Hague, has given rise to still more nonsense about French "independence" in the world arena. This "fight among thieves" could scarcely interest us less—except that it exposes once more that the only thing any of the participants is interested in doing independently is independently oppressing its own working people.

The experts, meanwhile, apparently bewildered by all the talk about NATO needing De Gaulle, seem determined to stress what is NOT, instead of what really is. First and foremost among what is NOT is the delusion that De Gaulle is actually withdrawing from NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was established in 1949 for the purposes of consolidating the Allies' occupation of Germany, and ensuring it as a military base from which to start World War III against Russia. The very first show De Gaulle put on, in fact, after the end of World War II, was his demand for a part of Germany to be "independently" occupied by France. He certainly has no intention of giving up that occupation force now, even if it is called an allied force that is there with the consent of West Germany.

Not even the supposedly great new friendship between Adenauer and De Gaulle, consummated in the Franco-German Treaty last year, changed that reality. And so long as De Gaulle remains in Germany, he remains in NATO, no matter how loud and arrogantly he claims to be leaving it.

De Gaulle's fakery about NATO began almost as soon as he came to power in 1958. So loud, in fact, did he shout about his "independence" from the U.S. that Nikita Khrushchev came running to France to see if perhaps he could use De Gaulle to break up NATO. It did not take Khrushchev long to realize his mistake and go back home, however.

It was even a fake when De Gaulle delivered his loud "No" last year to the United States' Nassau Pact offer—to supply France with Polaris missiles at the same bargain-basement prices it was offering them to Britain and all other NATO powers (the so-called multinational nuclear force) so long as everything remained under U.S. domination. That is to say, all De Gaulle demanded was that the decisions be made by the three major powers—U.S., France and Britain. It was only when the U.S. said that the allied powers could not be divided into three halves and the rest have-nots, that De Gaulle objected to "U.S. domination."

The Hitler-Stalin Pact is a grim reminder that no one can predict how fantastic the final super-double-cross will be. But meanwhile, just as Mao and Khrushchev work at cross-purposes in their orbit, but have not yet decided to build separate Internationals, so De Gaulle and the other NATO powers work separately, but all continue to belong to NATO.

Each orbit's "junior partner" thunders loudly and plays with nuclear independence—while the people of the world go about the business of struggling for freedom, in each country of each orbit. The recent mass demonstration against the bomb in a suburb of Paris shows the true opposition both to American nuclear dominance and De Gaulle's "independence."

**United States Invests in Apartheid**

The Nazi-style trials of South Africa's Freedom Fighters (see P. 7) continue in face of UN protests, but with U. S. imperialism's support. How long does U. S. labor think it can maintain union conditions here when U. S. capitalism invests so heavily in cheap forced labor in South Africa?

So attractive to capitalism is this system, where a black worker can be obtained for 25 cents a day, that no less than 160 American companies are now entrenched in apartheid-land. Every large automotive firm in America—GM, Ford, Chrysler, Firestone, Goodyear—has heavy holdings there, and has made even heavier new investments in 1963. (See "Our Life and Times" p. 8 for more on this.) The United States is now second only to Great Britain, in fact, and may soon surpass her, since British investments in South Africa have been declining since World War II, while United States investments have been steadily rising.

The mining industry has attracted more U.S. capital than any other industry. The reason why can easily be seen. At the American-operated Tsumeb Mines—where the starting wage of 25 cents a day is generously increased by a 2 cent monthly raise (for a limited number of months), the profits were so high that \$10 million in dividends was paid out to stockholders in 1961. These fantastically high profits reaped by American corporations are directly dependent on the deplorable working conditions and miserably low wages guaranteed to them by apartheid, in which they not only have a direct interest—but a direct hand.

The all-white Chamber of Mines, for example, which sets the wages and slave-conditions of Africans in the Mining industry, boasts an American businessman as one of its directors. Even more "embarrassing" to official U.S. policy in Africa, is the close association with South African enterprises of U.S. statesmen like James F. Byrnes and John Foster Dulles, both formerly U.S. Secretary of State.

It is clear that no matter how often the United States "condemns" South African racist policies in U.S. debates, not only has it consistently refused to vote for any economic boycott against apartheid—it has actively supported apartheid with outright economic aid and heavy investment.

Not only is the color of American imperialism as brilliantly white and as putrid as is Verwoerd's South African government, but it is the reason why the latter feels free to continue with its Nazi-type trial of South Africa's Freedom fighters. They need world support. Unless labor comes to their support, both in South Africa and in South USA, it will be the next target for these exploitative titans of imperialism.

**Readers'**

**THE NEGRO STRUGGLE**

For years Reuther and others talked about GM as the biggest sweat-shop there is. When Rev. King and Herbert Hill talked about hitting it, no one really believed it would come off because Reuther had always bypassed striking it, saying, "GM is too big. There is not enough money in the treasury to feed the workers if they struck."

And here comes the NAACP and they did it. Now all the men in the shop began to talk about why they have hundreds of reasons to be sore at GM.

It was a big day in my life to see someone finally had nerve enough to say out loud, "GM is a rat!" It scared the pants off Chrysler and Ford.

They have a steward in the shop who is called by some "A Civil Rights Nut." So one worker called him over and said he was "sick and tired of being Jim Crowed." Darned if the steward didn't try to get a grievance written up on it!

**Chrysler Worker  
Detroit**

Let's take a look at the role played by Walter Reuther in the demonstration against GM. He has two functions: 1) as President of the UAW; 2) as a member of the NAACP.

In his dual capacity he said he would produce 10,000 workers on that picket-line. Well, he didn't.

The workers wouldn't follow Reuther around the corner, let alone down to a picket-line!

However, the picket-line was a success, and GM has not heard the end of anti-discrimination demonstrations.

**Long-Time-Unionist  
Detroit**

While 30% votes for Wallace in two primary elections in the North shows just how much the North as well as the South needs a total reconstruction to rid itself of racists, it does my heart good to hear the increasing amount of booing and catcalling he is getting in places like Notre Dame—from whites. Hooray for the Boers! May their numbers increase.

**Integrationist  
Detroit**

I was so glad to see the NAACP demonstration against GM. What burns me up is how the labor leaders play around with Civil Rights.

One bureaucrat said "the real issue is not Civil Rights, it's jobs." And when Kennedy was alive he said, "What good is it for the Negro to have the right to go

to an expensive restaurant if he has no money because he has no job?"

But what none of them say is that during the war, when more Negroes had jobs than ever before in industry, we still couldn't go in fancy restaurants — not even into just a slop joint on Woodward Avenue either.

We want both, jobs and Civil Rights.

**Auto Worker  
Detroit**

Thanks to your generous support, the Mississippi Free Press has been able to continue to bring news and information about the struggle for equal rights, the vote, better jobs, and more education to more and more people. You will be interested to know that the Free Press now ranks as the ninth largest newspaper in Mississippi, including dailies . . .

But in Mississippi, which Ole Miss Professor, Dr. James W. Silver has called "The Closed Society" there remain so many people almost completely ignorant of the opportunities of America. We want to reach more of them. By this summer, we would like to be mailing to at least another three thousand families. Each dollar sent will buy a one year subscription for a Mississippi family who would not otherwise receive the newspaper.

**Charles Butts,  
Mississippi Free Press  
538½ North Farish Street  
Jackson, Mississippi 39202**

**MARXIST-HUMANISM**

The Civil Rights demonstrations so far this year are certainly different from those of last year. But I am looking forward to a new stage when people look beyond the Freedom Movement. I think that people are ready for a total philosophy of freedom now.

The Communist Party line, which as all their lines do—intends to divert the movement to their own ends—is a thing called "Multi-Issues" which is supposed to mean joining all issues. They don't ever say what these issues are. But, they are shrewd enough not to come out with a line unless they think that someone is going to buy it.

There is quite a difference between "Multi-Issue" proclamations from above the movement, and Marxist-Humanist philosophy which unites with the aspirations for total freedom with those who are doing the fighting for it.

**Student  
Los Angeles**

I have given your address to a group here which studies the third world. You certainly won't be entirely in agreement with them. How-

ever, they are serious people who are open to new ideas.

I can't go into detail now about my ideas on your works. Certainly Marxism and Freedom is excellent, and I am fundamentally in agreement with the ideas. To comment seriously on the book, I would have to look at the book again.

The criticisms and praises that I have heard all have to do with spontaneity — those that say Raya Dunayevskaya depends too much on the spontaneity of the masses, and those who consider spontaneity as the only possible way to making a true revolution.

Naturally, I'm mostly in agreement with the latter, but feel the need to study the problem more. I would stress more American and European imperialism and less that of the Communist countries, although that of the latter must be exposed.

News & Letters is a really good newspaper. It would be so good if there were such newspapers all over the world. I am planning to send you a little article soon.

**Correspondent  
Italy**

**RUSSIAN  
ANTI-SEMITISM**

Russia is murdering its Jews again. This ought to prove once and for all that Russia is anti-Jewish. Russian Communism is a farce. It is following the steps of Nazism.

The Russian Communists have claimed that the Jewish religion is a money hungry religion. So what do the Russian Communists do? Khrushchev and his hierarchy order Russian miners to produce more gold! Who is the real money-monger?

Khrushchev's boys follow their leader in producing more gold for Russia and Russian Communism, and then go out and blame the Jews and Judaism for being money-crazy!

**Jewish Nationalist  
New York**

**LATIN AMERICA**

I was quite surprised to see the article from Venezuela, "Six Years of the P.C.V." in the last issue. Of course, you did say that this was a "Discussion Article," and not your own point of view. Nevertheless, it was so close to a "left oppositionist Communist" point of view that it amazed me to find it in your press.

**Intellectual  
San Francisco**

I was glad to see the analysis from Venezuela. It is not that I agree with it. It is just that I want to see a serious discussion on Latin America, especially the various radical groupings in Latin America. Are you going to have any more Latin American correspondents from other countries?

**Steady Reader  
Chicago**

Although I feel that the article "Six Years of the P.C.V." lacked what might be most important, i.e., the historic explanation of the "faults" of the Venezuelan Communist Party—the international foundations of the movement which usurps the name of Marx-

**News & Letters**

VOL. 9, No. 5

May, 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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# Views

ism and Communism — I nevertheless feel it was a very serious document and the very fact that it has appeared is of great importance. I thank you for printing it. I am sure that you must have some criticism of it, and am very interested in knowing what your criticism.

Correspondent  
Venezuela

★ ★ ★  
**APPALACHIAN  
COMMITTEE**

Our Committee is coming along fine. We now have an office—right in town and located directly across the street from the unemployment office! I'll bet they will be pleased to see our big sign in the window saying "Appalachian Committee For Full Employment."

We have been keeping especially busy with our work for the free school lunch program. And I think some of the wheels are finally beginning to turn.

For the past three months we have been kept busy day and night—one day last week we served somewhere around 200 people with clothes. There were only 10 of us doing all the work that day and we were really ready for bed when we got there—around midnight.

Good luck in all your good work.

Miner's Wife  
Hazard, Kentucky

As soon as the clothes and food comes in, there are people who need it. One day when we didn't have a single piece of clothing left to distribute there was a family that didn't have anything—nothing at all—for their children to wear.

We don't have much, but I went through our own clothes to see what I could collect for them myself. I managed to get up a box of shoes, coats and pants and took it over. One of my own boys was left without a clean coat to wear to school, because I gave his good coat away, and just left him with another old baggy coat we had.

But I knew the other family certainly couldn't afford to get the old coat cleaned. And they needed the things a lot more than we did. Everybody needs one coat, nobody really needs two.

Miner's Wife  
Combs, 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.

**SCOTTISH LABOUR**

The Scottish Trade Union Congress met last week. Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board, and Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, made speeches. Robens was brutal with the miners. He dealt with the wages issue and said he did

not give up his political career in order to bury the coal industry.

Wilson rose to his full demagogic height. In the midst of his generalities his desire for efficiency above everything else, including the welfare of human beings, came out strongly. He put great stress on an incomes policy. This can only mean a restriction on wages and a concentration on increasing constant capital. Despite his work at the London School of Economics he cannot see the ultimate consequences of his policy. Perhaps he can, but he is so anxious to become the tenant at 10 Downing Street that he will do anything to stampede the voters into putting a Labour Government in power.

There has been a spate of unofficial strikes here in the West of Scotland. The official trade union leaders are tearing their hair. Cousins is scared to do anything about them because most of the strikes involve his union members. The Tories are talking of legislation. Labour leaders are again asking that the workers don't rock the boat. The workers may yet sink the boat.

H. McS.  
Scotland.

★ ★ ★  
**19 YEARS AFTER  
HIROSHIMA**

On the celebration of his 80th birthday, ex-President Harry Truman was shown on TV talking with a delegation of Japanese A-Bomb victims.

What came across clear as a bell from the interview was that, despite being confronted face-to-face with the victims, Mr. Truman had absolutely no regrets, and would do exactly the same thing again if he were given the chance! He just didn't give a damn.

I Do  
Detroit

★ ★ ★  
**AN OSCAR FOR THE  
FREEDOM MOVEMENT**

I would like to tell you about a great experience I had, seeing the movie "Lilies of the Field" in an audience that was predominately made up of young, mainly teen-aged, Negroes.

First of all, you never felt it was a movie. You thought it was an in-person performance. From the moment that Sidney Poitier's face came on the screen there was tremendous applause.

Throughout the picture the audience participation was so great that it made me think of Greek drama. The major song was sung by the audience as well as by Poitier. Moreover, there were periods when there was no singing, but the background music "required" the rhythmic clapping of hands, or so that audience felt, at any rate.

The youth in the audience, and their participation made it truly a double billing. It was not only that Poitier gave an excellent performance, for which he had just captured the first Oscar to be won by a Negro. It was that the audience made it into an entirely different plot than that which the screen writers had written. It was as if you had just

gone through a Freedom March, which ended up not in jail, but in victory.

I would advise everyone to go see this picture in a Negro neighborhood, or at least one that is well integrated.

Civil Rights Activist  
Los Angeles

If it were not for the Civil Rights movement, I believe that the part for which Sidney Poitier won his entirely deserved Oscar in "Lilies of the Field," would never have been written—much less ever produced.

The movement has meant a breakthrough in the thinking and creative capacities of artists, producers and writers—even in such apparently far removed places from "the Civil Rights Battlefield" as the motion picture industry.

Intellectual  
Chicago

★ ★ ★  
**MALCOLM X AND  
THE OLD RADICALS**

I must congratulate you on "Malcolm X and The Old Radicals." *The Militant*, which used to be one of the best left-wing weeklies in the U.S., has been reduced to a Black Nationalist sheet. If it weren't for its printing of a few good items, I wouldn't even subscribe to it.

Enclosed is \$1 to send *News & Letters* to the people whose names I enclose, most of whom are involved in the Freedom Movement.

Student  
Tennessee

Thanks a lot for the column on Malcolm X and the Trotskyists. It said what has needed saying for a long time.

The last issue of *The Militant* that I read was so full of fawning on Malcolm that it disgusted me. 4/5 of it was devoted to articles on his movement and him. I especially loathe fawning on, or glorification of, any individual.

Isn't it utterly fantastic that any "Socialist" could associate himself with a man who could make a remark like: "... no workers' solidarity until ... racial solidarity."?

A few years ago (July 1962) I heard Malcolm speaking in person at the Hospital Workers Rally in New York. He then said that the "cracker" who was oppressing the Negro in the South and was his enemy, was the same as the rich white "cracker" up North who was oppressing him. He thus tied together the poor, ignorant white worker and farm tenant of the South, and the Northern capitalist. How that could be acceptable or praiseworthy to any "Socialist" I don't know, but yet to the Trotskyists it is.

They feel it is futile to try to bring a socialist program (ie: the Trotskyist's program) to Negroes. This is tacit belief in the inferiority of Negroes. That is to say, they must feel that Negroes are only smart enough to understand Black Nationalism, not socialism.

Student  
Penna

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

## Guerrilla Tactics in Ideological Struggles: Study of Mao's Thought

Every day brings a "new" stage in the Sino-Soviet conflict in line with Mao's policy of neither peace nor war, but one of "permanent revolution" against "revisionism." The Maoist jargon that passes for "Marxism" is nothing more than the application of guerrilla tactics to ideological struggles. To those who wish to blind themselves to the underlying national interests, and mistake the struggle for leadership as a battle for the "correct theory," guerrilla warfare transferred to the field of ideas may give the appearance of a "question of world revolution." But the truth is that the Marxian theory of liberation no more underlies the Sino-Soviet rift than does the question of world revolution that of imperialist war.

Put more simply, the struggle for leadership within totalitarian Communism is a fight to be at the helm when mastery over the whole world is being decided in a war, not between Russia and China, but between the nuclear giants: Russia and the United States.

### THE GREAT DEBATE OR THE GREAT WALL?

Take the latest point in dispute. On May 7th the Chinese Communist Party got around to answering, and rejecting, the Russian Communist Party proposal, made on March 7th, for a world conference of Communist Parties to be held this fall. The excuse was that it would take 4 or 5 years "if not longer" to prepare for such a conference.

Now this runs counter both to Mao's great hurry on other matters, especially the immediate exclusion of Russia from the planned second African-Asian Solidarity Conference, and his 1961 stand that Khrushchev had no right to attack Albania "without first consulting other fraternal Communist Parties." The implied demand was for a conference of world Communist Parties to take up the dispute within the Communist world.

This continued to be one of the many lines of attack on the domination, or "overlordship" (to use the favored Chinese phrase when referring to Russia) of the Russian Communist Party over the world Communist orbit. The latter was good guerrilla strategy when the opponent was too strong for a frontal attack. Since 1961, however, Mao has succeeded in splitting off factions from the established Communist Parties; the splinter groups, whether in Australia or in Chile, call themselves the true "Marxist-Leninist" parties even as 10 competing world journals consider themselves the "true" theoretical journals, and while this is still far from constituting "a majority," who knows what a difference 4 to 5 years "if not longer" will make?

In any case, these Maoist parties, groupings, journals have been following the "unanimity principle" propounded by one Chinese Communist Party in its *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*: "One should not emphasize 'who is in the majority' or 'who is in the minority' and bank on a so-called majority." Still, the spurious "unanimity principle" (or overlordship by a single veto) was worked out for use among "fraternal Communist Parties." Presently, however, it was used by the Chinese representative at a 22-nation preparatory conference to arrange for a new meeting of representatives of the underprivileged world, to be held next March 10th. It was used to veto the Indian proposal to invite Russia to the second Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference. Far from this building a "theoretical" foundation against Russian "revisionism," it set up a new Great Wall to exclude Russia from Asia.

The Sino-Soviet rift hangs over the Afro-Asian world like the Sword of Damocles. For though this third world won its liberation from Western imperialism with its own forces and its own philosophy, without any help from either Russia or China, the latter two are struggling to dominate it. Judging by the fact the first (1955) Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, despite its "unanimous" espousal of "peaceful co-existence" did nothing to stop either the first (1959) or the second (1962) Sino-Indian War, we can expect neither peace nor "creative Marxism" to come out of the 1965 conference. But this is not the issue.

The issue is the gravitational pull\* that Mao's China does exercise on the revolutionary impulse that has not yet been blunted in the new, third world. China, as a have-not nation, seems to have more appeal, but both Russia and China know how to use, i.e., abuse, Marxist language to cover up their state-capitalist struggle for mastery over this newly-born world. The "West," on the other hand, remains blind to the struggle for the minds of men and therefore operates on the assumption that such a titanic battle can be won with the hollow slogans of democracy. The fact that the two totalitarian Communist regimes are fighting each other neither eliminates the West's bankruptcy of thought nor absolves it of its imperialist ambitions. What is needed is a theory of liberation which alone is capable of acting as a polarizing struggle for the freedom struggles the world over.

### THE SIEGE AND KHRUSHCHEV'S DISCOVERY OF DEMOCRACY

Mao's policy of neither peace nor war, but separate "militant" operations in a never-ending battle of nerves means we are in for a long, hard siege not only in the Communist orbit

(Continued on Page 7)

\* Ironically enough, the gravitational pull that Maoism exercises on established Trotskyism has led to a curious division within Trotskyism. The Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party in Ceylon is the only Trotskyist party that has a mass following. It finds itself, however, a minority in the Trotskyist Fourth International since the latter espouses a Maoist position and the Ceylonese Trotskyists support Khrushchev positions. (See both the Italian CP paper, *L'Unita*, of Oct. 23, 1963, and the special issue on "International Communism and the Sino-Soviet Conflict" in *Problems of Communism*. (March-April 1964.)

# YOUTH

## NEW BEGINNINGS

### Chicago Dilemma: Two Attitudes to Urban Renewal Clash Head-on

By Eugene Walker

"Declare the South Side a national disaster area," a woman wrote President Johnson. This sums up what is occurring in Chicago today. This city is in the midst of some very great changes. The increase in Negro migration combined with Civil Rights struggle is making itself felt here.

The South Side, where the majority of Negroes live, has developed into slum areas as landlords allow apartment houses to become run down while maintaining high rents. The situation is not unlike a half dozen other northern cities in which Negroes have been ghettoized.

What may be different from other cities is the two attitudes that are now in conflict regarding a way out. One, developed by the city, recreates the ghetto in another form; another, put forth by such groups as Chicago Metropolitan CORE, seeks a different way of changing the ghetto pattern.

#### CITY MAKES NEW GHETTOES

The city has recently begun a vast re-development program by building a series of 20 one-story apartment buildings on the South Side. While it is true that these are low-rent buildings which have replaced slum areas, (a change from the usual pattern of replacing slum areas with high cost apartments), it is also true that they have succeeded in transporting a segregated community from broken down apartments to 20 one-story sterile communities which are still segregated.

The 20 one-story boxes stretch as far as the eye can see along State Street. The buildings are built cheaply and will last for only a short period of time as decent housing. Instead of solving the problem which a de facto segregated community produces they have shown that any urban redevelopment program such as this, even the exceptional one which provides low-cost housing, will continue to present the same problems that the segregated slum areas did. Unless there is a much more fundamental change in human relationships, there is no other alternative.

#### CORE CREATES DIALOGUE WITH TENANTS

In contrast to this type of urban renewal is a much more revolutionary one, one that seeks to establish human relationships in an effort to abolish segregation in our society. This program is currently being carried out by members of Chicago Metropolitan CORE.

The CORE people, the vast

majority of whom are both Negro and white youth in their teens and early twenties, are invading some of the tenements on the South side.

CORE's purpose is two-fold. First, talking to the people who live in the apartment houses and telling them what type of an organization CORE is, and what it is presently doing in the Civil Rights movement. The second purpose is listening to what these people who live in the tenements are saying about their condition—both in respect to their living quarters and in respect to other aspects of their life as well—jobs, education of their children, etc.

They are attempting to find out what these people want to do. The CORE members go out in teams to visit the tenements. In addition they have held rallies in which the tenants have listened to some of the CORE people talk and were invited to speak themselves. This project has been going on for two or three months.

#### NEED FOR TOTAL CHANGE

The question is where do these two attitudes go from here? The city may spend more money in its urban renewal program, but it was lost from the start. It was lost because no attempt was made to communicate with those who live in these slum areas. Thus the city's answer is no answer at all.

Only with the type of activity which CORE is beginning can progress be made. With this project there is a real possibility for communication between CORE youth and the people who live on the South Side. Someone has to listen to those South Side people, otherwise nothing can be done.

Where will the activity lead? One can say—let's expand it and cover education and jobs. This is all unquestionably interwoven, all a part of the struggle.

But going from single-issue to multi-issue doesn't answer the fundamental question of total reconstruction of society. What is needed is a philosophy to unite under; one based upon the activity and thoughts of these South Side people, and millions like them.

### And In This Corner . . .

#### Embargo On Education

**SOUTH AFRICA.**—Thousands of children were prevented from returning to school in this Protectorate by a shock clampdown on travel documents only a few days before most schools in Swaziland and Basutoland were due to open.

Since the Bantu Education Act was passed, more and more African parents have been sending their children to school outside of South Africa.

The Act has made all schools tribal, including universities; school hours have been cut in half; all missionary schools have been closed; and the minimum number of children are given the chance of getting into higher education.

All escape routes for better education have now been closed.

#### Worshipping Without a Permit

**JACKSON, Miss.**—The cases of 13 persons who tried to worship at Jackson churches in interracial groups, were ordered held over in state courts by U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize.

The same judge issued an order enjoining Jackson police from arresting Negroes who defy laws requiring segregation.

The case had been pending since 1961 following the arrests of the first of over 300 Freedom Riders into the state, for whom the 13 were praying.

### Protest 'Under Education'

## Administration Calls Police to Expel Pupils

**MISSISSIPPI**—On April 22 over 500 students, or about half of the student body of Alcorn A&M College, a Negro campus, were herded into 14 Trailway buses and two college buses and shipped home, improperly dressed, without food, money or notification of parents.

Thirty-five State Highway Patrol cars bearing 73 of segregationist Governor Paul Johnson's troops, called in by the administrators of the campus, took the students from the football field. The students had gathered there all night in demonstrations against the administration's efforts to break a student boycott of the newly opened Student Union Building (called "Sub").

Since that time, 1000 of the 14,000 students on the campus of the oldest land-grant college in the country have sat at home watching weeks of education time go by.

Despite attempts to keep the story out of the press, as "national news media carefully avoided Mississippi's bleeding cancer of under-education," (as reported only in the Mississippi Free Press, May 9, 1964) the events point up the woefully inadequate facilities of "separate" but decidedly UNEQUAL education in segregated Mississippi.

The most shocking part of the story is the swiftness with which the administration called the very same state troopers who in Mississippi are known for their brutality and violence against integrationist demonstrations.

#### STUDENTS BOYCOTT

Two nights earlier, April 20, the students had conducted a nearly 100% effective boycott of the Sub, complaining that

while the Sub had not been opened to them until the end of the first semester, they had still been required to pay a \$9 Sub recreation fee for both semesters, (about \$25,000 collectively for the 1963-1964 school year.) The Sub is managed by the college president's wife.

They complained also that they were allowed too limited use of "grossly inadequate recreational facilities," and that prices of food and merchandise sold there were too high, and the management too dictatorial.

In an administration effort to break the boycott, the following night, April 21, students on athletic scholarships and student aid were compelled by the administration to patronize the Sub. Students were told that they had to sign pledges to patronize the Sub, and were forced to remain in the building until it closed at 9 p.m.

When the Sub closed, the "captive" patrons emerged singing "freedom" songs, turning themselves into demonstrators. They proceeded around the campus to all the student dormitories, picking up strength as they went.

Many young women, already in their night garments, slipped on housecoats and exited from the dormitories through the windows, while the doors were

being locked to prevent them from leaving.

#### REMAIN NON-VIOLENT

The demonstration proceeded to the football field where subsequent action was planned. After a pledge not to destroy property or become violent, the students made another tour of the campus and demanded audience with the college president, J. D. Boyd.

After waiting fruitlessly for him, the students continued their tour singing freedom songs. Screens removed from some dormitory windows by demonstrators permitted more students to join in the protest.

The demonstrators returned to the football field and decided to wait there all night. Many male students went to their dorms and returned with coats, sweaters and blankets to protect the young women against the chilly night air.

#### ADMINISTRATION CALLS POLICE

At about midnight Dean Rudolph E. Walters and about a dozen members of the faculty marched onto the field. They read a prepared statement which said that the students had violated college rules by staying out of their dormitories after hours, and that action against them should be taken. But, because they felt a certain responsibility to the parents, they were giving the demonstrators one more chance to return to their dormitories. If the students did not return, the statement continued, the State Highway Patrol would be called to disperse them.

No one made any move to leave, and the students demanded instead, "Send us the president, we want to talk to the president." But the president never came.

#### ARMED TROOPERS ARRIVE

At about 5:30 in the morning, patrol cars rolled onto the campus in twos. After the last patrol car arrived, the full force, heavily armed with pistols, riot guns, rifles, tear gas and "billy" clubs marched up in front of the students.

The commander then stated: "You Alcorn students have demonstrated that you have no interest in going to school, therefore, you will be held until buses arrive to take you to your destinations."

The students were herded onto the buses which began to arrive at about 10 a.m. Although the last Trailways bus did not leave until 2 p.m., none of the students were allowed to either eat or get their personal belongings.

#### DEMONSTRATORS WIN CONCESSIONS

Several recreational changes affecting the less than 350 students who were not suspended have been made in the few weeks since the demonstrations. The price for playing records on the "juke box" has been changed from 10 cents to 5 cents. A second pool table has been added. TV sets are being installed. The recreation facility of the Sub now remains open until 9 p.m. and Saturday dance time has been extended one hour.

Most important, however, since the students were demanding not only recreational facilities, but better educational facilities as well, the library now remains open until 9 p.m.

### Demands of Alcorn Students

The following are some of the Alcorn College student grievances, listed as "we want."

1. Better provisions for education — (a) More competent instructors; (b) Library open until 10:30 p.m.; (c) Better supervision of instructors; (d) Instructional materials; (e) Books corresponding to access cards in library. Not included in the prepared report but stated verbally by several female students: a grading system not dependent on "other" requirements for young women.

2. A student government free of administrative domination, including right of assembly and modification of present student handbook.

3. Better medical service to include ambulance and full-time medical personnel.

4. Reduction of supply prices for food (cafe), books and toiletries.

5. Relaxation of social restrictions.

6. Relief from dictatorial power of student union director.

7. Right to wear current collegiate fashions.

8. Posting of book prices and on-time delivery of books ordered (book prices are never known until billed, and are sometimes not delivered during the semester for which ordered).

9. Provisions for better entertainment to include a gymnasium with adequate seating capacity, and supervised picnics, fishing and hikes.

10. Frequent administrative checks on assembly and conduct of classes.

11. Provide a college catalogue in which more of the instructors listed are still on the faculty, courses listed are actually offered, and expenses and fees are meaningful.

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## Two Worlds

(Continued from Page 5)

### Guerrilla Tactics in Ideological Struggles: Study of Mao's Thought

but in the world as a whole. While the Pravda editorials fought Russia's exclusion from Asian conference by stressing that the "multi-national Soviet Union" has an Asian part that is "almost twice as big as is the territory of China," Khrushchev departed for a trip to Egypt. In visiting the Aswan High Dam, he was enabled to play up the massive economic aid Russia sometimes extends to the underdeveloped countries, and he was heard not only in Egypt but in North Africa, not only in Africa but in Latin America, and Asia. This disturbs Mao a great deal more than do Khrushchev's "revisionist" arguments.

At the same time Russian totalitarianism has suddenly discovered "democratic Communism." Currently, the Pravda has begun a series of "ideological" editorials which warn Communist Parties, East or West, about the new Stalin-type, Maoist disciplined, Communist International which Chinese Communism wants to build. In contrast to this dictatorial world it offers them "a voluntary union of like-minded people . . . with voluntary discipline." It may confidently be asserted that Mao will next come out with an "expose" as to why undemocratic Khrushchev was not only in his dealings with either China or Albania, but with the Russian people in Stalin's era and now. We will not be surprised if Mao's version of Russian history will now attribute all Stalin's "errors" to his subordinates at the head of whom stood Khrushchev. And being expert also at class collaboration, Mao may promise "creative democracy" not only for his "three-continent strategy," but also for his new ally, General de Gaulle, so long only as the latter recognizes, as "enemy No. 1, American imperialism."

Now, a war of nerves is no substitute for development of thought, though Mao works hard to make it appear so. Thus, just as the Constitution of Communist China is the only one which places the Army alongside the Party as the two poles of power, so he tries to impose his concept of guerrilla war not only as a substitute for social revolution but in place of a development in Marxist thought.

#### STATE-CAPITALISM

Our state-capitalist age, that began with the Great Depression's undermining of private capitalism, called to the helm of power a bureaucracy whose administrative mentality fitted the State Plan. It also fitted the transformation of the armed struggle for power into a "theory of revolution." As against the World War I epoch, when the Great Divide in Marxism came over the question of the willingness to struggle for workers' power as against class collaborationism, in the post-World War II epoch, willingness to take power and class collaborationism were no longer opposites, as Mao proved conclusively through his own road to power.

Far from being opposites that blocked power, class collaborationism and struggle for state power complemented each other. This was true both when Mao did not yet achieve power but nevertheless saved Chiang's life at the very moment when Chiang's own army mutinied against him at Sian, in December 1936, and when, in 1949, Mao drove the corrupt and disintegrating Kuomintang from mainland China.

As against the original Red Army, born in Russia in 1917 out of proletarian revolution, not vice versa, Mao's Red Army outflanked the cities and appealed to the "good" capitalists, "the good" landlords, "the honest" petty bourgeois intellectuals to remain part of "the people" and manage the Chinese economy.

Mao no doubt can prove, to those who hunger for state power though they have no base in a mass movement, no developing proletarian revolution and no emerging national liberation movement, that guerrilla war is "an assured" road to power. But it should be obvious that this road to state-capitalist power is not the road to a new, a viable, a revolutionary social order where destiny remains in the hands of the working people. Clothing the fight for political power in Marxist garb cannot, and has not, hidden Mao's imperial ambitions, whether this takes the form of invasion of India, or ideological siege of Russian Communism. All it can, and does do, is show that "Mao's Thought" generates guerrilla tactics for its ideological battles precisely because power politics dominates it.

#### THOUGHT & LIBERATION

Marxist-Humanism is not only the way to struggle against Communist totalitarianism. It is, above all, the path to actual freedom. No Iron Curtain, no Great Wall, Chinese or East German, can be erected to exclude Marxist-Humanism, as was shown in the East German Revolt of 1953, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the "Hundred Flowers and Hundred Schools of Thought" that bloomed and contended in China in 1957. Indeed, despite the present debates over "peaceful co-existence with the West," what bothers both Mao and Khrushchev is the not-so-peaceful co-existence of the ruling "intelligentsia" (totalitarianism's euphemistic name for oppressor) and the working people in "the East."

It is true that Mao has, ever since 1960, taken the initiative in bringing the Sino-Soviet conflict into the open, and has accused Khrushchev of moving "from fear of nuclear war to fear of revolution." It is also true that Khrushchev has hit back with "Only a child and an idiot do not fear war." Nevertheless, Mao's simulated revolutionary thunder does not aim at a new social order any more than does Khrushchev's policy of so-called peaceful co-existence. Each is a totalitarian ruler in his own country. Each wants to be sole ruler over the state-capitalist world they both call Communist. It is not Western imperialism that will bring down those regimes. It is the working people in those countries. And it will be done with the same philosophy of freedom as that needed to gain liberation from Western imperialism. In this way alone can thought too be liberated from the stranglehold of guerrilla warfare.

## Barbarism in South Africa

### Three to Die in Grim Prelude to Rivonia Trial

A World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners has been launched in an attempt to halt the increasing barbarism against any South African opposition to Verwoerd's vicious racist government. Over 5,000 political prisoners are now incarcerated, and no less than 360 political trials were held in Johannesburg alone between April and September of last year.

In the recent Rivonia Trial (so called because most of the leaders among the 10 accused were arrested on premises described by the police as the "revolutionary headquarters of the African National Congress" at Rivonia township, Johannesburg) the six Negroes, three whites and one Indian being tried stand in danger of the death sentence. They are charged with plotting the overthrow of the segregationist government, and with sabotage. In South Africa sabotage includes striking for better living conditions, or even painting slogans on walls.

We print below excerpts from "South African Freedom News" which is circulated monthly by the African National Congress in an attempt to win support for these freedom fighters, whose struggle is the struggle of all for freedom; and whose trial is the trial of all who want to be free.

Three members of the banned African Congress have been sentenced to death in a South African village in a grim prelude to the Rivonia Trial . . .

Their trial was hidden away in the village of Port Alfred, hundreds of miles from their homes in Port Elizabeth. The Port Alfred trial was only staged after the three condemned men and the State's own witness had been softened up by continued spells of 90-day terms in solitary confinement . . . The isolation of the trial in Port Alfred made the preparation of

★ ★ ★

#### Police Admit Torture

The South African police have at last admitted—in open court—that they are trained to use instruments of torture. And even the Government's own representative in the trial, the Attorney General of the Free State, accused the police of "Gestapo methods."

The instruments of torture are an electric shock machine and a plastic bag.

When the "subject" is to be treated with the shock machine the standard police procedure is to blindfold him, tie him to a chair and apply the machine to tender parts of his body.

The plastic bag treatment consists simply of pulling a plastic bag over the victim's head until he loses consciousness, reviving him and then starting all over again.

These facts emerged in evidence given by three policemen themselves at a trial in Bloemfontein. One of the three policemen was a witness for the prosecution. The other two are accused, with two more policemen and a court official, of the murder of an African prisoner and with assault on another African prisoner with intent to murder him at Bultfontein police station . . . Constable H. J. Coetzee, freely admitted using violence on prisoners. "I don't think there is a police station in the country that does not use violence during questioning," he added.

A proper defence impossible even without the extra burden

of evidence given after torture. The three condemned men are Vuyisile Mini, Zinakele Kaba and Wilson Khayinga. They were sentenced to death under South Africa's so-called Sabotage Act. Under this law, described by international jurists as a Nazi law, even the painting of slogans on a wall can lead to the death sentence.

Mini is one of the best-loved A.N.C. personalities in South Africa, a devoted trade unionist and a life-long fighter for freedom. For more than ten years the South African Government has attempted to put Mini away on one pretext or another.

Born in 1920 in Port Elizabeth, Mini was active on behalf of his people by the time he was 17, fighting for better housing and lower rentals in the Korsten area where Port Elizabeth forced its Africans to live.

In 1952 he took part in the historic Defiance Campaign at Port Elizabeth and was jailed for three months. His next major appearance in court was at the notorious treason trial in 1956 which dragged on for nearly four years before the States case against the 156 accused collapsed. He was secretary of the Port Elizabeth branch of the African Dockworkers' Union and a prominent official of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Before his recent trial he was arrested under the 90-day jailing laws and kept in solitary con-

finement for successive spells. State witnesses who gave evidence against him were also victims of the 90-day arrests.

Mini is a fine musician and composer and many of his freedom songs are still sung in South Africa. Despite his solitary confinement Mini tried to keep up the spirits of his fellow prisoners in jail by singing these and other songs to them.

Since the three men have been condemned to die, protests against the savage sentences have been mounting. Foremost among these is an appeal from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U. Thant, to the South African Government not to carry out the sentences.

Appeals are also being made to dockworkers' unions throughout the world to take action against South African ships and bring pressure to see that the three men are not hanged.

A special appeal is being made to various governments and to all sympathetic individuals by African National Congress Mission. The text of this appeal is: We urge you to protest to the South African Government, to urge the United Nations to act, and to demonstrate at all South African embassies against these barbaric sentences. We urge the trade unions and all political organizations to make public statements condemning these sentences.

**LETTERS OF PROTEST AND SUPPORT  
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#### Italian View

### South Africa Likened to South U.S.A.

I am enclosing some thoughts on South Africa rather than on Italy . . . I've been concentrating on the South African situation recently and haven't been able to think well about Italy . . . It is just that it is so important that something be done right now in this situation . . .

I believe it is important for Americans to know about the support that their government gives to the South African government and economy, and also to realize the ties and similarities that exist between the South African and American "freedom fighters."

Passive resistance has traditionally been the means of struggle used by the South African Negro and Indian organizations. Particularly the African National Congress (ANC), the most important Negro organization, and the S. A. Indian Congress have organized massive but peaceful demonstrations of protest. The ANC, for example, organized the famous Defiance Campaign in which 10,000 people went to places reserved for whites only — a struggle almost identical to that which the American "freedom fighters" are making today, and 8,500 of these people went calmly to jail.

#### OPPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

Legislation of the past few years has made all organizations that oppose the government's racist policies illegal. Persons considered "troublesome" can be banished to remote places, forbidden to participate in political groups, arrested, without a mandate, for 90 days without the right to contact lawyer, family or friends, and then be immediately re-arrested. All "unorderliness" and even insulting an authority is

a crime; and all of these "crimes" are punishable with a minimum penalty of 5 years and a maximum penalty of death.

At the same time, all Negroes who do not work are being forced to go to the reserves.

South Africa has a high level of industrial development, but at the same time it is a primary producing country and very dependent on foreign trade and investments. Its industries and mines realize the highest profits on investments in the world, while studies show that the average African earns 3/5 of the minimum necessary for survival.

#### WHITE INCOME HIGH

The average income for the white population is the third highest in the world, while the infant mortality of the African population is the highest in the world. Between 1956 and 1961 foreign investments—especially U.S. investments—decreased because of political instability, and it seemed that an economic crisis would follow. American capital immediately came to the rescue, and today the S. A. economy is more prosperous than ever.

Acceptance, on the part of the U.S. government, of the U.N. resolution providing for economic sanctions against South Africa would make it almost impossible for the present government to remain in power. At the same time, a victory of the South African democrats would give one of the most serious blows that could be given to racism and imperialism throughout the world.

M. C., Italy  
(Editors Note: For more on this see Editorial, Page 4 and "Our Life and Times," Page 8.)

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## NAACP Forces GM Talks on Upgrading Negro Workers

(Continued from Page 1)  
white racist support against his Negro opponent. This was used to divert attention from the incumbents' adherence to the Reutherite enforcement of speed-up and neglect of mounting accumulations of unresolved grievances which carry over from model change to model change, from contract to contract.

While Reuther can pretend to endorse the Freedom Movement by publicly supporting, praising and being seen at James Baldwin's current Broadway play, "Blues for Mr. Charlie," neither he nor any of his white colleagues supported, in word or deed, the demonstration against lily-white departments and discriminatory up-grading practices of General Motors, which is symptomatic of all American industry. No wonder then that in the construction trades with their notorious, traditional racist policies, the plumbers can shut down a \$25 million construction project in the Bronx rather than work with or admit into Union membership three qualified Puerto Ricans and one Negro who were hired on as plumbers.

This is in Local 2 of the Plumbers' Union, the very union where AFL-CIO president George Meany held a card. If the so-called militant Reuther can be silent on the question of the rights of rank-and-file Negro auto workers while he issues provocative press releases that he will relieve G.M. of its too-heavy money bags in the forthcoming negotiations this summer, why should the laggard Meany speak out when he didn't even support last August's massive March on Washington?

The hypocrisy of the labor leaders, however, must also be blamed for the fact that whites active in the deepening Freedom Movement are slandered directly or indirectly.

### WHITE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

At the same time as the Freedom Movement has moved to this stage of appealing directly to white labor in mass production industry, the white counter-revolution has shown itself ready in the North as well to follow the Southern racist Governor Wallace by giving him a substantial vote in the Wisconsin and Indiana primaries. He is now back South, in Maryland this time, and again it is the Negro who is leading the resistance against him. Again it is Mrs. Gloria Richardson, head of the Cambridge movement, who led massive demonstrations protesting Wallace's presence. Again it was the state power that brought bayonets and tear gas to terrorize those who are fighting against racism and for civil rights.

Despite the sabotage by silence on the part of the labor leaders, and in the face of the increasing spread of Birchite venom in the last six weeks alone, the Freedom Movement has shown an ever-deepening scope.

Although the Senators with characteristic arrogance told the demonstrators last month that they would resist pressure in the streets as an affront to their Senatorial dignity, public pressure is accomplishing what nei-

ther Pres. Johnson, Attorney-General Kennedy, Senators Humphrey and Dirksen, nor the 79 other Senators have yet been able to do in the face of the filibustering 19 Southerners who are the de facto leaders of the Senate.

### WHAT NOW?

Whatever bill finally emerges from Congress, if one does, it will not change the actual situation in any fundamental respect. There is, in fact, no point in looking to Congress. The G.M. picket line and the Cambridge demonstration are only two of the new elements in the developing Freedom Movement. A third new element is the militancy typified by last month's projected stall-in at the New York World's Fair.

The 26-year-old Arnold Goldwag, who projected the World's Fair stall-in as an active member of the Brooklyn CORE, was not only placed under psychiatric observation for alleged paranoid tendencies, he was then sentenced by New York judges, for his crime of planning a civil rights demonstration, to a year in prison as a parole violator — which means merely that he was continuing to demonstrate for Civil Rights while on bail after a previous arrest for the same offense against New York criminal statutes.

While the police are quick to encourage the slander of militants, they are slow to save lives, as in Cleveland last month, when they just stood by and watched a bulldozer crush to death the heroic young Presbyterian minister Bruce W. Klunder.

At the present time, whether it is Florida or Tennessee, New York or Ohio, Michigan or California, there is still essential unity among the various organizations who are now leading in the Negro revolution. But so strong and deep are the roots among the ranks that every effort is being made to confine the further development of the movement. Thus it is that a speech made behind closed doors to a congressional committee in January, by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover, accusing the Freedom Movement of Communist infiltration, was made public only at the end of April, after the movement had shown its new growth and its obvious refusal to be fragmented or reduced to a collection of isolated or separate demands.

There is a danger that the combined efforts of the counter-revolution may so put the present leadership off balance that all of their efforts will turn to limiting the movement to so-called multiple issues — that is, a bill-of-particulars — in the interest of maintaining a semblance of structural unity while sacrificing the unity of thought and deed without which neither the particular ills can be redressed, nor the new society created.

It is only by grasping the philosophy of freedom as the unifying principle of all the spreading demonstrations that the full scope and ultimate end of the living struggle can rebuild society on a new basis as the logical and imperative achievement of the Freedom Movement.

## Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

### U. S. PROFITS FROM APARTHEID

The misery and human suffering resulting from the apartheid policies of the white South African government are well known. Less well known is the extent of the profits made from this system of virtual slavery. American big business has a big role in supporting the apartheid system and participating in its super profits.

More than 160 American companies with investments of over a half billion dollars extracted \$72 million in profits last year, a rate of profit more than double the 11.8% they make on investments in other foreign countries. In the automotive industry alone, new investment by American companies in 1963 were: General Motors—\$30 million, Ford Motor Co.—\$11 million, Chrysler—80% production increase, Firestone—\$7 million, Goodyear—\$3 million.

When, in 1961, the government of South Africa appeared to be on the verge of bankruptcy due to the world wide reaction to the slaughter of 72 Africans and the wounding of over 200 at Sharpeville, it was Amer-

ican capitalism that came to the rescue with loans of \$200 million. By June of 1963, the gold and foreign exchange reserves had more than tripled. Thanks to American capitalism, the Apartheid system was saved.

The black South African miner receives the miserable pittance of about \$216 per year for his labor. He is forced to work by the government, forced to live in a compound away from his family, dig ore in tunnels 40 inches high, serve for 18 months under the threat of jail, forbidden to join a union—all for 25 cents a day.

The Rand Mines Ltd. is American owned and controlled and controls 25 other South African companies. The Newmont-American Metal Group controls mines valued at \$431 million. An American, Charles W. Engelhard of New Jersey, is a director of the Chamber of Mines, which sets the wages and conditions of Africans in the mining industry. He is also a director of Harry Oppenheimer's mineral and diamond empire whose prof-

its have been estimated at \$350 million. He is also chairman of the board of Rand Mines Ltd. There is no question about the extent of American influence in the mining industry of South Africa and the responsibility for the apartheid policies which produce the super profits.

In 1962 the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission paid \$97 million for South African uranium which is surplus for American needs. It was dug by black labor at 25 cents a day and the profits went to bolster the apartheid government.

The consistent refusal of the U.S. State Department and its representatives at the U.N. to support the world-wide boycott demanded by the free African nations is motivated by the high profit rates involved in trade with South Africa. It is a trade not only in goods but in enslavement. It must end. The Freedom Movement here must constantly relate itself to the Freedom Movement in South Africa (See Editorial, p. 4).

### SCHOOL SEGREGATION

It is now 10 years after the Supreme Court of the U.S. ruled that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. There have been men killed, dogs and electric cattle prods used on women and children, thousands have demonstrated—but only a handful of schools have been integrated. Many of those that were integrated were only on a token basis.

There now rages in the U.S. Senate a filibuster against a civil rights law. When and if it passes in some sort of emasculated form, what expectation can there be that it will be enforced?

Judging by the law on integrated public schools, little can be expected from any new civil rights law. As if to stress that very fact the U. S. Supreme Court itself "celebrated" the 10th anniversary of its decision by refusing to consider the appeal of Indiana Negroes against de facto school segregation by neighborhoods. No wonder the tortoise pace of even token desegregation.

### PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On May Day, 3,000 students demonstrated in Kinsky Park, shouting "Long live freedom" and "Down with the Gestapo." Students, 31 of them, were arrested by the police who used both clubs and dogs to break up the demonstration.

Since before the Communist regime, students have gathered at the park on May Day to read poetry and sing songs. When, this year, the student gathering was invaded by 400 plainclothesmen, the students started chanting anti-government slogans and criticizing the government for poor living conditions and lack of freedom of speech. When the students refused to leave the park, the dogs and

the riot police were called in. They formed a flying wedge to break the students up into smaller groups which were pushed out of the park.

Some of the students went to Wencelas Square where they marched and shouted slogans in defiance of the Communist police. This is one more indication that, while the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 could be put down by force of superior Russian armed might, nothing can destroy the desire for freedom in Eastern Europe. The movement that is today driven underground will arise again and again until it wins.

### CARDINAL CUSHING

In 1961 Cardinal Cushing, who presided over the funeral of John F. Kennedy, said, "I do not know of any more dedicated anti-Communist in the country than Robert Welch. I unhesitatingly recommend him to you and endorse his John Birch Society." "In April of this year he got mad at them and said, 'I would prefer imprisonment and death under a slave state than membership in an organization which has branded a martyred president of the United States a Communist.'"

A few days later he claimed that he had been duped about the attitude of the Birchers toward Kennedy and re-endorsed the John Birch Society. "Patriotism" has always been the last refuge of scoundrels, religious or otherwise.

### AMERICAN LEGION

POST 490 of Signal Hill American Legion is up on trial before a special board on charges of distributing anti-Semitic and anti-Negro literature.

The Post and its officers were warned in 1961 to cease carrying on their anti-Semitic and anti-Negro cam-

paigns under the guise of an "Americanism Program." The post got around the rules by adjourning its meetings and then putting on hate speakers and programs before the same audience. Their official bulletin states, "This is a white Christian post—and we are proud of it."

The hate literature distributed by the post is published by Gerald L. K. Smith, long known for his American fascist views.

### SAIGON, VIET NAM

A food distribution scandal has broken out in which charges have been made that surplus American food is being handled with incompetence and corruption by the Catholic Relief Services. The report which has been suppressed by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, was prepared by American Embassy investigators over an eight-month period. The latest report was ordered locked up and copies destined for Washington were plucked from the diplomatic pouch to prevent their delivery.

The report charged, "Records are inadequate, donated foodstuffs are sold on the open market all over the country."

"Foodstuffs have been delivered to Vietnam public officials with no records or indication of their ultimate destinations."

"Entire truckloads of donated foodstuffs are sold to brokers for re-sale on the open market."

"In some areas, Catholic people alone are recipients of the free distribution of foodstuffs; the remainder being auctioned off."

The reports are highly critical of the Catholic Relief Services, the organization responsible for distributing the bulk of the \$68 million U.S. donated food since 1954. Fr. Paul Duchesne and some of his assistants who administered the program over the last 10 years have been removed.

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