

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

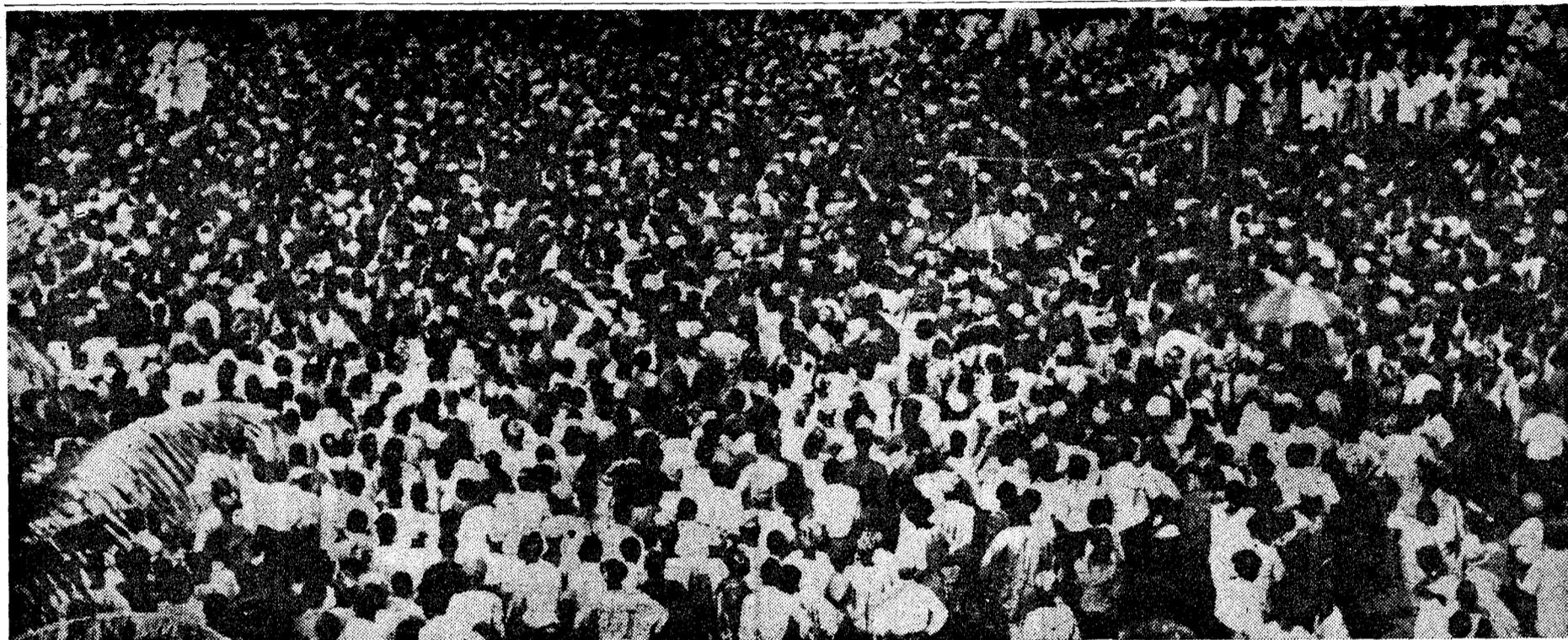
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Thousands of Nigerian workers attended a mass rally at Idi-Oro, on the outskirts of Lagos, Nigeria, during general strike that began June 1.

## 2 Million Nigerian Workers Win 2-Week General Strike

(Ed. Note: The following is a day-by-day report of the general strike in Nigeria, describing events as they unfolded.)

Lagos, Nigeria, June 2—More than two million Nigerian workers went on a country-wide sit-down strike June 1. The strike, second since independence, was in protest against the Government's handling of the Morgan Salaries and Wages Report. It has disrupted most of the government services and brought the railway system to a stand-still.

In Lagos, locomotive workers on maintenance duty downed tools on Sunday night (May 31). Work in Apapa Dock Services and offices was paralyzed as a result of the strike which was called after workers refused to accept the government's belated promise to publish, within ten days, a White Paper on the Morgan Commission's Report on Salaries and Wages.

### WORKERS DEMONSTRATE

Just before the strike, workers broke the ban on public processions in Lagos, on May 30, to protest the Government's failure to release the Morgan Report along with the White Paper on wages. Dozens of people were injured, some of them seriously, in a clash on the Iddo Bridge when about 200 police armed with batons, rifles and wicker shields attacked demonstrators making their way to Lagos inland to protest in front of the Parliament buildings. The demonstration was aimed also at mustering support for the nationwide strike scheduled to begin on June 1.

Mr. Michael Imoudu, 60-year-old Nigerian Labour "Ironman" who eluded the police after the demonstration, was arrested and immediately charged to Court before Magistrate A. Awolesi.

The charge against the veteran labour leader is that he "knowingly took part in an unlawful procession." The labour leader did not make a plea to the charge. He was released on bail in the sum of £200 and a surety in the like sum while hearing in the case was adjourned until June 24.

Immediately Mr. Imoudu was arrested he was whisked off to Lion Building Police Headquarters in a police car guided by seven policemen in civilian dress. With head heavily bandaged, the labour leader was still in high-spirit and told scores of his admirers who surrounded him at the police station, "Have no fear. Everything will be all right since we are fighting a just cause." (Applause.)

Smiling very broadly, he added, "We shall make the government grant our demands."

Charged separately and also released on bail, but facing the same count of taking part in an unlawful procession, were Nneanaka Chukurah, Nuru Cole, Wahab Goodluck, John Alabi and Alhaji Adebola.

### STRIKE PARALYZES NATION

No trains ran immediately the strike day dawned. All station officials who weigh goods, issue tickets and carry out booking of passengers sat idle at their posts. Not even a shunting engine stirred throughout. Life completely deserted the Lagos Customs, and the usual hustle and bustle in the quays was off. About 20 cargo ships were lying forlorn in the waters in which they berthed, hit by the strike of about 15,000 dockworkers.

The East Joint Action Committee said, in a handout, that the Federal Government has broken faith with the Nigerian workers in the handling of the Morgan Report, and warned against victimization and molestation of strikers.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Goldwater Victory Symbol of Far Right Threat to America

The easy victory of Goldwater as Republican presidential candidate is more—a great deal more—than a defeat of the alleged Republican "moderate mainstream." The illogic of the extremism of the Far Right is the logical end to "traditional" conservatism. It is the cancer of a new form of fascism attacking the lifeblood of thriving American capitalism.

### IN MEMORIAM

We mourn the death of Dr. Louis, who wrote the column, "A Doctor Speaks." At the height of the McCarthy hysteria, in January, 1955, a small group of workers and intellectuals decided not merely to swim against the current of reaction, but also to reveal how deep were the American roots of Marxist-Humanism. They formed News & Letters Committees that assumed a two-fold responsibility: (1) to found the only paper in this country that would be edited by a Negro production worker, and (2) to publish the work, **Marxism and Freedom**, that would reveal the continuity of this freedom philosophy from the Abolitionists to the freedom fighters.

As a founding member of these Committees, Louis devoted himself to every phase of their work. Because his writings were themselves the finest expression of the unique combination of worker and intellectual that characterizes the paper as well as the activity, we reprint below his last letter.

Some critics of Marxist-Humanism refer to 'spontaneity' as the weakness in our philosophy. How far from life they are! Here in Los Angeles, we have been discussing the "new." When we speak of "new stages" it seems to me that we are but viewing either new openings or new roadblocks to human spontaneity. We can now see the conflict between the USSR and China in a "new light." It has become clear that war between the two is possible on the old capitalist bases of nationalism, racism and even colonialism. Both Khrushchev and Mao are on a road in which there is a plan for everything except human self-activity.

Spontaneity which appears out of human self-activity, is inseparable from life. Man is now the product of two simultaneous evolutions — biological and cultural. The mutation of genes and the evolution of ideas produce the fullness and variety that is essential for human well-being and development. Man's self-activity is the creative process through which natural selection takes place, producing for him an ever greater freedom in relation to his environment. But only if self activity and spontaneity is the means can the goal of a truly human society be reached.

The only weapon we Marxist-Humanists have is the truth that is the whole, and we must continue to uncover it in its fullness. It is not enough to say that the only proof of the freedom of the whole is the freedom of the individual. There must be affirmation of human goals through a human practice.

The feedback is not only the mechanism of highly automated factories, but is of the very essence of the biological processes carrying on human life. . . . Equally essential in the cultural evolution of man toward wholeness is the interaction of sensitivity and need that is spontaneous decision based on qualitative and quantitative human feedback memory. An organization or movement composed of such individuals cannot degenerate.

### BELATEDNESS OF "STOP GOLDWATER" DRIVE

The belatedness of the start of any "stop Goldwater" drive not only was no accident but it would never have started at all if it weren't for the outcry abroad at Goldwater's Republican primary victory in California. The indecision of General Eisenhower was an indication of how deeply inbred in the Republican Party is the Far Right. But it wasn't only that phenomenon which kept the Republican office holders, who did fear loss of local elections in the industrial states of the North if Goldwater turned out to be the Republican presidential nominee, from starting a "stop Goldwater" drive.

The truth is that not only Republican office holders, Far Right or moderate, but also "independent" Democratic journalistic pundits had, up to the outcry abroad, actually urged that it is time to give the conservative wing of the Republican Party its "chance at the polls," as if a general election in the mightiest empire is no more than a game to show "democracy" at work.

None of Goldwater's reactionary stands frightened them: after all, in 1952, "Mr. Republican," Robert Taft, had lost the Republican nomination, not because he had authored the anti-Labor Taft-Hartley Act, but only because General Eisenhower could be a "winner." But, this time, once the foreign press shrieked in horror, the pundits here suddenly "discovered" that the presidency of a country that could set off a nuclear holocaust wasn't something to be traded back and forth between "liberals" and conservatives. And it was first then also that they discovered that Senator Goldwater wasn't just

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## 2 Million Striking Nigerians Win Demands Italian Workers Face Wage Freeze in Economic Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

The second day since the Joint Action Labour Front ordered the workers to down tools, reports from Ibadan, Kaduna, Lagos and Enugu indicated that the strike action has been quite successful in the Nigerian Railway Corporation. Employees of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation also joined. Postal services were completely paralyzed throughout the country. Passengers travelling from Onitsha to Asaba were stranded as employees of the Inland Waterways Department also joined the strike.

The Universities of Ibadan and Ife were affected when employees belonging to the Union of Universities Workers joined the strike.

A statement signed by Mr. Mokwugwo Okoye, National Secretary of the Zikist Movement, called on the Federal Government to lift the ban on processions in Lagos. Mr. Okoye said his movement believed that the objective of the ban is to instill fear in the minds of the people, and to prevent contact among them while "a fascist gang of political opportunists consolidate their position which otherwise is unstable and without a future in a free country."

### MORGAN WHITE PAPER OUT; GOVT. MAKES DRASTIC CUTS

The Federal Government White Paper on the Morgan Commission Report has slashed by 50 per cent the pay increase recommended for workers. The advance copy is believed to be an attempt by the government to persuade the workers to call off their country-wide strike.

According to the White Paper, those categories of workers who were to receive £36 per annum are now to receive £18; those who were to receive £24 are now to receive £12; while those to whom Morgan awarded £12 will now get £6. The salary of those workers who earn from £78 to £90 has been increased to £120 a year in keeping with the Commission's recommendation that the national minimum wage be £120.

Daily paid workers in Lagos were granted 20 per cent increase, from about £7.10s. a month to £9, while those on 5/10d. a day will now receive 7/6d. The Government accepted the Commission's recommendations that senior staff on £600 and above will receive no salary increase.

The White Paper said the Commission's recommendations are "unrealistic" and could not be accepted by the Government. The Joint Action Committee are insisting that Government should accept the report of its own commission.

### WORKERS RIOT

Port Harcourt workers rioted and the whole town was thrown into confusion when the country-wide strike entered its fourth day. Damage estimated at £30,000 was done to property. In the E.N.D.C. Glass Industry, the two bottling machines costing £200,000 were reported damaged. Other establishments affected included the G.B.O. and the B.O.P.

The strikers, who were chanting war songs, besieged government offices and forced civil servants to go on strike. About 600 Anti-Riot Police shadowed the strikers as they trooped around the town. Some expatriate employers of labour were escorted home under heavy police guard.

The Joint Action Committee's main objections to the White Paper were the slashing of increases recommended by the wages Commission, the Government's refusal to backdate the

increases to October 1963, and its refusal to legislate to force private employers to pay the increase.

In a seven-minute dramatic radio appeal to striking workers to return to work, Sir Abubaker warned workers against "grave consequences" of irresponsible actions and declared: My government cannot abandon its responsibility; we shall not tolerate the continuous dislocation of our economy. He said the government received the Morgan Wages and Salaries Report and made its views known, but if workers are dissatisfied, then they should return to work and pave the way for peaceful negotiation.

### P.M.'S BROADCAST A THREAT: WORKERS WON'T BUDGE

Twenty-four hours after the Federal Government's 48-hour ultimatum, the Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Labour Front issued its "White Paper," and gave the Government 24 hours to accept it. The "Labour White Paper" was made public at a workers' rally in Enugu on Monday evening, June 8. It criticized certain aspects of the Morgan's recommendation and "completely rejected" the Government's White Paper.

Among the recommendations which were read to the crowd were a demand for £12 minimum wage and complete abolition of zonal rates. The "Labour White Paper" called for a drastic cut in salaries and allowances of ministers and asked for £220 per annum for School Certificate holders. The increase, it said, should be from £46, £36, £26 and £16 for junior servants on £600.

Mr. Warrington Harry Ugwuwa, a Joint President of the Joint Action Committee, urged workers to remain firm in their fight for better conditions of living and to end inhumanity of man to man. He described the Prime Minister's broadcast as a mere threat which should be treated with the contempt it deserves.

### WORKERS ACCUSE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

A crowded rally of Nigerian workers which took place, June 11, at Idi-Oro, six miles from Lagos, passed "a vote of no confidence in the Federal Government," and called on Prime Minister Alhaji Abubakar Rafawa Balewa "to resign with his cabinet within 48 hours" beginning from 5 p.m. of June 11, 1964.

Another speaker, Mr. Wahab Goodluck, declared, "If government continues to refuse to accept the Morgan recommendation they should resign without delay." He further told them that when Nigerian workers struck on June 12, 1945, all the weight of the British Government in Nigeria did not compel them by force to return to work. "That 44-day strike left its mark on the Government of the day and forced it to go on its knees to offer reasonable and equitable compromise to workers." The use of force failed in 1945 and must also fail in 1964.

Mr. Imoudu called on workers to remain at home and not to report for duty. He also announced that a Labour Party to cater exclusively for workers would soon be formed.

Lagos market women gave the Federal Government 48 hours to change its decision on the controversial Morgan recommendations otherwise they would join the strike in full swing.

### THE BIG STRIKE IS OVER

The two-week old nationwide strike of Nigerian workers is called off. This was announced in a joint communique by the Union leaders and the Federal Government representatives. Pri-

vate employers and leaders of the Joint Action Committee will begin to resolve the issues.

The terms of agreement are: 1) that no worker will be victimized; 2) that dismissal and warning notices will be withdrawn; 3) that no workers will be penalized for absents themselves from work and they will be regarded as having been on leave with full pay without prejudice to leave already earned; 4) negotiations between private employers and government representatives, on one hand, and members of the Joint Action Committee, on the other, are to be set up immediately; 5) that Morgan awards be placed as the basis for negotiation; 6) that under the above conditions the strike is called off.

Signing for the Government were Finance Minister Chief Festus Okotie Eboh, Aviation Minister Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, Establishments Minister Mr. Jacob Obande, Economic Planning Minister Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, and Labour Minister Chief J. M. Johnson.

Signing for the Joint Action Committee were Alhaji H. P. Adebola, Mr. W. Goodluck, Mr. M. Imoudu, and Joint Presidents Mr. S. U. Bassey, L. Borha, Okei Ochambe, Gogo Nzerilse, and N. Okongwu.

It is understood that all Establishments Ministers in the Federation have been summoned to attend the negotiation meeting taking place in Lagos on June 15.

### AWAIT NEGOTIATIONS

Immediately the strike was called off, Alhaji H. B. Adebola, joint chairman of the JAC, told thousands of cheering workers in Lagos, "We are set for the next move." He added, "At first the government refused to negotiate but later changed their mind and invited us. Let us wait and see what way the cat jumps before we decide on our next line of action."

Mr. Goodluck, another joint chairman, had this to say: The calling off of the strike is another opportunity for the Government to give the workers nothing but the Morgan recommendations. Anything short of this will not be accepted.

Mr. Michael Imoudu, labour leader No. 1, said: Now the government has come down on their knees, it is fair we hear them first. We can always react when things go the other way. I think we have proved equal with the Government, even with their soldiers and police.

Mr. Sam Bassey, one of the joint secretaries of the JAC, said, "Negotiation begins on Monday, 18th June, 1964. Government should be told that the JAC will not brook any tactical manoeuvres this time."

Addressing a mass rally shortly afterwards, Alhaji Adebola commended the entire workers for the wonderful part they played during the strike. He said, "There's no doubt that they have proved well your mettle and I hope you will continue in this same good spirit." He also warned the workers not to relax their efforts but to continue to rally round the JAC, adding, "This is not the end of it all. We are still going for negotiation and we will not let you down."

Mr. Imoudu, who also addressed the rally, said, "We have fought and won gloriously because we have been able to bring down the government to listen to the workers." He asked them to resume work immediately. He, however, emphasized that they should be ready at any time for action when the occasion warrants it. A four-man delegation of JAC left for the regions to announce to the striking workers the decision to call off the strike.

## Italian Workers Face Wage Freeze in Economic Crisis

MILAN, Italy—The Italian economy is going through, as it has been officially defined by the Italian government, an economic crisis. But more than an economic crisis, which is always more or less there, it is an attempt of the capitalist class and their government to destroy the working class movement.

The economic crisis is characterized by an inflation that has hit every sector of the economy, but particularly the prices of food and rents in the industrial cities have increased incredibly; by a deficit in the foreign balance of payments—a problem almost solved since the U. S. government immediately, upon request, loaned money to Italy to meet its debts; and, finally, by a decrease in investments.

### AMERICAN INVESTMENTS

Also this latter problem has been aided by American capital which has recently made many investments in Italian industry: last week Minnesota Mining and manufacturing bought the largest Italian firm that produces photographic equipment, Shell has made an unknown amount of investments in Montecatini, the most important Italian chemical company, etc.

As would be expected, the working class is being blamed for the entire problem. They have been striking and getting wage increases, and the poor capitalists have been left without enough money for their investments. Therefore, the government has proposed a block on all wage increases.

The fact is that probably the real wages of the workers have decreased in these years of inflation. The Italian capitalists are finding it difficult to compete in the Common Market because their industry is not as ad-

vanced, as automated, as that of other European countries. Therefore, Italian capital has tended to seek foreign outlets. What an absurdity that Italy has to borrow money from the U. S., but then Italian banks have lent about 5 billion lire to the Congo to buy, naturally Italian products.

### NOTHING FROM LEFTISTS

What has been the reaction of the Italian Socialist and Communist parties and unions to this aggression from the right? A wage block would seem the occasion for a general strike, but there will be almost no struggle. The head of the Socialist Party, Nenni, is Vice Prime Minister and, more or less, supports the government action. The rightist press has expressed their happiness over the "reasonable" attitude of the Communist Party.

Many hoped that the new socialist party (PSIUP) would be a dynamic and revolutionary force. Although PSIUP makes a more accurate and leftist analysis of the Italian situation, it seems very unlikely that it will be able to go beyond its very intellectual and bureaucratic political structure.

As for the unions, in the last few days the government has suggested that with union cooperation it might be possible to avoid a law on the wage block. It is very possible they will have this cooperation.

At the same time the workers' jobs are being threatened, and they are unsure how to act. Especially in the industrial cities, where monopoly capitalism dominates, there have been many people fired or laid off. Hours and, therefore, pay have been decreased for many. Most people agree that this is not so much due to economic necessity as it is to a type of blackmail—making the workers afraid to strike—but it is working.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### Goldwater: Enemy of Freedom

The cause of peace and freedom has brought out all the hate that the big white leaders have had against the black race of people. The whole world saw this when the Republican Party refused to support a man like Rockefeller because he was too "liberal," and place at its head instead a Birchite-supported hate-monger like Goldwater, who is equally against the poor whites and the colored people.

To prove that he is against giving them even a little bit of freedom, he has voted every time against any bills in Congress that might help them. He says let the poor workers go back to shining shoes and selling apples to make a living. This showed the whole world that this man was trying to put both the black and white people back under slavery.

### LESSON IN VIETNAM

All the leaders of the Republican Party knew that Goldwater was wrong, but the Birchites have poisoned their minds to such an extent that they were all still willing to vote for him. They seem to have forgotten what happened in South Vietnam when a few big leaders tried to crush their people, and finally got so bad they had to be removed. For all her pretty face, Madam Nhu turned out to be a fascist who was all for herself, and meant nothing but ruin for her country.

Insane people like Goldwater

always try to make their Party their own—a one-man party. He will wreck his Party for good, in doing it.

There are so many big rich leaders who think that the poor class of people do not understand just how crooked they are, and how they want to run the country. But they are wrong. All the young white children seem to know about the crooked politicians these days. That is why so many young white people are joining in with the black people in the struggle for freedom, which will help their poor white brothers, too.

### NOTHING LESS THAN FREEDOM

The working class knows that as long as the rich man can stay in power, neither the Negro nor the poor white can be free. There is one thing that showed the poor classes just how dirty the rich class can be, when they let Gov. Wallace of Alabama show the people of the world that the North was just as much against the workers and the Negroes being free as the South was, and that neither meant to pass any bill whereby the people could truly be free.

But the Negro will not stop fighting, just because they finally passed some Civil Rights Bill that they have been trying to pass for a year. The Negro people do not mean to settle for anything less than true freedom.

# WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

## Mississippi's Laws Against Humanity

I have just read part of a document, put out by COFO (the Council of Federated Organizations, who are conducting Freedom Summer in Mississippi), that deals with 37 bills introduced in the legislature of Mississippi in its 1964 session. It gave me the same feeling I had when I read reports of the extermination camps of Hitler. How inhuman man can be to man! It would be good if every human being could read this document and learn exactly what the state of Mississippi is like; what the South as a whole is like; what the United States, therefore, is like; and what Goldwater is like, who says he wants to be President but is for states rights.

Goldwater is now trying to tell the Negroes that he is for civil rights, but that it will have to come from "a change of heart" of the people. This report shows what kind of hearts the whites in power in the South have.

### POLICE STATE LAWS

It is impossible to deal with 37 bills in this column, but I feel I must mention a few:

An "Anti-economic Boycott Bill" outlaws economic boycotts by NEGROES against white businesses which discriminate against Negroes. Another bill prohibits the distribution of leaflets calling for economic boycott. One allows the police to restrict the free movement of individuals and groups, and establishes curfews without formally declaring martial law. Two bills revoke the charter of Tougaloo college (a Negro college) and drop it from accreditation.

One bill is designed to pay the cost of county registrants and circuit clerks convicted under the Civil Rights Act, that is, those who refuse to comply with Federal Court orders to register Negroes on an equal basis with whites. Another reduces the number of Negroes on jury lists by changing the qualification for jury members.

One bill seeks to provide mandatory sterilization for those convicted of a third felony. (It goes without saying that this is aimed only at Negroes and those whites that support them, for no racist white of Mississippi has ever been convicted of any crimes committed against Negroes.) Still another bill sought to provide prison terms or sterilization for parents of illegitimate children. PASSED BY THE HOUSE, it was revised by the Senate and passed in a form that struck out the sterilization clause.

### MAGNOLIA JUNGLE "JUSTICE"

At least seven Negroes have been killed by whites in the South in the past few months, but the Federal agents in these states have been unable to come up with any concrete "proof" against the murderers. This is the natural way of life in Mississippi. And it is the natural way the U.S. government has continued to operate in Mississippi and the South, as well. Even when white racists are caught, they are freed in the courts, and given rewards. Three whites accused of the Birmingham, Alabama, church bombing that took the lives of four young Negro girls have been freed. Byron De La Beckwith, who murdered Medgar Evers, is not only free but rides around in the local police cars as a hero. When the three young civil rights workers disappeared from Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, other civil rights workers said it took 24 hours to even get the Federal Government to investigate. Civil rights workers charge constantly that they cannot get the FBI to come when they are called; that they have never received anything but obstruction from local FBI agents.

How does the FBI dare maintain its pretext of efficiency, its ability to track down vicious criminals, when it likewise claims that it cannot get "proof" against Southern white racists, and that crimes against Negroes and their white supporters are impossible to solve?

Nowhere in the world is corruption and hypocrisy more prevalent than in Mississippi. The "white power structure" there is frightened down to its boots of the Negro movement and the white support it has won. These civil rights fighters are not only challenging the way of life of white Mississippians, they are challenging the way of life of the entire United States. That is why the Mississippi legislature rushed to introduce all those inhuman bills.

### WORKERS' UNITY CAN DEFEAT RACE HATRED

This is not to say that all the race-haters live in Mississippi. A white Southern worker told me of a vicious racist letter he just received from Indiana, which explained the "true" meaning of the civil rights bill. He was very angry, and even more so when he could find nobody else in his neighborhood who received one. He gave the letter to his union president to see if the union could help him find out how they got his name and address.

He said he felt positive it came from the Birchites, and Goldwater supporters, and that he would never be a party to any such race-hatred, because we need unity and understanding between all workers. But it seems almost impossible to get this across to some other white workers.

Read Chapter 17

## "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"

in

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## Workers Strike, Save Seniority

Philadelphia, Pa.—The workers of the Philco plants in Philadelphia have just ended a determined, seven-week strike against Ford, Philco's owner. At issue was Ford's attempt to eliminate the seniority rights of the workers.

Ford wanted to be able to push the workers around the plant, from job to job, and to lay-off and call back at will and with no regard for seniority. The company tried to put over some gimmick called "belt-seniority"—laying off a whole belt at once, with no regard to how many years the workers had spent in the plant. Ford was following a recent decision of the NAM National Association of Manufacturers to wreck the seniority system.

### PICKET DEALERS

Philco workers fought with enthusiasm, loyalty, solidarity, and determination. Women workers and wives carried the strike to picketing of Ford auto dealerships. The workers wanted to send a group to Detroit to picket the auto plants there and bring pressure on Ford closer to home. But Reuther nixed that idea. He wouldn't have auto workers and electrical workers showing solidarity against Ford.

The union had virtually no strike fund. Many workers' families got along on government-surplus food. But their determination and solidarity never wavered—in spite of Ford's threats to move the plant away—and they won from Ford a decent contract spelling out in great detail the rights and obligations of the workers and the bosses.

So far, the company is walking on tiptoe, sticking to the contract, showing its fear of the workers' solidarity. A foreman, trying to push around some women-workers from one job to another, was stopped when a shop steward threatened to clear the plant in five minutes.

## On The Line

# How Much Harder Will We Work to Pay for Contract?

By John Allison

Detroit, Mich.—Auto workers are looking to contract negotiations and what they can gain on the question of working conditions in this round of talks. This is first on all of the workers' agendas, second is early retirement, and third is a better grievance procedure.

There is also much talk about the return of the company union. You hear these remarks when you talk to the older workers. They remember the old and early days of the UAW, when it would fight for workers' rights at the drop of a hat.

### PACE TOO FAST

In all of the contracts, retirement begins at 65 by choice, and 68 by demand of the company and union. This was an issue at one time, and the charge was that this was driving the old timers out of the shop.

But now, with production so high and fast, the older workers are glad to get out and let the young workers fight the company and form the kind of union they want.

There is a lot of horse trading in the contract talks. The workers know this to be so by experience. For every new program gained in negotiations, the question always comes up: how much more production and effort is it going to cost the workers.

### WORKERS PAY FOR GAINS

A worker doesn't have to think about it at all. He knows that Supplemental Unemployment Benefits brought in the "Whiz Kids" from outside firms with their slide rules and stop watches. And in Chrysler alone 20,000 workers were thrown in the streets — and Automation came in like a plague to wring every ounce of production out of the men.

Now the company has hired its own "Whiz Kids," they all have an army of them. They have one job: if the workers get 10c more,

the "Whiz Kids" have to get 20c more production out of their hides.

### PRODUCTION SPEED, NOT RELIEF TIME

We hear Doug Fraser of the UAW telling Chrysler workers that one contract demand will be to double relief time — from 24 minutes a day to 48 minutes a day. But so long as the company controls the speed of the line, they don't have to worry. If we get double relief time, they'll just speed up the line to get the production—or more.

When workers talk about working conditions, they're not talking about relief time. They're talking about the speed of that line. Until they can control that, everything else is meaningless.

From time to time a strike explodes, always for the same reasons: working conditions and unsolved grievances. All of the auto makers are expanding plants and operations, and yet the union is not expanding and unemployment keeps going up. This is a great worrier, and causes mistrust of both the company and union. With the renewal of contract negotiations, the big question everywhere is: how much harder will we have to work to pay for this contract?

## Massive 'Frisco Rights March Blasts G.O.P.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. — Nearly 50,000 people poured into Market Street on Sunday, June 12, to take part in a civil rights protest against the Republican Convention's imminent nomination of Barry Goldwater.

Sponsored by a local church-labor council and aided by CORE, NAACP, and SNCC, the march was seized upon by politicians of every sort who tried to use it for their own purposes, but the crowd soon showed that they had far more in their hearts than what the politicians gave them credit for.

Roars of approval greeted every civil rights leader, from James Farmer of CORE to John Lewis of SNCC, and Rev. Anderson of the NAACP—every one of whom attacked Goldwater directly, explicitly and forcefully.

By contrast, only "polite applause" was given the politicians like Javits, Keating, Lodge and Rockefeller, who managed to gain the speakers' platform, but not one of whom had the courage or principle to attack Goldwater by name.

When Rockefeller went so far as to recite favorably the record of Republicans in Congress in support of the civil rights law, and then tried to attack the voting records of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson while they were senators, he lost the crowd completely.

### FAMILIES MARCHED

The San Francisco March was not only the largest since the March on Washington last August—which also represented far more than what the politicians tried to convert it into—but like the Detroit March last June, when almost 500,000 people poured into the streets, it was a family affair, with mothers pushing baby buggies, and fathers carrying toddlers piggy-back. Moreover, although it was headlined as a "Negro March," there were thousands of whites participating.

## NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

- 1—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—  
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**Editorials**

**Beware the Grim Winter Ahead**

Pres. Johnson's declaration that the United States is willing to "risk war" in Southeast Asia to preserve peace is another terrifying revelation of the nightmare thinking that rules American affairs on all levels of decision making.

Even the most thick-headed have finally been forced to admit that Goldwater's willingness to "defoliate" Vietnam jungles with atomic weapons isn't just electioneering, but is of a piece with the counter-revolution's mobilization against all human rights.

**LBJ'S BRAND OF BRINKSMANSHIP**

Johnson's brinksmanship isn't any the less sinister than Goldwater's, it is only more crafty, more calculated, and further-reaching. Goldwater declared for "defoliating" trees on the eve of his California primary victory which consolidated the Birchite thrust into the mainstream of American politics. Johnson declared for depopulating families on the eve of the civil rights legislative victory to start damming up the floodtide of freedom. At the very moment he signed the Civil Rights Law he tried to force an identity between the Freedom Movement which compelled the passage of the law, and increased military intervention by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam which would foredoom freedom and independence there as surely as Communist imperialism.

Johnson's threatening statement was made eleven years to the month after the Korean War ended. Does he think we've forgotten that it cost, in American casualties alone, over 50,000 dead and over 100,000 wounded? Does he think we don't know that it destroyed all vestiges of freedom and independence in Korea, North and South, during all these long years since?

Johnson's statement was made ten years to the month after French imperialism was defeated in Southeast Asia. Does he think we're indifferent to the half-million casualties that cost because the split blood was French and Vietnamese? Does he think we don't care that it left Southeast Asia under a three-way totalitarian yoke, and in the aftermath brought France under the de Gaulle heel?

**AN OMINOUS FOLLOW-THROUGH**

There is an ominous method in Johnson's follow-through. To show, if left unchecked, how he intends to administer the Civil Rights Law, he named the ex-Governor of Florida, Leroy Collins, as his ambassador of "reason and common sense" to promote understanding of and compliance with the law. On the other hand, to show, if left unchecked, how far he is prepared to risk war, he named the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, as his Ambassador to South Vietnam. Ambassador Taylor is obviously well qualified: he commanded the Eighth U.S. Army in Korea in 1953; he assumed command of all U.S. ground forces in Japan, Okinawa and Korea in 1954; he was named Commander-in-Chief of both the Far East Command and the United Nations Command in 1955.

There is no doubt that American imperialism can wage a more terrible war in Southeast Asia than French imperialism was able to mount ten years ago—but it will be no more successful in halting a takeover by Communist tyranny. It will only be more disastrous. It is already strengthening Mao's challenge by impelling new adherents to his banner even in South Vietnam where there is deepening revulsion against Americans as mere replacements for the long-defeated French.

Whatever the outcome of this presidential year, the counter-moves of nuclear brinksmanship are more than just campaign politics. They are a forecast of the policy being prepared for the grim winter that lies ahead of this long hot summer.

It can be checked and it can be overcome by the Freedom Movement particularly if the Humanist thinking that underlies its courageous acting is brought clearly forward to oppose the perverse thought around which American capitalism is carefully organizing its counter-attack upon freedom.

**General Strike in Nigeria**

As our front-page story reports, two million Nigerian workers went out on a general strike for two weeks in June to demand deeds and not words from their governmental bureaucrats. It was no surprise that the American press failed to report this. Nor was it a surprise that in all of Walter Reuther's recent press releases and news interviews that he never once found it necessary to break this conspiracy of silence, let alone to express international labor solidarity.

In 1945, under British colonial rule (at that time administered by the British Labour Party), Nigerian workers conducted a general strike which marked the beginning of Nigeria's Freedom Movement. Then, they had only been able to organize 97 small unions numbering slightly more than 27,000 members. The "small size" of the strike may have excused the silence of the American bureaucrats then. Not even their ignorance can be offered as an excuse today when two million workers struck.

In breaking the present conspiracy of silence by printing the report direct from Nigeria, we take this opportunity to send fraternal greetings of solidarity from the rank-and-file workers of America to their union brothers in Nigeria.

**Readers'**

**MISSISSIPPI AND GOLDWATER — TWO FACES OF FASCISM**

At lunch one day, one of the women was talking about the "hoodlums" beating up whites in New York. I had just read, the day before, a summary of the new laws passed by the Mississippi legislature so I told them about Freedom Summer and the white hoodlums in Mississippi who have the power there to pass such horrifying laws. The most horrifying to me was the one about sterilizing anybody convicted of three "felonies," which is obviously aimed against all civil rights demonstrators.

I never saw such looks of horror cross their faces. Every chance I got I told other women. Almost all these women are very prejudiced, but every one of them was horrified. I think that anybody who is truly a human being would have to be.

Angela Terrano  
Detroit

I was shocked when Goldwater won the California Republican primary. I was shocked again the next day at work when none of the women said anything about it, so I began asking them what they thought about that man. One woman said: "This will sew it up for Johnson"—but she said it in a half-whisper, as if she didn't really believe it herself. After I talked to half a dozen of the women, I realized they had been silent because they were dismayed and so afraid of what Goldwater really meant.

Woman Worker  
Detroit

One of the worst parts of the Goldwater victory to me is the fact that it has raised the old question of the "right to work" laws all over again. We have to go through all that agony again!

The headlines about Southeast Asia show that the cold war threatens to become very HOT very soon. The new Automation machines in the coal fields and on the assembly lines threaten their own kind of war on the working man. And Goldwater threatens war on the Negro and white workers alike—in fact, he has threatened war on just about everybody and everything throughout the world, except the Far Right.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

It is a bitter pill to swallow that "it can happen here." It is not simply a question that the so-called "Moderates" didn't succeed in stopping Goldwater. They didn't really try. And that should not really surprise anyone. What is more serious is that the so-called "Left" does not seem to be concerned that we have reached a qualitative difference in capitalist politics with Goldwater and the John Birch Society.

Marxist-Humanist  
California

Mississippi has the lowest grade of education in the entire country—the worst schools, for both Negro and white, possible. Everything there is the worst, and the lowest. The teachers, for example, are the lowest paid in the entire country. Those with a degree get \$3,600 a year tops. And very few do have

degrees, so they get even less.

Recently the legislature voted the teachers a \$300 raise. The new governor, Johnson, vetoed it. He didn't want the money in Mississippi to be used for anything like raising a teacher's pay, or getting some better education for the children there. He needed it to enlarge Parchman Penitentiary for the students coming to Mississippi this summer to help with voter registration, and man the Freedom schools.

They have built enormous new enclosures, with barbed wire all around them. They look exactly like the concentration camps of Hitler Germany. They have bought and trained a large number of new police dogs. When you have all those expenses, you certainly can't afford to raise the teachers' salaries!

Reader  
Mississippi

I have often seen the swastika scrawled on walls here in Philadelphia, but never before today—two days after the nomination of Barry Goldwater—have I seen printed stickers of the Nazi and fascist groups. In those two days, stickers with the swastika on one end and "Rockwell for President" on the other were pasted all over walls in the main downtown subway station.

In the subway car on which I was riding, a large sticker saying "Join Now! National States Rights Party" had been pasted over an advertising poster. The address for information was a post office box in suburban Folcroft, Pa.—where white mobs last summer stoned a home which a Negro family had bought, eventually driving the Negro father into a mental institution.

I am sure that the beating of Jomo Kenyatta in London by a British National Socialist was also encouraged by the success of the reactionaries at the Republican convention. The picture is ominous.

Observer  
Philadelphia

I read with real terror the charges that Nelson Rockefeller made (long, long AFTER it happened, of course) against the "tactics" Goldwater supporters used during the California primary.

In one instance they crashed a reception given by Leonard Firestone, Rockefeller's campaign chairman, polluted the punch with acid, and while 5,000 guests looked on, roamed about stamping on all the food, fighting with guests, and sending one businessman to the hospital to get 7 stitches in his arm!

In addition, the Rockefeller-for-president offices throughout California received more than 200 bomb threats, and women workers got calls at night, with threats issued in vile language. One woman delegate had a breakdown after her car was forced off the road late at night.

What is even more terrifying, if it could be, is that despite all this, Rockefeller and all the other so-called moderates not only did not bring charges against these

terrorists, but can so take it in stride, that they will go out now and campaign for "the Party"—fascist-supported, or not!

Disgusted  
Detroit

I wish I could be so sure that Goldwater can't win! It scares the hell out of me every time I think about it—and about the mere one-hundredths of a percent that Nixon lost by, without half so disciplined an organization four years ago as the Birchers represent today. If Nixon could garner enough bigoted anti-Catholic votes to come that close, how close will Goldwater come?

Worried Student  
California

**RED-BAITING AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Recently J. Edgar Hoover attacked the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as being Communist infiltrated. The yellow press has been especially smearing toward SNCC.

We are indeed fortunate to have a pamphlet such as HUAC: Bulwark of Segregation to enlighten us on the true nature of HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee). The author of HUAC: Bulwark of Segregation is Anne Braden, editor of the newspaper The Southern Patriot, and author of The Wall Between.

Facts revealed in this pamphlet are eye-opening. For instance, the Chairman of HUAC is a Southern racist. Many civil rights workers state that the great doubt and mistrust of the Freedom Movement is caused by the HUAC, SSS, and the "little HUAC's" in various Southern states.

I urge everyone who wants Freedom Now to read the pamphlet. Copies are available from National Committee To Abolish HUAC, 555 N. Western Ave. #2, Los Angeles 4, Calif.

Student  
Tennessee

There must have been over 500 people who participated in the five hour picket line at Cobo Hall here at the end of June when Pres. Johnson addressed a \$100 plate Democratic Party dinner. Most of the signs demanded Federal Marshalls for Mississippi, and almost all the civil rights groups joined forces for the protest.

One young woman I talked with (as we were rubbing our tired feet on the sidelines for a moment) told me she had seen the demonstration as she was going home from work at a downtown office. When she mentioned to her driver and the others in the car that she felt she ought to get out and join in they asked her if she was some sort of Communist or something.

I guess that did it, because she said she felt there was something very wrong if you had to be a "Communist or something" in order to feel aroused about what was going on in Mississippi. So she just told them to stop the car, and jumped out, and joined in.

Marcher  
Detroit

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# Views

## APPALACHIAN COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

When the truck loads of clothes and food come in all the executive committeemen and their wives come to the Allais Local Union hall basement to unwrap the boxes and lay out the clothes for distribution to our most needy members on Friday. The committeemen are representatives from each precinct in the area and they visit their neighbors' homes telling them about our committee and what it aims to do. They find the most needy families this way and ask them to come up on the Fridays when we have something to give out.

**This way we hope to get the donations to those people who most need them, but it is very difficult since almost every house has a man unemployed for a long time and there is never enough to go around, particularly of children's clothes.**

Last Friday there were over 150 families at the Local door at 8 o'clock, although it was announced that distribution would not begin until 9. We managed somehow to get some things for everybody there, but without the kind of help working people in other places give us by sending these truckloads down, we could never give anybody anything. Thank you for your help.

E. T.,  
Hazard, Ky.

I was very impressed by the issue dealing with the strike in Hazard, Kentucky. I wish these people all the success in the world and hope their present struggle is over soon. Reading it reminded me of Steinbeck's book, *The Grapes of Wrath*.

J. F.,  
Scotland.

**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, 501 High St., Hazard, Kentucky.

We want to take this opportunity to thank you for your fine coverage of our efforts and problems in Eastern Kentucky. We have just read your story on the trial at Whitesburg in your May issue.

We are grateful for your fund appeal that appears at the end of every piece and in the separate box usually. We now have a new address. We have just rented a small office opposite the Perry County Assistance office.

We are working from this office to process claims on Public Assistance, Social Security, etc. that our members are being unlawfully denied . . .

J. C.,  
Hazard, Kentucky.

**Editor's Note:** Our May issue reported the acquittal on May 1 of seven "roving pickets," which freed them of two trumped up state charges. Several miners, however, still face another framed-up charge in federal court.

I'm not for handouts. Mountain people are a proud lot and want to work for a living. But kids have to eat to live. The welfare people act as if the little they give out was coming right out of their own pockets.

We have a fight on our hands here in Eastern Kentucky for sure. And there is no sitting on the fence about it. If you're not in the fight, you're out of it.

Unemployed Miner,  
Kentucky.

## THE SCOTTISH SCENE

Chrysler has acquired 30% of the shares in the Rootes group of car manufacturers. Rootes have had a hell of a lot of labour troubles in the last year or so, when they started up their new Scottish plant in Linwood, about ten miles from Glasgow. They have been paying their men less wages than their English counterparts and have been speeding up their assembly line fantastically.

The union bosses have been taking the bosses' part all the way along and did not even protest when the firm sacked 270 assembly line workers for what they called "Industrial Anarchy." That is, refusing to do more than their (the workers) own quota of cars.

The union bosses said that they (the workers) were stopping work from coming to Scotland by their action and agreed with the management that they should be sacked.

If some form of contact could be established between the rank-and-file in Linwood and the rank-and-file in the Chrysler plant in Detroit, it would represent true international working class solidarity.

Jim  
Glasgow.

The Labour "Left" has completely capitulated to the dubious charms of Harold Wilson and glories in the new-found unity (?) of the Labour Party. This unity of the so-called progressive forces includes the C.P. and all its front organisations. Even organisations which at one time were opposed to the Labour Party's policies are now trying to get it into power "as it is better than the Tories". . .

Wilson has shown himself to be as reactionary as the most jingoistic of Tories in Foreign Policy. He suggested that more support should be given to British troops who are fighting a war for feudalism in South Arabian Federation. He is appealing to the most chauvinistic and most debased elements in the population in order to obtain the votes necessary to get himself into power at the General Election . . .

Observer  
Scotland

## WITH THE COMMITTEES

The best part of the trip that two of us made to participate in the San Francisco March on July 12 was that we sold 252 copies of *American Civilization on Trial* and 44 copies of *Freedom Riders*; distributed several hundred copies of the paper; and got orders for 36 copies of *Marxism and Freedom* . . .

Activist,  
Los Angeles.

*Marxism and Freedom* is moving into new areas here in Nigeria. *News & Letters* is also received very well. In fact, we do not have a single book or paper left. Everything was sold during the big strike. More copies of the book are needed. I enclose our article on the strike, and a picture which shows you how the workers in Nigeria have gotten together . . .

Marxist-Humanist,  
Nigeria, West Africa.

**Editor's Note:** See picture and article, page 1.

Six new friends came to our meeting here to listen to an African Chief and question him both about Africa and about Negroes here. He said that when Africans come to America, they are told that Negroes won't accept them — and the Negroes are told that the Africans don't want to be bothered with them. He denied it, and said the Africans would rather be invited to Negro homes because they consider them their people . . .

He also said that the majority of political leaders in Pittsburg seem to be opportunists who are not in politics to help the people, whereas when the African leaves home for an education, he comes back to help his people make a better life . . .

It was a fine discussion. We are also glad to send you another \$5 for literature we have sold here: copies of *Freedom Riders*, *American Civilization on Trial*, the *Afro-Asian* pamphlets, and *The Young Marxist-Humanist* . . .

I am sending also \$12—for literature we sold at the Heinz picket line here, at the Y.W.C.A. in town, and a very few at the Arena during the Methodist Meetings there.

Committee Member,  
Pittsburgh.

## MORE ON MALCOLM X AND THE OLD RADICALS

I wish to emphatically agree with Raya Dunayevskaya in her analysis of rampant black nationalism in the Trotskyist movement. This paranoïd fawning over Malcolm X and other such nationalists is especially nauseating when done by those who profess Marxism.

It seems that the sectarian Left, in desperate search of a nonexistent constituency, is hypnotized with whatever comes to power anywhere, or with anyone who seems to have a following and who is outside of "respectable politics." Thus they uncritically raise the banner for every Ben Bella, Castro, and Malcolm X who comes along. In their attempt to move opportunistically on these ready-made constituencies, they will only succeed in driving away any critical Marxist support that they might have enjoyed.

The only honorable course for Marxists is to consistently interpret events in the light of Marxist analysis and let the chips fall where they will. Perhaps history will prove us wrong and the ruling classes will endure. But I am willing to stand on the belief that the principles of Marx to be historically vindicated, and that instead of pandering to every Malcolm X who comes along, we should direct our energies to explaining our Marxist program to the working class with renewed confidence.

New Reader  
Texas

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

## Sino-Indian War Reveals Relationship of Ideology to State-Capitalist Imperialism

(Editor's Note: Because the death of Nehru gives a new urgency to reconsideration of the whole question of India, we reprint the Political Letter Raya Dunayevskaya wrote at the time of the China-India war.)

The sudden, spontaneous unity of the Indian people, born out of opposition to China's invasion of their borders, has no doubt been instrumental in staying the hand of Mao, at least temporarily. The fact that this may have coincided also with his original military plans to invade on two fronts, one for bargaining and gaining support from "the uncommitted nations," and the other front for keeping as part of China, can in no way diminish the significance of the new factor of Indian unity from below, unled, and emerging despite the attempted brainwashing by the Nehru-Menon apologetics for Mao's China, over the entire period since independence.

In *The Christian Science Monitor* (11/27/62), Sharokh Sabavala writes: "Contributions to the defense fund in cash, gold, and work continue uninterrupted. On this front, it is interesting to note that it is the poorest in the land, the outcasts, the dispossessed, and the underemployed who lead the queues of contributors, giving, in many cases, all their meagre savings to prove that freedom, even without bread, is a most precious heritage." (My emphasis.)

This very love of freedom compels the drawing of a balance sheet of 15 years of Indian independence during which bourgeois India has proceeded in its plodding way, (as China has proceeded with "leaps") without regard for the creativity of the masses which made independence from imperialist rule possible, and is presently saving India from the collapse upon which Mao counted.

I do not mean immediate and utter collapse—not even Mao could consider a border war to cause a whole sub-continent to buckle under; I mean the kind of chaos and confusion which would have made possible "very fruitful work," within India, for the Maoist wing of the Indian Communist Party.

Instead, it brought about a national unity not seen except in the struggle for independence from British imperialism, and so popular a revulsion against China and a self-sustaining resistance, "even without bread," that not only Menon had to resign, but Nehru remains in power on the condition that, instead of laying down (and erratically at that) Congress Party policy, he now follows it. In a word, it may consolidate capitalist India, bring it into the Anglo-American imperialist orbit, have a prolonged war with China, which, whether victorious or otherwise, would once again change nothing fundamental in the relations within the country, so that neither freedom nor bread will be the possessions of the courageous Indian people.

Whether in the American orbit, or the Chinese, or "neutral," India must answer the question: what happens after? Why did independence from British rule not lead to a non-exploitative society in India and fraternal international relations with the peoples of the world, instead of resulting in continued class rule and a "neutrality" that acquiesced in China's conquest of Tibet and all its consequences, ideologically and militarily. That has now made it possible for Mao to claim Ladakh as needed "defense" for his new road linking Tibet with China, not to mention the propaganda theme against India for "tying itself to the war chariot of United States imperialism."

The obvious aspects of the China-India war—the fact that China did the invading, and that India was compelled to go to "the West" for military aid (even as she is still trying to get some from Russia) cannot change the objective fact that the entry of American imperialism means that the Sino-Indian relations will never be the same whether or not the war is resumed.

The point at issue, however, is the class nature of India itself.

## INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

India was the first country to gain its independence from British imperialism and thus, in 1947, open a new third world that was to stretch from Asia to the Middle East, and from Africa to Latin America. Since all newly-independent countries born in the next decade, or 13 years, had all emerged out of national movements striving to free themselves from Western imperialism, the unifying link predominated over the divisions within this post-war world and seemed indeed capable of forging a new path for all mankind.

Both because it was one of the richest in culture and past traditions, and the first to gain its independence, India seemed destined to play a central role on the Asian continent. As the African continent also sought to use Gandhism (1), or the non-violent mass resistance method to gain freedom, India's world role shone so brightly that it dimmed the other truth, that no fundamental change in human relations followed independence. The dominant Congress Party (2), which had succeeded in uniting all classes in the struggle against foreign domination, first began showing its true class nature by leaving production relations, in the city or the country, basically unchanged.

India continued to be the land of villages, with an outmoded agriculture, overlaid with an entrenched landlord class, and a halting, partial industrialization that was grafted on top of the semi-feudal relations. It was further both overburdened and undermined by the Hindu caste system that has remained changeless (Continued on Page 7)

(1) Gandhism means both much more, and much less, than passive non-violent mass resistance. From Gandhi's first introduction of *santughara* and the resulting British massacre at Amritsar in 1919, which coincided in world affairs with the Russian Revolution and the attempts in India to start a Marxist movement which he fought, to Gandhi's role in the post-World War II movement he finally led to victory and thus became the prototype of the new national revolutionary in Africa—there lies a quarter of a century in need of analysis. This is not the place to attempt it.

(2) One other role for which Gandhi will go into history is hardly ever mentioned, and yet it will endear him more to future generations than the role he is famous for. This "hidden" role is his recognition that "The Party" in power is corruptible. Though he passed on his mantle of leadership to Nehru, he himself refused to take a position of power, and urged that others too must stay out of power and look at the ruling Congress Party, their own, with "outside" eyes.

# YOUTH

## Editorial

### Unity of Black and White Freedom Fighters Shows Path All Must Take

Close to a month has passed since white barbarian Mississippi swallowed up freedom fighters Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman. A half-hearted search by the federal authorities goes on. The sheriff of Neshoba County where the young men disappeared, has never even feigned a search — for reasons he knows best.

Every day brings to light more shootings, beatings, bombings and lynchings directed against the Negroes and civil rights workers of Mississippi and its neighbor states. All the while, the President and the Attorney General maintain a dispassionate aloofness that astounds the most cynical.

#### TEN DOLLARS A WEEK

Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman epitomize the new forces growing out of an agonized America. Schwerner, a 24-year-old white Brooklynite, was in Mississippi since the beginning of the year, working on voter registration. He happily subsisted on the ten dollars a week CORE was able to pay him.

Chaney, 21, a Negro and a Mississippian, joined Schwerner in the struggle. Schwerner's mother recently publicly thanked Chaney's mother for the kindness and care she had shown her boy Michael during his stay in Mississippi. Goodman, a New Yorker and a college sophomore, the third of the trio that disappeared, was sent to help after a briefing in Oxford, Ohio, that COFO had organized for the hundreds of students who have streamed into Mississippi this summer to work on registering voters and related projects. These three, like the hundreds, laid their very lives on the line for freedom's cause. The treatment they received at the hands of Southern bigots is a terrifying warning of the bestiality to which the counter-revolution will resort to maintain control.

At the same time new courage grows and flourishes — not just among the youth who have gone down South — but among those of the South who met them and made them welcome. These and the Mississippi Negroes who in the face of the white terror are nevertheless registering to vote and who have housed the participants in Freedom Summer are the real moulders of history.

#### LIBERALS CAPITULATE

The shattering truth is that in the deepening crisis, the Administration does not move to protect its law abiding citizens. The liberal politicians capitulate all too easily in the face of the Birchites and the KKK. Witness the Republican convention just ended. Remember Everett Dirksen, billed by the Luce publications as the staunchest of fighters for civil rights. Scarcely had the toothless bill made it through the Senate when its "guide" took a flying leap onto the bandwagon of the segregationist, union-busting, H-Bomb warfare Birchite Barry Goldwater.

As for the Democrats, the watchword is "go slow." President Johnson has chosen a team of Southern ex-governors to talk of civil rights to the South.

#### BLACK AND WHITE TOGETHER

The Negro will get precious little help from his government, but those like Schwerner and Goodman serve notice that he is not alone in the unfolding revolution. The vanguard of white support is still from the ranks of the student youth. The future demands the involvement of white labor, for in this country certainly the destiny of white and black labor are inextricably entwined. This vision of oneness, wholeness, unity makes us feel as much a part of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman as they must have felt a part of each other.

## Wash Bucket, Tire, Door and Picket Signs Are Protest Checks

Ocean Park, Calif.—A lone white man ripped the picket signs from our backs and tore signs out of our hands as our group of college students participated in a CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) picket line against discrimination practiced by the Bank of America.

The man appeared suddenly, taking our signs and putting them into his truck which he drove to the bank entrance. One student who tried to hold on to his picket sign was knocked to the ground.

#### BLOCKS TRUCK

One Negro picket, Woodrow Coleman of N-VAC (Non-Violent Action Committee,) another civil rights organization, threw himself in front of the truck in an effort to stop the man from driving off with the signs before the police could be called.

The white man grabbed Coleman, ripping his pants and shirt completely, and threw him bodily to the side. Coleman got up and returned to his position in front of the truck and the white man once again threw him aside, jumped into his truck and drove off with the signs.

Coleman has just been released from jail after serving a 15-day sentence for participating in another civil rights demonstra-

tion at a Van de Kamp's restaurant.

#### POLICE LATE—AS USUAL

The police, who knew in advance there was to be a demonstration, were not present, and took ten minutes to arrive on the scene after the incident was reported. However, they announced the following day that they had identified the man and were only awaiting "more physical evidence" before making an arrest.

The signs at this particular demonstration were unusual, in that apparently one can write a check on "anything" and have it cashed if one has an account at a given bank. Knowing this, CORE had painted checks to be cashed on the back of the picket signs. The tactic was to tie up the lines at the bank. With most of our signs now gone, we continued to march, substituting singing for signs.

Ten minutes before the bank was to close some of the group presented "checks" to be cashed written on an old door, and old tire, a wash bucket and on one of the remaining picket signs. The bank refused to service the checks on the grounds that though pickets had Bank of America accounts, none had accounts with that particular branch and therefore the signatures could not be verified.

## Needed: A Left

America like Russia and China, is probably one of the world's strongest nations. Like Russia and China, it suffers from a disorder It has no Left.

America has a Center and a Right. The Center is led by men like Johnson, Dirksen and most "liberals" and "moderates." The Right is led by men like Goldwater and the racists and reactionaries. There is a token Left. It is very small and very splintered.

America is not without insurgent traditions. It has the memories of men like Sam Adams, Tom Paine, Thoreau, Garrison, Douglass, Joe Hill and Eugene Debs, to name a few. Movements like the Abolitionists, Populists and Socialists have made some dents in the system.

It is our generation that must make the steps toward building a rational and effective Left, a Left that will fight for better conditions, for shorter hours of work, a world free of hate, poverty and ugliness. We must demand a society where everyone lives a meaningful, free and productive life.

Remember: "We have nothing to lose but our chains." The only other choices are a dictatorship or the end of human existence.

Student, Tennessee.

## Declare For A New South

We print below excerpts from the statement adopted by a group of Southern students from predominantly white colleges and communities in a majority of the Southern states—Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia—meeting in Nashville, April 3-5, 1964. "The New Rebel," a newsletter reporting their activities and plans, can be obtained from Sue Thrasher, Exec. Sec'y, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee.

\* \* \*

We do hereby declare, as Southern students from most of the Southern states, representing different economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds, growing from birthdays in the Depression years and the War years, that we will here take our stand in determination to build together a New South which brings democracy and justice for all its people. . . .

The Freedom movement for an end to segregation inspires us all to make our voices heard for a beginning of a true democracy in the South for all people. . . .

Our region must be an exemplar of the national goals we all believe in, rather than a deterrent to them:

(1) Not only an end to segregation and racism but the rise of full and equal opportunity for all;

(2) An end to personal poverty and deprivation;

(3) An end to the "public poverty" which leaves us without decent schools, parks, medical care, housing, and communities;

(4) A democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices about issues that affect men's lives, not manipulation by vested elites;

(5) A place where industries and large cities can blend into farms and natural rural splendor to provide meaningful work and leisure opportunities for all—the sort of society we can all live in and believe in.

We, as young Southerners hereby pledge to take our stand now together here to work for a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ridicule.

## Pickets Outnumber Members at White Citizens Council Meeting

(While the Civil Rights Bill was on the verge of being passed, the White Citizen's Council met to organize its first California chapter on Tuesday, June 30, 1964, in Pasadena. The rally, invading the North with organized racism and featuring segregationists from Jackson, Mississippi, drew 300 "invited guests." The press reported that from 600 to 1,000 picketers from all the civil rights organizations were present, one of the few times when demonstrators outnumbered a rally. Inside, Negro newsmen were ejected, and when they left, so did most of the white press. Most of the 300 attending the rally joined the Council and paid more than the \$2 membership fee. What follows is the first hand report of one of the picketers — Ed.)

Los Angeles, Calif.—On June 30, a picket line was held in protest to the meeting of the White Citizen's Council at the Pasadena Civic Auditorium.

The line was quiet when I arrived. Upon the arrival of someone with a guitar, a group in front of the building began to sing.

There were about 600 on the picket line and a large number of spectators. The spectators were Negroes and whites who lived in the area and some who did not. Some probably came specifically to watch the demonstration, and some just had seen it and were interested enough to watch. I could not say how many Negroes were participating as compared to whites — the only impression I have is that they were about equal in numbers, or perhaps slightly more Negroes than whites.

#### 3 NAZIS SHOW UP

There was a counter-picket of three members of the American Nazi Party. They were supporting the White Citizen's Council, but they were probably aiding our picket line more because of the feeling people generally have toward the Nazi Party. The police were out in force, prepared for a riot which never came about.

When the singing began it was only in the front of the building. The back was dark and silent. After some time though there was singing and chanting all the way around.

The impression in the front of the picket line was different from the back. In the front there was the awareness of the spectators, the three members of the Nazi Party, the line of policemen, the newsmen and the entrance by which people in the meeting had entered, and would exit. In the

back there was the awareness of the line itself, the silence, except for the chanting and singing of the line, and the building in which the meeting was held.

#### ALL FOR RIGHTS

Everyone on the line was conscious of what they were picketing for, though some asked what specifically were they picketing against. They were picketing for the civil rights movement, but some did not know that the meeting was of the White Citizen's Council. There was much interest on the line as to what actually was being said in the meeting.

When someone said that the meeting was breaking up, the feeling on the picket line was to be in the front when they came out. For me the interest was to look at the people; almost as if since their thoughts were so strange to me, that their looks would also be strange.

#### SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

About this time they were trying to slow the line down, which was accomplished in the front of the building but not at the back. Groups were left in the line in the back and stopped on the west side, but no people from the meeting came out.

Everyone on the picket line was then told to go to the west side where we became, instead of a single line, a surging mass making its presence known to the world—for there was a sense of accomplishment.

## Freedom Is a 'Precious Thing'

Although many of you older folks may not understand what I mean, most of the younger generation will. To hip you to the facts, "I am hip" simply means that I understand.

You probably are asking what does a 15-year-old Negro girl know about racial problems. Well, I understand that I want to be free and will be free. To be free? Well, actually I have never yet been free, but they tell me it's a mighty precious thing.

It's different in the North than it is in the South. In the North the whites don't care what you do as long as it is not in their block.

It really does my heart good to go into a big office and see a Negro receptionist behind a desk. Or watch a television show where, for once, the Negro is not down-cast.

#### NO MORE BOWING

To all of you white people who object to the civil rights bill being passed, I say you are wrong. You may wonder what right I have to say that. I have the civil right to say it, and freedom of speech. No more "Sorry Mr. White Man," or "Yes ma'am, Miss White Woman" for us. I for one will die before I say "Sir" or "Mister" to anything that's supposed to be white any longer.

Some may hate me for writing this letter. I'm sorry to offend anyone, but, as they say,

the truth does hurt. I have a sense of gratitude for my fellow man, and I don't want anyone to get me wrong—I do not hate the whites, but I'm not in love with them, either.

I once heard a joke about a white boy and a Negro boy: They were playing in the dirt, when suddenly the colored boy threw the white boy down in the soft dirt and began to wash his face with it. The white boy ran crying to his mother, who came to the door to ask the Negro boy why he had done it. The colored boy said, "Because I want him black like me."

I didn't laugh at the joke when it was told to me, because I felt sick inside that the person who had told it to me could make fun of her own race as if it didn't matter at all.

#### NEGRO PRIDE

I myself dig being a Negro the most. A Negro is something to be proud of. I want to tell all other Negroes to love their heritage and not let anybody with white or red skin call them anything but a Negro.

I am hip that I am a hip little Negro. If you love your heritage, you are a hip Negro, too. A white man? Well, to tell the truth, I have never seen a WHITE man, woman or child—but pink, red or white, they are not the hip little Negroes we are.

Josetta Reid Detroit

P.S.—I would like to hear from people telling how they feel about this letter.

*Two Worlds*

**Sino-Indian War Reveals Relationship of Ideology to State-Capitalist Imperialism**

(Continued from Page 5)

through the millenia. Back in the 19th century, Hegel designated it as "the philosophy of unfreedom."

It is true that, politically, there was both independence from Britain, and a parliamentary democracy established so that, in law, caste is not "recognized." In life, unfortunately, it remains dominant so that slums in the city, with their countless unemployed; the hungry villages with their sacred cows and unsacred disregard for human lives remain the most characteristic features of "the Indian way of life."

Every leader in the new third world seems to consider himself a "socialist"—from Menon to Nasser, from Mao to Nkrumah, not to mention the "Marxist-Leninist-till-the-day-I-die" Castro. But, obviously, it is not the human difference these leaders are concerned with, but the State Plan and some statistics about the "rate of economic growth." Even that admirer of the Indian way of life, Barbara Ward, admits: "large programs of public investment under the Plans . . . has given Indian private enterprise the best decade in its history." (3) But the standard of life remains the lowest in the world—\$60 per capita per annum; the average span of life is a mere 26 years; and the unemployed are countless. Even with the lush profits, Indian investment is only about half of the Chinese rate of investment (10% as against 20% of national income) . . .

**TWO OPPOSING IDEOLOGIES?**

Strangest of all blindfolds is the one that covers Nehru's vision. Now that his "neutrality" principle lies as shattered as Bandung's "Five Principles of Co-Existence," co-authored by himself and Chou En-lai, he has suddenly discovered that Mao wishes "to destroy the Indian way of life." He rolls that phrase off his moral lips as if it were some class-less phenomenon instead of so class-ridden and contradictory a chain over so unfinished a revolution that the strains and stresses in the Indian body politic gave Mao the illusion he could have as easy a victory within India as the military victory on its borders. The fact that the invasion, instead, united India as a nation should give no illusions to Nehru that the masses will forever be satisfied with a sham freedom and no bread.

The truth is that it was not the classlessness but the sameness of the class—that of State Planners—which united Mao and Nehru at Bandung. The respect for "sovereignty of nations" and "non-interference in internal affairs" mean no foreign interference in class relations within each country so long as the third world could be a single unit against "the West." Mao still thinks that, on that basis, he can get acquiescence in his grab of Indian territory by many of "the uncommitted nations," as indeed he seems to be doing at the Colombo conference meeting presently in Ceylon.

But if his imperialist ambitions are all too clear, do Nehru's lesser ambitions constitute a different class phenomenon? The moment of independence was the moment also of the fratricidal war with Pakistan. (That unresolved conflict was another element in the temptation of Mao to attack.)

There is no doubt that British imperialistic maneuvers and their eternal attempt to break up a country at the moment of independence so as to continue its rule over it helped set up the division between India and Pakistan. It is as true, however, that once the countries did separate, each had a right to its own existence. Gandhi became a martyr when he fought to end the "holy war" and build up fraternal relations. Nehru chose Menon as his "holy man" to proclaim Pakistan "Enemy No. 1" for all these 14 years, keep two-thirds of the Army at the Kashmir site while leaving the borders to China unprotected from that "ally."

Despite its "period of glory"—the 1947-48 Kashmir war—Nehru had not allowed the Army any decisive role in the Indian pattern of life. Despite the fact that he allowed the ultra-conservative Sandhurst-educated officer class to have the Army under its command and play some old imperialist roles—in Korea and in the Congo—Nehru's concept of the role of the army made it subordinate to the civil authorities. In this he fundamentally differs from Mao, who, even in the Communist (read: state-capitalist) orbit holds to a special militaristic position. The Chinese Constitution is the only one where not only the "Party" but the Army is made synonymous with the state authority.

This one element that would have created at least the semblance of an ideology in opposition to that expounded in China is now itself a question since the Anglo-American aid will not only come with political strings attached but inevitably create its own image internally by raising the Indian Army to a new status. Since Nehru's good anti-military instincts were not backed up by a proletarian class position, he will inevitably give way both to the Anglo-American advice and Indian Army ambitions.

It is true that he is still holding out one hope of not completely falling into the orbit of Western imperialism by counting on Russian aid, but insofar as the Indian masses are concerned, does it really matter whether it is the Russian or the American nuclear orbit? Even as a foreign policy, a military line is a derivative, rather than determinant, of the class relations within the country. IN THIS LIES THE DANGER THAT INDIA MAY STILL CAPITULATE EITHER TO COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM OR TO A MILITARY CLIQUE.

Nehru's unique authority in India does not stem from his creation of new relations with the great mass of the Indian people who must bend both to his State Plans and to the private capitalist and entrenched landlord interests. He has been a leader of the struggle for independence from Britain, and he has now been attacked by his Communist ally, and the Indian people have saved him from downfall. His desperate attempt first now to search for a new ideological banner and come up with "the Indian way of life" will create no new world apart from both poles of world capital—the Russo-Soviet or Anglo-American orbits—fighting for world domination. To cling to the class-ridden "Indian way of life" is only one more way of saying "the old cannot be changed"—and, by losing the struggle for the minds of men, losing both India and the new third world.

It was no accident that in the 15 years since independence, in the 13-year alliance with Mao's China, in the 7 years of "Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference," plus the innumerable "neutralist" conferences since, Nehru failed to condemn Russia either for its counter-revolutionary role in putting down the Hungarian Revolt in 1956 or for its unilateral breaking of the nuclear moratorium; acquiesced in China's conquest of Tibet and bowed sufficiently to the

(3) Barbara Ward, "The Rich Nations, the Poor Nations."

**COFO Blasts Federal Inaction in South**

(Ed. Note: A part of the danger all of America now faces can be seen from this memo received from the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), coordinators of the Freedom Summer Project in the South.)

\* \* \*

Unless immediate and strong action is taken by the Federal Government to prevent further violence in Mississippi, we on the Summer Project staff fear for the safety of the volunteers, staff, and local citizens who make up the project.

As part of a continuing effort, which began months ago, to prevent violence in the state, we are communicating now with COFO contacts and with the parents of the students in the state. This memo will briefly give our analysis of the situation, give information on precautions we are taking within the Project, and propose some ways in which the

Federal Government can extend protection. We will appreciate your disseminating this information as widely as possible.

**I. The Current Situation in the State and the Responsibility of the Federal Government.**

A. The mood of Mississippi today is one of mounting tension. Acts of violence and near violence are increasing. (See related article below). The incidents show that violence is not limited to any section of the state and that intimidation takes an unlimited variety of forms.

It should be stressed that these incidents were not 'caused' by the Summer Project. Terror in Mississippi is a continuing fact of life; the Summer Project has simply revealed the terror. For instance, there have been five 'unsolved' murders of Negroes in the Southwest part of the state alone since the beginning of the year. There was no publicity on these murders until the Summer Project.

**B. The Federal Government**

did not act quickly enough in the Philadelphia case. A chronology of the attempts of COFO to obtain an FBI investigation or other Federal aid in the Philadelphia incident . . . shows that it took 24 hours — undoubtedly the critical 24 hours — to get the Federal Government to act. FBI agents in Mississippi are always white, generally Southern, and usually from Mississippi itself. Like local law enforcement officers, those agents often serve to obstruct, rather than aid, the administration of justice in civil rights cases.

C. The Federal Government does have the ability to act quickly and effectively in support of civil rights. (There are) provisions for Federal activity in civil rights cases . . . the FBI does in fact have the necessary authority to provide protection for civil rights workers. Moreover, the President could act on executive authority to provide further protection, for instance through the appointment of Federal Marshalls. The report on the Itta Bena incident shows that the FBI does have the power to act quickly and effectively when it chooses to do so.

**II. Internal Safeguard on the Summer Project.**

We are fully committed to continuing the Summer Project. This does not mean that we will attempt to provoke the state. Our program remains what it has always been: an attempt to bring educational and political opportunity to Mississippi's Negroes, where they have never had those things before.

Our workers will participate in voter registration projects and will teach in Freedom Schools and Community Centers. We are specifically avoiding any demonstrations for integrated facilities, as we do not feel the state is ready to permit such activity at this time. All workers, staff and Summer Volunteers alike, are pledged to non-violence in all situations.

As a further precaution, we are limiting our work to a small area around each project center. All Volunteers have gone through intensive training sessions on conditions in Mississippi and the responses and actions they should take to allow them to work most safely in the state. A large legal staff is being maintained in the state to help those who get in trouble. We are asking that movement at night be kept to a minimum. We are continuing a check-in system which allowed us to know almost immediately that the Philadelphia party was missing.

**III. Request of the Federal Government.**

A. We are requesting that Federal Marshalls be stationed throughout the state. These Marshalls should be present in all cases where violence is likely. They should be clearly empowered to make all necessary arrests, including the arrest of law enforcement officers. They should be on call at any hour of the day when civil-rights workers feel they are endangered.

B. We request that the FBI and Justice Department officials be instructed to provide full and immediate help in all incidents where danger is involved. FBI agents should use their power of arrest. Even more important, they should investigate immediately when so requested.

C. Finally, we request that President Johnson confer immediately with COFO leaders. This meeting has been requested several times in the last two months. The President has declined to meet with COFO representatives, though they predicted that violence would occur early in the summer if Federal aid were not forthcoming.

**24 Hours in the Magnolia Jungle**

(Below is a list of incidents which were reported to the Jackson, Mississippi, office of Council of Federated Organizations during a 24 hour period. COFO is the sponsoring organization of the Mississippi Summer Project.)

\* \* \*

**Ruleville**

June 24, 2 a.m.: A car driven by whites circled noisily around the Negro community for about two hours, hurling bottles at cars and into homes. Seven incidents were reported to the police, but they never arrived on the scene.

June 25, 2 a.m.: Williams Chapel, near the home of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Negro candidate for Congress, was fire-bombed. Volunteer firemen quickly had the fire under control. The church was a center of voter registration activity.

**Drew**

June 24: 30 voter registration workers from Greenville made the first efforts to register Negro citizens in Drew and met with open hostility from local whites. Verbal abuse and threats hurled at them from circling cars and trucks, some of which were equipped with "vigilante" gun racks.

**Greenwood**

June 23-24: Two separate cars of magazine reporters were chased at speeds up to 90 mph by a car driven by whites on their way from Ruleville to Greenwood.

Local whites are reported to be trying to intimidate voter registration workers by circling again and again the SNCC office at night.

**Greenville**

June 24: Summer volunteer, Morton Thomas, who left Greenville to carry on voter registration work in nearby Hollandale, had to return to Greenville because the Mayor and police force in Hollandale said he could not sleep or work in the Negro community.

**Canton**

June 24: A car frequently used by CORE workers was struck by a bullet about 9:15 p.m. some two miles outside of Jackson on the road to Canton. The car was driven by a Canton Negro, Eddie LePaul. The shot came from the grass at the side of the road.

Last night a Canton policeman threatened to strike CORE

worker Scott Smith with a shotgun.

**Moss Point**

June 24: The keeper of the Knights of Pythias Hall reported seeing a white man set fire to the building soon after midnight. Damage was minimal, as the keeper soon had the fire under control. The building was to be used for a coming mass meeting.

Two Negro teenagers were arrested for allegedly having insulted a white woman.

Two white summer volunteers, Howard Kirschenbaum and Ron Ridenour, were arrested shortly before midnight on the 23rd and subjected to a night of mental harrassment and intimidation in the Jackson County Jail.

**Collins**

June 24: Forty M-1 Rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition were stolen from the National Guard Armory in the early hours of the morning.

**McComb**

June 24: At least five bomb threats have been reported in the two days since the Monday night bombings in McComb.

**Vicksburg**

June 24: SNCC staff workers coming back from a mass meeting at nearby Yorkena spotted a suspicious-looking 1959 Buick with no license plates. The same car parked for some time in front of the Freedom house that night.

**Jackson**

June 23: A Negro man was hit twice in the head by gunfire, while following a car driven by two white men who had just fired into a Negro cafe on Valley St. The wounded man, Marion Tarvin, 26, was released from University hospital with a bullet still in his scalp.

June 24: About noon a group of white men tried to enter the house of Mrs. Grace Helms at 714 Weaver St., and other homes in the area. They threatened to return again and again until they found some Negro boys with whom they had fought the night before.

UAR's stand on Israel not to open an embassy there, although he had been among the first to hail its independence. The opportunist, the short-sighted, the self-righteous, the ambivalent in foreign and military policies, was the counterpoint to the so-called socialist, but actually capitalist, exploitative relations internally. The Indian people who have pushed him off his "neutrality" for the Sino-Soviet orbit, must now see that he doesn't merely shift over to the Anglo-American orbit, leaving production relations and ideological banner as unchanged as the changeless caste system of "unfreedom."

# Goldwater Is Far Right Threat to America

(Continued from Page 1)

"lending respectability to extremists"; Goldwater himself was the extremist.

## THE BIRCHERS AND "THE MODERATES"

The height of immorality, however, was manifested among the so-called "moderate mainstream." From Romney to Lodge, and from Scranton to Eisenhower's brother, the predominant voice was: "Let's get a progressive program" so that we can say, the minute we capitulate to Goldwater, that he is running on "our program" and can be trusted to execute the Civil Rights Bill, though he opposed it. In this respect at least, Goldwater and his Birchite supporters stuck to their "principals," whether that was the claim of unconstitutionality of the Civil Rights Bill, the open shop principle, or the "defoliation" of South Viet Nam's jungle by "a little bomb." All we have to remember is that it is precisely such reactionary stands that laid the basis for the Civil War which was initiated by the South.

The loss of votes in November at the polls won't be half as important to Goldwater as the retention of the tight, disciplined Birchite organization which won him the Republican Party machine, and stands ready to become the polarizing force for all Far Right groups, including that of the Southern racists and actual Nazis who opposed Goldwater because he is, partly, Jewish. Herein lies the greatest danger of all; the symbolism of Goldwater for all the Far Right, from the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party, the many lawless organizations thriving in the South as well as the young fanatics in the North who are so brainwashed in our colleges that they take, at face value, the "principles" of "rugged individualism," "states' rights," "private initiative vs. Federal bureaucracy," and opposition to "a soft on Communism policy" though it would end in nuclear holocaust.

This Goldwater symbolism, this organizational ability of the Birchers to become a polarizing force for the neo-fascist elements just below the surface can lead to nothing short of civil war in the United States and all-out war abroad for conquest of the world.

## MCCARTHYISM AND GOLDWATERISM

Any one who dares call this "the American way" must be made to face the new barbarism which puts McCarthyism in the shade. Even at his heyday that demagogue, Senator McCarthy, who wreaked so much havoc in our lives, was a man without an organization. His fighting of "the soft on Communism" policy was concentrated on individuals—in the State Department as in the entertainment world, it is true; in the Defense Department as in academic institutions—but nowhere did that demagogue take on a whole race.

Here, on the other hand, we have an organization, the Birchers, infiltrating the Republican and Democratic Parties, attracting all other Far Rightists, from the KKK to the insignificant American Nazis, bringing the full weight of the Southern totalitarian states to bear upon the Negroes who number no less than one-tenth of the population—at the very moment when the Negro Revolution has shown it means not to be stopped though capitalism is on the rampage, and the Southern face of this Far

Right is running completely amok in the magnolia jungle of Mississippi. Moreover, the new form of fascism is not satisfied to stay South but is invading the North both with racism and open-shopism not to mention war jingoism.

## THE COMING ELECTION AND NEW FORMS OF REACTION

It is true that Goldwater's open anti-labor stand has, judging by the conversations in the shop, finally awakened white labor, even where it too is racist, to the dangers of Goldwaterism, or the attempt to revert to the open shop. But there is no point whatever in lulling ourselves to sleep with the complacent statement, that Goldwater cannot win the election. After all, runs that argument, he is minority even within his own Republican Party, and when the electorate has expressed itself, Goldwater will be just another also-ran who will soon be forgotten.

Will he? It is true that he is making it easy for that conservative Texan now occupying the White House and playing the role of liberal poor country boy to get straight back into the White House. But Johnson's election will not basically change the objective situation of capitalism on the rampage any more than Dirksen's "fight" for the Civil Rights Bill changed his vote for Goldwater.

The cancer of reaction is already in the bloodstream of American capitalism. It has been there for a long, long time. It will not disappear with the defeat of that most reactionary capitalist representative, Goldwater.

## FEARS OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS

The point is that American capitalism, though its profits have never been higher, is on the rampage. The point is that, although the middle class has not suffered the economic rout they experienced during the Depression, it too, is suffering from having won the war but not seeing the spoils of victory. It is full of fear—fear Automation will next rid itself of the middleman as it already is depopulating the factories; fear that it will be "outvoted" in the UN by all the "underdeveloped" countries "it" is supporting; fear its favored place in white Protestant America is being undermined by the Negro Revolution, the Jew, the Catholic, the "foreigner"; fear that the Russian ICBM's have scored a nuclear stalemate; fear that the Chinese guerrilla victories would extend themselves throughout Southeast Asia, and perhaps also in Africa and Latin America, fear that "one man, one vote" might lead to IT no longer being the majority in legislative halls of these U.S.A.

"Affluent" America is being swept up by the whirlwind of a revolution left unfinished for 100 years. The Negro Question, which has always been the key to United States image and development, has torn the facade of democracy to shreds. There is, indeed, no need to travel behind the Iron or Bamboo Curtains to see totalitarianism at work; all that is needed is to go down to Mississippi. (See articles on pages 3, 6 and 7.)

As a world phenomenon, the new, prosperous neo-fascistic face of capitalism appeared, when prosperous automated capitalism and the OAS brought deGaulle to power in France in 1958. But at

least deGaulle, before going glory hunting to more spacious fields than Algiers (such as challenging US political and atomic "leadership" of Europe) did end the war in Algeria. The American Republican phenomenon wants to begin with an atomic adventure—and not tomorrow, but today, anywhere at all, preferably the "foliage" of South Viet Nam. Goldwater is a great deal more moronic than deGaulle, and his power would be so much vaster and terrifying that he could, with his trigger-happy finger on the nuclear "button" unleash a nuclear holocaust without waiting for a tomorrow.

There is no point in consoling ourselves with a very probable Goldwater defeat at the polls. A defeat at the polls will not rid us of the organization—the Birchers—that made it possible for him "to capture" the Republican Party, and is already bracing itself for other battles. Just as the Dixicrats in the Democratic Party continue to arm themselves, with or without Federal aid, to fight the unarmed Freedom Fighters, so the Birchites in the North become the polarizing force for reaction. The significance of the Goldwater phenomenon will outlast the November election.

## PHILOSOPHY OF FREEDOM NEEDED

Self-activity of the masses can overcome this reaction, after as before the election. The Negroes have no intention whatever to continue the horrible co-existence with the Wallaces and Barnetts—or Goldwaters. But it is also true that unless there is unity of the movement to freedom with the philosophy of freedom, the forces for world war will swallow up everything. A Goldwater hand on the atomic trigger, even if it is only his wish thus far, is too close for comfort.

The capitalists have always been militantly class conscious, have always known how to divide and rule, and are now growing so impatient for world domination that they are ready to do business with the new Hitlers. Appearances change. Quiet Goldwater-types replace the ranting maniacs. But quiet or otherwise, new appearance changes nothing in the content. We must remember that automated prosperity will always have unemployment as a concomitant and war as the only alternative. The one thing that is new is that state-capitalism has become so degenerate that it turns to "extremes" even though there is no economic depression for it.

The spectacle of Walter Reuther and Henry Ford II sharing seats of honor at the \$1,000 plate dinner for President L. B. Johnson is a forerunner of the type of election campaign the labor bureaucracy intends to conduct this year. Once again labor will be chained to one of the capitalist parties; the civil rights organizations will do the same. Yet it is clear to all that an integrated society cannot be achieved under capitalism. All that will happen will be that the long hot summer will extend itself into the cold, hard winter; the terror in Mississippi spread itself North unless the freedom forces face with sober senses not only their continued struggles to realize freedom, but the unfolding of comprehensive philosophy for the reconstruction of society on totally new beginnings.

# Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

## CONGO

In the four years that have passed since the Congo obtained independence from Belgium, the situation has gone from bad to worse. After the murder of Patrice Lumumba by the troops of Tshombe, the country has been led by President Kasavubu and Premier Cyrille Adoula. The U. N. intervened to prevent splitting the country into small unmanageable units and secessionist Tshombe was exiled by the U. N.

Now Tshombe has been invited to return to the Congo as was rightist Albert Kalonji, the "emperor" of South Kasai. On the other hand Antoine Gizenga, who took over the leadership of Lumumba's organization after his death, has spent the last few years in the prison of Adoula.

Adoula is resigning as Premier and has turned his tottering government over to his erstwhile enemy, Tshombe.

President Jason Sendwe, leader of Katanga's Baluba tribe, and two of his aides were murdered, throwing Katanga province into another turmoil.

The lack of effective government in the Congo over the past few years stems from the intervention of the imperialist powers in a situation where no leader except Lumumba had built an effective national political organization.

It will a long time before any capitalist government can establish effective control over the country.

As we go to press Tshombe has become Premier, allocating to himself three other portfolios. Worst of all, he has brought into the government the most hated Katangese police chief, Godefroid Munongo, who may be expected to turn the Congo into a police state subservient to foreign capital and their own corrupt "leaders." The suffering Congolese masses have not yet had their last say.

## LIBERTY RESTORED

One of the many American liberties denied to U. S. citizens since the McCarthy period of hysteria has been the right of every citizen to travel freely. The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 denied passports to "communists." Under the act, passports were arbitrarily denied to anyone not favorably inclined toward the U. S. State Dept.

The U. S. Supreme Court has declared that Section 6 of this act is unconstitutional and that the right to travel cannot be denied to U. S. citizens because of their political beliefs.

Many of the other provisions of the act are also unconstitutional but await the court cases necessary to throw them out.

## BRAZIL

The right-wing military clique in Brazil, which recently overthrew the government of President Goulart, is busy consolidating its power under a series of repressive measures aimed at preventing any future opposition. Former Presidents Quadros and Goulart along with 112 federal, state and municipal legislators, have been officially barred from all political life for 10 years.

Ex-President Kubitschek, who held a seat in the Senate, was thrown out of the

Senate and also deprived of all political rights for 10 years. It was Kubitschek who built Brazilia, the new capital designed by the famous architect Oscar Niemeyer. Niemeyer and many other non-political intellectuals such as Celso Furtado, the economist, were included among those barred.

Not content to clear the field physically of all oppositionists, the military regime has introduced bills to bar the right to strike and to prevent the trade unions from participating in politics. The next election will be between two rightists, Governor Lacerda and Governor de Barros. Five other Governors have been thrown out of office. These are the fruits of American imperialist support for the military.

## GOLDWATER HANKERS FOR WAR

No doubt nothing coming out of the Goldwater camp should surprise us. Between the Far Right that has made his glory road possible for him and the Senate hypocrites who voted for the Civil Rights Bill and also voted for Goldwater, who opposed it, what can the Senator possibly say or do that would shock us? Nevertheless we were surprised to hear that the neo-Nazis in Munich are rolling out the red carpet for him and that he will address them soon after the Republican Party ends its convention in San Francisco.

We should of course, have figured that that madman Gen. Edwin Walker, who was a commander of U. S. troops in Germany whom he tried hard to indoctrinate with Birchism, and who continues to shuttle back and forth between his Nazi friends in Germany and the counter-revolutionary forces in South USA, would be a great help to the Senator. Still, we thought the gentleman from Arizona was so great a "patriot" he wouldn't look for "foreign allies" quite that soon.

It seems, however, that, ever since his June 30th interview with the West German news magazine, *Der Spiegel*, his popularity with the neo-Nazis has become phenomenal. And no wonder. Just consider a few of the things the Republican presidential candidate has told *Der Spiegel*:

● "The U. S. is strong enough militarily to do pretty much what she wants to do with Russia... any foreign policy that this country adopts should not be afraid of war. This is brinkmanship. But it should not rely on it at the outset as its basic policy."

● "We're pretty well engaged in World War III right now in Southeast Asia." And the brash Senator added that if he were President he "would turn to the Chiefs of Staff and say: 'fellows, we made the decision to win. Now the problem is yours.'"

● And since Goldwater, like Mao, is not deterred by such a fact of present day warfare as nuclear bombs, he now assures us that not only would he be for using nuclear "small bombs" in Southeast Asia but also in Eastern Europe, "if that were the only way" to assure success of revolt!

(Ed. Note: Although Goldwater has now changed his plans to visit Germany, nothing in the above analysis has changed.)