

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Election Tricks Backfire; Angered Workers Defeat Reutherite Stewards

When a worker complains to his steward or committeeman, or to the local officers, they say the contract has their hands tied. Then they open the contract and read it to the worker: the company has all the rights to adjust, control and regulate production. Some times a worker will ask the steward whether he knew what this would mean when he voted FOR the contract, and say, "We need to vote YOU out next." This upsets the stewards and committeemen, because they have already seen some defeats they thought were impossible.

BUREAUCRATS' PLANS BACKFIRE

Recently two chief stewards at Chrysler Mack Plant were defeated who have held their jobs for 15 years or more. One was a staunch Reuther supporter, a white worker who represented the second shift. A Negro who had never run for office in the local defeated him, and the news spread through the plant like wild-fire. The local officers had pulled every trick in the book to help the white chief steward. The afternoon shift begins work at 4 p.m. and they have always allowed workers to begin voting at 2 p.m., before work. This time workers were not allowed to vote until midnight, after work. The local bureaucrats thought that workers would be so tired they would not come to the local hall to vote. But the workers fooled them, and came out strong.

Then they had six people make a count of the workers in the hall who were eligible to vote, and when the six counts agreed, they voted. The Negro won by some 40 votes, but when workers jumped from their seats, shouting, one local officer shouted for order and said the white steward wanted a recount. This time the white steward won by 40 votes. A near riot broke out, because this was 80 more votes than there were in the hall. The officers said they would have to void the whole election until a future time.

But the workers forced them to call for the re-election in two weeks. This time the booths were open from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m., and the Negro won by a 2 to 1 majority. Some of the staunchest former supporters of the Reutherite told him, "I didn't know you bureaucrats could stoop so low." Apparently, after what had happened in the first election, they voted for the opposition.

The ex-chief steward is now back in production, working in some remote corner of the shop alone. He cannot face the workers anymore. The other one who was defeated went on sick leave the following day, and said he will not be back in the shop. He is going to ask if he can be retired when his leave is up.

WORKERS' OBJECTION

This defeat of the Reutherite stewards is one more of the many signs that the workers are fed up with the years of donothingness about their conditions of work. Workers are asking where and when this production rat-race will slow down in the auto plants. They are all on a six and seven day week, and many workers say they are so tired at the end of each day that they can only go home to bed in order to be able to come back the next day to start again. Not only are they on a six and seven day schedule, they are working nine, ten and more hours a day. At Chrysler, some workers have worked double-shifts for 18 hours a day.

For years workers have been calling for 30 hours a week with 40 hours pay. At a meeting before the contract was agreed upon by the union and the company, Emil Mazey told thousands of workers; "WE in this union are against overtime." He said that if a worker did not earn enough in a 40 hour week, we should fight for higher wages.

In pre-contract talks Reuther said that workers need more leisure time and a shorter work week. Now the workers are told that if the company says they must work 12 hours a day and they refuse, the company can discipline them. The worker can refuse only after he puts in that many hours in one day.

LIFE IN THE AUTO SHOPS

Here is what happened to one worker at G.M. For two weeks he and some others had been working 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Finally this worker got sick at work — exhausted would be more correct. He asked his foreman to let him have a pass to go to first aid because he could not go on anymore. The foreman told him, "when we're through with this job, you can go."

An hour later, the worker told the foreman he was going to first aid for a pass to go home. The foreman refused him permission, but the worker went anyway. The next day he was called into the office and told that the only reason they were not firing him was because they could not find anything against his record in the entire 15 years he had worked for the company. But for "being smart", they gave him three days off and put him on another job with a 15 cent an hour cut in his pay.

A woman worker at G.M. said she worked there two months and 28 days. After two months they had begun to lay off some of the new women, and when she had asked how come they were laying off women with more seniority than she had, she was told by the foreman that those other women could not make production. Then just before she had her three month's probationary period in, she herself got laid off. Again, other women hired after her were still working. She asked another worker about it and he told her, "This is G.M., honey. They never let new women get in their first 90 days, because then they would have seniority."

A worker at Ford's said that what really caused the walk-out a few weeks ago was the company's trick of giving all the newly hired workers privileged jobs in order to divide the new workers

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Editorial Article

J. Edgar Hoover and Civil Rights

By Raya Dunayevskaya

The venom, hate, racism and police-state mentality of J. Edgar Hoover burst into the open this November 18th as he addressed a conclave of women reporters rather than the more sophisticated and more inclusive regular news conference of Washington reporters and columnists who may have challenged some of his more fanciful lies. But from the built-in aura of his office and the quiet women sipping coffee, he could rock the rafters with gratuitous statements from his padded brain cells.



Designating the Warren Commission's Report as "the most classic example of Monday morning quarterbacking I have ever read," Hoover let it be known that he considered most judges, Superior Court Justices included, as "bleeding hearts" for not handing out adult punishments to "juvenile delinquents."

ATTACK ON KING

The FBI Director's greatest display of spleen was reserved, however, for the civil rights movement and one of its leaders, Rev. Martin Luther King, whom he dared to call "the most notorious liar in the country."

That this was by no means only a personal vendetta against Rev. King became clear as Hoover expanded himself. (See Newsweek, Nov. 30, 1964.)

As against his vitriolic attack on Rev. King, Hoover singled out for praise none other than the racist Governor of that magnolia jungle, the state of Mississippi: "I cannot speak in too high terms of his (Paul Johnson's) maturity." This considered judgment of the ruler of a state where they get away, literally, with murder very nearly every day of the year, where even the FBI itself was finally busy exposing both conspiracy to murder, and actual lynch mob murder of, Negro and white civil rights workers, sums up more incisively the harebrained analysis characteristic of the FBI chief than any of his critics could have done.

The impulse for self-immolation on the part of the sacrosanct FBI head impelled him to expound his views in a way that exposed their affinity to the Bourbon outlook further by his criticism of the Department of Justice, legally the parent body of the FBI. "I have been one of these states' righters all my life," continued Hoover in his Newsweek statement. "I have had difficulty in Mississippi during the last few years; it was due to the rather harsh approach to the Mississippi situation by the authorities here in Washington, by the Department of Justice."

Finally, in contrast to his softness on the Bourbon South, Hoover had this to say on the mass jailings in Albany, Georgia: "We simply can't wet nurse everybody who goes down to try to reform or re-educate the Negro population of the South." He certainly did nothing to re-educate a storm trooper who wore the badge of a law-enforcement agent—Sheriff D. C. Campbell of Dougherty County. Campbell interpreted this as a license to cane a Negro lawyer, C. B. King, who had come down that July 28, 1962, to discuss the beating in jail of a white worker. The sheriff said the lawyer had interfered with business! The non-bleeding heart, non-wet nurse, very talkative Hoover, could not find his tongue to comment on such atrocities. He was too busy shooting his mouth off on another King—Rev. Martin Luther King.

The restraint with which Rev. King answered Hoover's absurd (Continued on Page 5)

A Doctor Speaks

Nuclear Testing Threatens All Present and Future Life

EDITOR'S NOTE: De Gaulle is about to engage in nuclear tests (see "Our Life and Times," page 8), which will further contaminate the atmosphere of the world and endanger the lives of millions of people, all in the name of "a greater France." Because the only thing that will be "greater" will be the poisons in the atmosphere, we are reprinting here the article from "A Doctor Speaks" on the dangers of atomic fall-out.

No known life can exist in the vicinity of the chemical explosions continually taking place on the sun and on the billions of similar bodies that form the universe. The radiations or energy waves produced in these explosions are deadly, but so are the rays produced by the collisions of the infinitesimal particles within the atom. There are, however, certain radiations that are essential for the existence of living matter. In fact, life appears to be a means of receiving, concentrating, and utilizing the different forms of this energy.

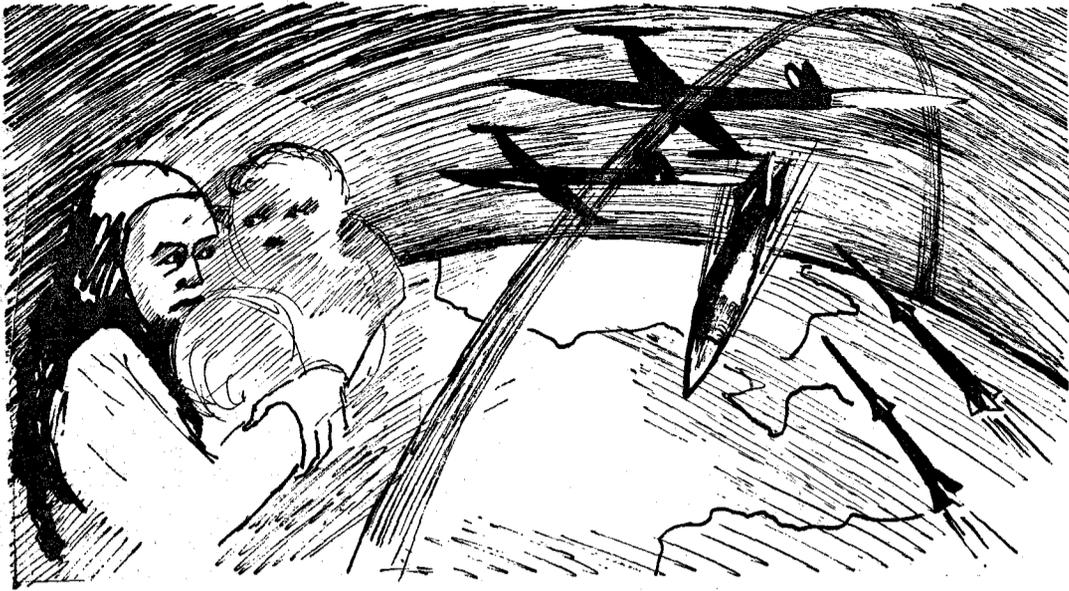
The human body is, however, able to receive very little of the shorter wave radiations of electro-magnetism from ultraviolet to ultrasonic to X-rays. Even the very small quantity of cosmic rays can do much harm to life. With the H-bomb we are duplicating on our very doorstep the radioactive conditions close to the sun. The splitting of the atom with the release of powerful radiations is a scientific breakthrough now confronting bewildered humanity and divided man. Unless it serves to help in constructing wholeness in man it can destroy him.

As I write this, the weird wail of the weekly defense test siren all but ruptures my ear drum. The nurse in my office is one of thousands of zealous individuals organized into civil defense groups that meet regularly. There is a great show of enthusiasm, activity and patriotism as they listen to lectures and see demonstrations.

Most people, however, seem to be unimpressed by appeals of civil defense bureaus, aspiring leaders, medical and political, and manufacturers of home bomb shelters selling for "less

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To all our friends and readers
Season's Greetings



Nuclear Testing Threatens All of Humanity

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than 90 cents a day." I share this lack of enthusiasm.

A CITY HIT BY H-BOMB

Last year a congressional subcommittee received expert testimony on "The Biological and Environmental Effects of Nuclear War." It was reported that with the dropping of a small-sized H-bomb on a city of a million people many thousands would die immediately. Of the hundreds of thousands injured, one third would not be so badly hurt as to be hopeless; one third would need hospital treatment and immediate surgery to save life; the remaining one third would be considered "light" cases but would need help from doctors. People would be trapped seven to fifteen miles from the center of the explosion by the debris.

The same congressional subcommittee in reviewing the Nevada testing ground experiments on houses noted that there was very little protection in ground floors and basements of most houses. It was stated that in an area sixty by nine miles there would be a dose of over 6000 roentgens for two days after the dropping of a "small" bomb. Dropping of a 2000 megaton bomb on the United States would kill 55% of the population. Even if the population were well trained and had

bomb shelters, 45% of the population would be killed. It is estimated that the United States has stockpiled at least 28,000 megatons of nuclear explosives and Russia not much less.

Six hundred roentgens will kill nearly every human being exposed to the dose. Four hundred fifty R will bring death to about one half the people exposed. There is cell damage from doses of fifty to two hundred roentgens. The effects of lower radiation are cumulative and may be productive of serious disease.

It might be well to know that a fluoroscopic X-ray study of stomach and intestines in some doctors' offices gives twenty-five and more R for each minute of exposure. An X-ray of the full mouth gives up to ten R; and X-ray of a spine up to four or five R per film.

These figures vary with different X-ray machines and techniques of exposure. It is therefore certainly good sense for an injured workman to be cautious as to the place and person through which he submits to X-ray exposure. Especially is this desirable if he is young, since the blood and reproductive cells are extremely sensitive to X-rays.

It is just as sensible to be more than hesitant about depending on bomb shelters, base-

ments or civil defense salesmen to save us from nuclear war destruction.

* * *

The Committee on Genetic Effects of Atomic Radiation, a committee composed of eminent scientists and specialists in related fields, recommends that no person receive more than 10 roentgen units of man-made radiation in the first 30 years of his life. It states that the potential danger is great in dosages above this level, and reported the following information.

In the mutation effects of radioactivity there exists a force which can reverse evolution and perhaps bring into being men much inferior to monkeys.

A mutation is a change produced in the genes, the element in our sex cells through which we inherit various characteristics that make us what we are. The energy of radiation may produce permanent changes in these genes, changes which are passed on to our children and to subsequent generations.

LEAD TO HARMFUL EFFECT

Moreover, the mutant genes, in the vast majority of cases in all the species thus far studied, lead to some kind of harmful effect. There may be a shortening of life, a failure to conceive, or malformation in surviving children. A small part of this harm would appear in the first generation of the offspring, of the person who received the radiation. Most of the harm would be expressed in the successive generations. The real damage of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombs may appear generations from now.

Any radiation dose, however small, can induce some mutation. The total dose is what counts. The damage done by radiation is cumulative. What is important to a child, is the total radiation dose that child's parents have received from their birth to the birth of their child.

In the United States, the average age of both parents at the time of birth of all their children is approximately 30 years. It is important therefore—for future generations—that all radiation exposure during this age period be limited and recorded.

SOURCES OF RADIATION

Radiation is measured in roentgen units. These are the major sources of radiation:

(1) The radiation which results from natural causes, and not under our control, coming from cosmic rays and from naturally-occurring minerals like radium. This amounts to an average of 4.3 roentgen units over a 30-year period. At high altitudes the 30-year average is greater.

(2) Medical X-rays. According to present estimates each person in the United States receives, on the average, a total accumulated dose to the sex glands of three to four roentgens in 30 years.

Of course, some get a good deal more and others, none at all, but this figure is amazingly large.

(3) Fall-out from weapons-testing. This quantity is difficult to determine, but it is here that the possibilities for increase are the greatest.

The fall-out effect of radioactive dust depends on shelter and weather conditions. It has been stated that in the past years, residents of the United States have, on the average, been receiving from fall-outs a dose which, if weapons-testing were continued at the same rate, is equivalent to less than a half roentgen unit. Doubling the testing rate doubles the fall-out. Fall-out on grazing and crop lands and into the sea may affect the sources of our food.

(4) Atomic power plants. These are future sources of radiation that might become dangerous. The question of how to dispose of atomic waste is important.

(5) Occupational hazards. Persons who are close to equipment giving off X-rays, who are engaged in experimental work in atomic energy, who test weapons, who mine or otherwise handle radioactive material, are subject to the risk of greater radiation exposure than others.

Information about atomic radiation is vague, and seems to be deliberately so. The reason is not entirely a matter of security.

There is a fear of the reactions of people, should they learn of the enormity of the suffering and danger possible through its misuse.

There is, however, no hesitation in giving out information about the numbers of people that can be killed by an atomic bomb. Death apparently is easier to take than the horror of unknown disease. The fact is that we have no cure or specific treatment for radiation poisoning.

THE BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING

There is also heard the statement that ordinary people do not have the education and intelligence to understand atomic radiation. It is not a question of training scientists. No one claims that a scientist is made without special training. But this expression of contempt for the intelligence of ordinary people is merely a smokescreen for maintaining conditions as they are now.

'Guided Democracy' Sukarno Styled

While playboy Premier Sukarno continues his attempts to overthrow the government of Malaysia, he handles criticism at home by new arrests of his critics. The editor of *Revolusi*, an anti-communist publication, was arrested when he refused to tone down his attacks on the Communist Party, after the government had warned him to stop.

He joins in prison: Sutan Sjahrir, revolutionary leader, former premier and head of the Indonesian Socialist Party who was arrested in 1962 after the party had been banned in 1960; Burhanuddin Harahap, who served as Premier in 1955 and who was leader of the Masjumi Party, a moderate Moslem group; Mohammed Natsir, Premier from 1950-51, a leader in the rebellion against the Dutch; Mochtar Lubis, noted author of "Twilight in Jakarta." Lubis has been jailed since 1957.

This is apparently Sukarno's conception of what he calls "guided democracy."

Elections in Italy Show Little Change

Milan, Italy — Italian city and provincial (county) elections were held on Nov. 22. During the electoral campaign the major economic and political problems of the country were hardly discussed; that is, the problem of unemployment and underemployment of so many workers, the soaring inflation, and the weakness of the unions due to their own reformism and to the clearly advantageous position of the industrialists in this economic depression-inflation.

Instead, the major issue was the fall of Khrushchev. Almost all of the parties attacked the Communists hoping to gain votes at the expense of the CP. The Communists responded by condemning the methods used by the Russian CP when they disposed of Khrushchev and were thus saved from having to explain in their own failures.

NO CHANGES

The results of the elections did not produce any great changes. All of the parties which now participate in the present "center to left" government, except the Social Democratic Party, have received some losses. The Christian Democratic Party, the largest Italian political party, received 37.4% of the total votes which is 2.9% less than in the elections of 1960.*

The Socialist Party got 3.1% less votes than in the 1960 elections. This is partially due to the split in the party, but it is also because the socialists have completely failed in carrying out their extremely mild, reformist policies, which is the reason they have given for entering the government.

The only rightist party that gained votes is the Liberal Party. The new socialist party, PSIUP, won 2.9% of the total votes; while the Communist Party increased its percentage by 1.5%, thus remaining the second largest party with 26% of the total votes.

SMALL BUSINESS SQUEEZED

Probably the additional votes for the CP come from the small shopkeepers and small industrialists. The CP has done everything to attract the votes of these latter two groups; while ever-increasing prices as well as a continual increase in unemployment, both of which have caused a notable decrease in consumption, have put these two groups in a desperate economic position.

The government, in the meantime, has followed a policy of giving financial support only to the larger industrial concerns. Probably most workers vote for the CP, although the actual number of workers in the CP has steadily decreased in recent years.

*The figures given in this article are taken from the results of the provincial elections as reported in "Il Giorno," Oct. 25. The results of the city elections are slightly different. M.C.

Editor's Note: We have just received a copy of *La Lezione Dello Stalinismo (The Lesson of Stalinism)*, published by Editoriale Opere Nuove, Cassella Postale 211, Roma-Centro, and written by Bruno Rizzi, who was the original author of the concept of bureaucratic collectivism—a concept misused by everyone from socialists like Max Shachtman to reactionaries like James Burnham. It arrived too late to review for this issue.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Corruption Breeds Distrust

What else will happen in this world today? Outlaw white men are taking all the power into their hands and killing any good leaders they see. Good, innocent people who do not have anything to do with crooked politics are being bombed and shot.

There was a time when some whites didn't know how to treat the Negro race, because they thought that the Negro people would never learn to speak up for themselves, even though they knew they were being treated wrong without a cause. These whites are finding out how wrong they have been about the Negro, even about the African who was considered so backward he couldn't run his own country. Now the white man is finally finding out that it is becoming more and more difficult to take over another's country and do what he pleases with it.

OLD RULE RUNNING OUT

The old ways of taking over and ruling the people of the world are running out. And the Russians need not think that they will be able to rule the world either, just because they were the first to put a Sputnik into space. They, too, are learn-

ing that they cannot rule over the world's people any more than the United States can.

LOW-DOWN AND CROOKED

The old days are so rotten that today men are crooked even in their own governments, and doing low-down things to their own leaders, fighting among themselves. We see the Republican Party, which went all out to lead the world down the wrong path; and the Bobbie Baker case, which shows how many big men go all out to get rich off of this government.

Baker got caught more quickly than many others because he was trying to tackle rich men who had more than he did, and who could beat him at his own game. A rich crook in politics should stay away from other rich crooked men in politics who are just like him.

The problem with some politicians is that they have stolen from the poor white man and the Negro for so long that when there was nothing left to take from the poor, they started messing with the rich. When your politics are that crooked, you can't expect to come out straight in the end.

700 Workers Strike Against Scripto Sweatshop in South

Seven hundred Negro workers struck the Scripto pen and pencil company in Atlanta, Georgia at the end of November, for better wages and working conditions.

BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

If most of the women workers at Scripto worked 40 hours a week, every week in the year, they would earn only \$2,600 a year before deductions. (The poverty level has been put at \$3,000 per year.) With deductions for social security, withholding taxes, insurance, charity contributions (.50 per month), and unpaid days off, they are likely to find themselves below the \$2,000 line in actual yearly take-home pay.

CONDITIONS WORSE THAN SWEATSHOPS

At Scripto workers are given 20 minute lunch periods and the tables and chairs are in the hall way, as one worker put it, "for those who desire to gulp down

How Can Children Grow in Poverty?

Being in the Appalachia region, I know this is no guess at poverty. When you see little children going half dressed, starved, and with a poor education, you know what poverty is. If all parents could have decent jobs and get justice, we would have less poverty.

Also, we need health care, especially for children. What can a child be when he reaches man or womanhood without the proper care and sufficient foods a child needs? It takes food and plenty of medical care for a child, and that is something we don't have — medical care. As there aren't enough decent jobs for people, how can anyone get these needs?

All the help that has come from the outside areas has been more than appreciated, but jobs are what we need now most of all.

But justice is not for the poor person, if the rich man can get his way. It looks as if the colored man and the poor white have been set aside. I feel the colored and the poor white can make their voice echo much louder than the rich man can. For one thing, they don't want everything — they just want justice!

Miner, Kentucky

their food." Talking is prohibited and foremen issue warning slips to offenders. Three of them and you are fired.

One woman summed up the general feelings of the strikers when she said, "For years we were afraid to speak out but now we are not afraid. Scripto is rotten in its relationship to Negro employees. The years of degradation, humiliation and inferiority are just about over for us."

CO.'S BRUTALITY EQUALS KKK'S

One woman with 21 years seniority at the strike-plagued plant, said she was informed on her return that there were no openings. She asked for unemployment compensation and was told by company officials to apply at the Unemployment Bureau. However the company had called before she got there and told them that she was mentally ill. She was told to get 50 names on a petition stating that she was sane but she was able to get only 42 names. This list was torn up in front of her. Although she was destitute she didn't receive aid until a minister interceded with the Labor Board and Scripto promptly rehired her.

HARASSMENT OF WORKERS

One young picket told a Atlanta Inquirer's reporter that a white man leaving the parking lot deliberately ran her down as she picketed the plant. Besides being bodily knocked down, pickets are being threatened by police. One of the women was told she would be arrested if she returned to the line.

Union officials have called on Rev. Martin Luther King for aid. He has pledged the full support of the Southern Christian Leadership Council and has threatened a nationwide boycott of Scripto products if the demands are not met.

It is clear from the harassment of the workers by police and company, the sweatshop conditions in the plant, and the vile language used by company officials against Negro workers that Scripto has learned its lessons well both from Henry Ford and the KKK.

Human Blight on Spree in Kentucky

I don't believe that the people of this land really realize the crying need for doctors and field workers in this area. The one who realizes the most will be a mother while she stands beside the bed of a sick child.

She knows it is just about impossible to get a doctor to make a house call to see the child. She has one of two alternatives. She can treat the child herself and pray, or she can walk a half mile or more over slick, snow-covered roads to the main highway and wait there for transportation to take the child into town to see a doctor. Often the home treatment won't work and the long walk makes a sick child worse because of exposure.

MORE AID NEEDED

What doctors we have are doing a great job, but they are human.

They can only do so much in any given number of hours. Most of them are tired and overworked. They need the help of other doctors and nurses to take some of the burden from their shoulders.

We need teams of field workers to go up those creeks and into these hollows to treat those that are too ill to be taken out — old people who are bedfast and young children with no means of transportation.

This is only one of the many things we need here. We need jobs for our men so that we can give adequate pay to doctors and others who are trying to help us.

Not many of us want "something for nothing." Most of us are strong, willing, and able to work for what we get. We appreciate what has been done, even what has been given. All this we accept with a thankful heart, but this is not where our main need lies. Help us to help ourselves.

C.S.
Kentucky.

(For more on Appalachian Miners, see Readers' Views, pp. 4, 5)



On the Line

Discharge Case Reveals Lack of Representation

By John Allison

At the Chrysler Highland Park plant there is one union steward representing all of the production workers on the midnight shift. This steward has the responsibility of representing workers in four separate buildings. Under the most favorable circumstances the job he has to do would be impossible — and the situation now is anything but favorable.

A case history will show what can happen when one man has to carry the load this steward has. A worker on the midnight shift who had 18-years seniority was discharged.

DISCHARGE PROCEDURE

In the contract, under the Notice of Suspension, Disciplinary Lay off or Discharge, the language states: "The plant management agrees promptly upon suspension, disciplinary lay off or discharge of an employee to notify in writing the chief steward or plant shop committeeman in the District of the suspension, disciplinary lay off or discharge."

The foreman who discharged the worker gave the steward the discharge slip, but didn't inform the committeeman or chief steward. Procedure involved in protesting a discharge case requires that a protest grievance be processed within 48 hours of a discharge action. But nothing happened. For a month nothing happened.

Then one day, quite by accident, when the midnight steward was talking with the shop committeeman and going through some of his papers, the discharge slip fell out. The committeeman asked what the slip was all about, and the steward, who didn't know that the committeeman had not been informed about the details of the discharge action, could only refer to the slip.

RANK-AND-FILE ACT

So far as the contract was concerned, the case was closed since no grievance had been filed protesting the discharge within 48 hours. So far as the rank-and-file workers were concerned, who quickly learned about what had happened, the case was very much alive. This obvious lack of representation made this case stand out like a sore thumb, and the only way the workers have any protection is if they have representation — if a protest grievance is filed by the union representative against unfair company action.

The rank-and-file raised so much cain that the union officials and company got together and an agreement was reached to negotiate the case. The result was that the discharged worker got his job back and returned to work — but with no pay for the time he was off. Had the protest grievance been filed at the time, the discharge would never have been able to hold up. But this didn't happen.

It could be said the midnight steward didn't do his job, and in one sense this is true. But just the paper work he has to do now to keep all of the overtime straight on the workers and on himself is enough to take all night by itself. With the fantastic overtime that workers are putting in and the paper work that goes along with it, it's just ridiculous to think that the steward can do all of this and take care of production workers' grievances in four separate buildings.

REPRESENTATION DECLINES

This case brought to a head the loss of representation that workers have suffered. During the war years and after, the plant had 42 stewards and five plant committeemen to take care of 3000 workers' grievances. Then we had industrial democracy under the Wagner Act.

Now, with Automation, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Whiz Kids with their stop watches, the engineers, other government anti-labor laws, and the willingness of Reuther to bargain away workers' representation for a few nickle and dime raises, representation has declined from 42 stewards to 15 stewards to handle 3000 workers.

The rank-and-file was able to force the company to rehire this discharged worker with 18-years seniority because they learned about it and acted to correct this injustice. But how many cases are there that they don't learn about because there isn't enough representation? The ones who suffer from the results of all of this are the workers in the auto shops across the nation.

Last Union Mine Reopens As Scab Hole

Hazard, Ky. — The Blue Diamond Coal Company's Leatherwood No. 1 mine, the last Perry County mine to operate under a UMWA (United Mine Workers of America) contract, reopened on November the 9th. The mine had been closed since April 28 of this year when the United Mine Workers' contract expired.

A resident in the neighborhood reported that he saw 26 state police cars at the mine. Sergeant Murphy of the Hazard Post denied this report when he said that one car with one man patrolled the area during the day and one car with two men throughout the night. According to a report in the Hazard Herald, there is also one armed company guard posted at the single entrance to the mine.

LABOR UNREST

Sergeant Murphy said that the night detail would continue for the next two or three weeks at least. He confirmed that this was a normal precaution during periods of 'labor unrest.' He reported four shootings and two blasts in the area in the last few days.

The reopening of Leatherwood

No. 1 mine follows the pattern familiar to east Kentucky coal miners over the last few years. There were 350 men working at the mine in January of this year. In late January about half of the men were laid off and the rest on April 28. During the period of lay-offs extensive stockpiling was completed.

After shut-down and termination of contract, the mine lay idle until unemployment benefits were exhausted. Union-management negotiations on contract renewal continued without success and the mine was reopened without a contract.

COAL CAMP DESERTED

The mine was shut down six months ago. Unemployment benefits run for the same period. Many Blue Diamond workers were given house notice during the summer and the company coal camp is almost deserted, according to a local resident. With no job and no house, many of the No. 1 former employees have left this area for jobs elsewhere, but some have stayed. For them, there is no prospect other than a job at the mine "scabbing" or a dollar an hour on the Aid to Dependent Children of Unemployed Fathers.

The ADC program pays a maximum subsistence of \$160 a month compared with present union scale of around \$28 a day. Ninety-one men were added to the ADC rolls in Perry and Knott Counties during the month of October.

The Officers of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment have noted that it took the State Police ten hours to answer a call when Rev. Jason Combs' house was shot up, while the Blue Diamond Company has a permanent patrol at its disposal day and night.

Help Keep Miners' Voice Alive

Voice for Jobs and Justice is the newspaper of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment. It is the only voice of the people in Perry County, and is mimeographed for circulation weekly. The expenses involved are very high for a poor community like theirs, and they have appealed for help to keep their new venture going. They write:

"We, the unemployed, are trying hard, in the face of organized terrorism, to put out a newspaper to give a voice to our demands and to organize all people in the hollows and creeks to make their needs known and to make effective application for the federal funds available through the Economic Opportunities Act. We need your help."

We urge our readers to send contributions to:
Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
501 High Street, Hazard, Kentucky

A Gift Every
Freedom Fighter
Will Appreciate
Marxism and
Freedom

(See ad, page 7)

Readers' Views

J. EDGAR HOOVER — FACT AND FICTION

There is something very wrong when a government institution in the Justice Department can spend 99% of its time investigating so-called Communism, but is not permitted by law to indict known killers for murder.

Observer
Boston

Most of the editorials in the Negro press seemed to bend over backwards to praise Hoover for his past virtues before they dared to nit-pick a few current faults. I cannot understand that—most men are either good or no-good, and Hoover is just plain no-good so far as I am concerned. He has always been a vicious rascal, he has always known just what he was doing. The only thing that is different is that he used to know enough to keep his mouth shut.

Negro Worker
Detroit

Some claim Hoover has become "senile"—others claim he has become "infantile". So far as I can see he is just the same as he always has been. He has carried out the same reactionary role all his life. In fact, there were three major strikes in 1919 and I firmly believe that we would have had a CIO in this country that year, instead of having to wait until 1936, if it had not been for the vicious strike-breakers like Hoover.

Old Radical
Chicago

What kind of nonsense is this about Hoover getting the credit for breaking the KKK in 1920? It was the Negroes who broke the KKK, not Hoover! As a matter of fact, if I remember correctly, the only thing Hoover did was get the main KKK dragon for white slavery—not for crimes against the Negroes.

As I have always contended, it is not only the Russians who "rewrite" history.

Teacher
New York

The discussion about Hoover and Rev. King has been the hottest discussion in our shop since the assassination of President Kennedy. I believe that workers have so many memories stored up that no matter whether they are local cops, or state-cops or the FBI itself—what the workers associate "police-action" with is evictions, beatings, and strike-breaking. Hoover is just another "cop" to us.

In Detroit, when Van Antwerp was up for election to the City Council, all the old-timers remembered him for just one thing—the mounted-cops who busted the picket-lines in the old days. It is important to know a man's past. If all the old-timers had just

gone out and voted I am positive that Van Antwerp would never have won. Unfortunately, too many newtimers didn't know his past.

Auto Worker
Detroit

When Hoover trained his cops, they stayed trained! There's not a Ford worker alive who doesn't remember the name of Harry Bennett, for example. In fact, a lot of FBI men drifted into industry, where they got better pay for using all the "talents" the FBI taught them—against the workers who were trying to organize those "subversive" organizations, trade unions.

Auto Worker
Detroit

They claim that the FBI has infiltrated the KKK. But I wonder if it isn't the KKK that has infiltrated the FBI?

Student
New York

I want to thank the TV show "That Was the Week That Was" for putting my mind at ease, by assuring all those of us who were wondering what ever happened to Madame Nhu, that she was safe in the U.S. handling the public relations for J. Edgar Hoover.

Reader
California

THE STRUGGLE FOR A NEW SOCIETY

The protest march against passage of Proposition 14 was the best we have had here for a long time, and Lomax' speech was quite good, but I don't see any civil rights organization doing anything on the content of that speech. Something has got to give but I don't feel the Negro Community here is getting excited about Proposition 14. Most of them can't move from where they are anyway.

I am beginning to think that Gloria Richardson was right when she asked for a boycott of voting on questions like this. This system can keep you busy for the next 100 years on things like this (which the Constitution is supposed to guarantee anyway) and they would like nothing better.

Activist
Los Angeles

It seems to me that at this stage of history, other than the working class, the police are the only defense that bourgeois democracy might hope for against the storm troopers of fascism. Yet, bourgeois democracy refuses and fears to call out the workers, even in its own defense. So when the brownshirts wear the blue coats and the chrome badges of the police, bourgeois democracy is lost, unless the workers are willing to preserve it. I think it is clearer than ever before that we need the

unity of the Negro masses, the white workers, and the radical students to save us from fascism and give us something better than bourgeois democracy.

Journalist
Penna.

I was introduced to News & Letters by a friend last spring and have been reading it whenever I could get a copy. I am glad to have a subscription now.

This last summer I worked with the Mississippi Summer Project, in the white community. There is beginning to be felt a need to extend the civil rights movement to working-class whites, which is, of course, true. The goals of the movement can never be reached unless the struggle is fought on economic lines instead of race lines . . .

Students for a Democratic Society is organizing on campuses to educate students to the issues facing America such as poverty, unemployment, war, etc. There are about seven different projects in cities in the North involved with the unemployed, and Negroes in the ghettos . . . in Texas, students are trying to set up a project with Negro and Latin-American workers. This is one of the areas where a unity of theory and practice is necessary. It is a constant reevaluation process to decide if the action we are taking will lead us to the society we envision or simply bring more people into middle class American life.

Student
Texas

TWO PREDICTIONS

Chet Huntley is predicting that (with the slight exceptions of the Sudan and the Berkeley students, of course!) big demonstrations are a thing of the past. Even the French haven't had a really notable demonstration for years, he says. Well, I want to predict that Chet Huntley will appear as the biggest fool on TV within the next year. As a matter of fact maybe even by next month, since there may be the biggest demonstration ever when De Gaulle detonates his dirty bomb.

Student
California

VIET NAM

They have had so many changes of government in Vietnam in recent years, you can't really keep up with who's in power now? Recently I heard one newscaster point out victoriously that the most recent puppet the U.S. put in, had been in for all of 22 days already without a coup or a revolt to depose him. I guess that the only thing they haven't tried in Vietnam has been a democratic election.

Observer
Boston

The chaos and deathrate in Vietnam is so great that newscasters complain that there just aren't any good counts of the Vietnamese military dead. And as for the civilian deaths, they don't even bother to TRY to count those?

I guess they figure human beings that have only a life expectancy of 35 years don't really "count" anyway.

Disgusted
Chicago

RACISM

It is fantastic that this most powerful nation in the entire world can rush a rescue mission to the Congo, but cannot rescue white and Negro Americans in Mississippi from butchery there. It must be utterly unbelievable to those in foreign lands.

Rev. King was absolutely right that allowing the Mississippi authorities to set the lynchers free is nothing less than an invitation to further murder. The boycott against the entire state of Mississippi which he suggested is the minimum I feel must be done.

Indignant Heart
Detroit

What a tragedy in the Congo! I hope you manage to do a good article on it in the next issue. The newspapers are full of such hysterical comments on the Congo here that it is impossible to know what is really going on. Johnson, calling this a "humanitarian operation," is either a complete cynic or a complete racist.

M. C.
Italy

The very same issue of our daily paper that reported the slaughter in the Congo, carried a special feature story—by sheer coincidence—from the specialist who flew from New York to Mississippi to examine the body of James Chaney when the dead civil rights workers were finally found last summer. The brutality that the white murderers must have practiced against that young Negro man not only made that seasoned doctor feel sick to his stomach, but brought "atrocious" right back home again.

Activist
Detroit

The "objective" press reported in headlines the atrocities practiced against whites in the Congo. They reported only in passing and in such low-key that you almost missed it, the atrocities of Tshombe's white mercenaries against the Congolese. Under the impact, however, of one French correspondent's eye-witness report from the Congo, who saw the "humanitarian" rescuers slaughtering at sight any Africans they came upon, even Chet Huntley was forced to comment that you could scarcely tell the atrocities apart.

Reader
Pennsylvania

WITH THE COMMITTEES

We had a beautiful evening on the ideas of freedom, where one of the Mississippi Freedom Summer workers spoke on that project and Marxist-Humanism. We raised \$41 in donations, and got a sub to the paper, which is not a lot of money in terms of the amount we are trying to raise for our Sustaining Fund, but which is important to us because the 30 people present were mostly young students with very little money.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

I had the opportunity of speaking to a civil rights group here about American Civilization on Trial, and sold all the copies I had with me. I wish I had had more, I think everyone would have liked a copy.

Student
New York

WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION

Your pamphlet Workers Battle Automation merits wide circulation and study. I do not understand how it is that the workers do not strike for a four-hour day, and traitors like Reuther be damned! I'm enclosing \$2 to cover costs of mailing copies of the pamphlet to the names enclosed.

Reader
Illinois

APPALACHIAN COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

I belong to the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment and I'm not ashamed of it. I'm a UMW man one hundred per cent and I'm not ashamed of that either. I'm also a member of the church. I would be glad if all the old retired miners like myself could see eye to eye the way I see things. If they'd all come out and help, we'd have more chance of getting something done.

They know how it was back in Hoover's days, and I would like to do something for the young people even if I can't do anything for myself.

I feel it's their duty to come find out what the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment is all about. I believe if they all would come and find out what it's about, they'd get interested in it. If they're as strong a UMW worker as I am, I believe they'd come.

People can look and see what's happened up at Leatherwood. They went back scabbing. If there isn't something done the miners that's working now will be cut down to six or seven dollars a day.

Retired Miner
Kentucky

We are the needy and the poor and we need jobs. I worked thirty-seven years in the mines.

My wife and I together only draw \$85.50 a month and I don't feel that we get enough security. I had a total disability but lost my case. But what we really need is work for the needy. We need schools, education, and medical care that will help the poor people.

The big coal operators and merchants will look at a little child that has to walk in the snow to school barefooted and laugh at him and turn their back on them.

Ex-Miner
Kentucky

The Kentucky miners and their families need your help. We urge our readers to send donations of food, clothing, and money to:
Appalachian Committee for Full Employment
501 High Street,
Hazard, Kentucky

Allis Chalmers and Ford are having a strike again. The people are using the American Way to maintain their standard of living. And I haven't heard of any injunction to stop them from standing up for their rights.

Of course, these strikes are not in Kentucky. The Kentucky teachers who came out on strike in Louisville aren't so lucky. Not unlike the coal miners' strike in the past, their employers have the laws at their beck and call. The only thing in favor of the teachers

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J. Edgar Hoover and Civil Rights

(Continued from Page 1)
 attack could only have come from one who is conscious that he represents a mass movement that is out for something more basic in the structure of society than the scalp of one man, even though that man be as strategically placed for harassment of a movement as is Hoover.

Asserting that Hoover "has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office" to have made "such an irresponsible accusation," Rev. King proceeded to point out that the ineffectiveness of the FBI "in racial incidents, particularly where bombings and brutalities against Negroes are at issue" was not a question as to whether the individual agents were or were not "Southern born." Rather it was a fact of affinity to "the power structure of the South."

THE PRESS

And so, overnight, "The FBI That Nobody Knows," became known to everybody, and not as the sacred cow no one dares touch, but as a tarnished brass calf that, far from deserving worship and genuflection, should be exposed as a fetish. Such a conservative paper as *The New York Herald-Tribune* was aghast at Hoover's blast, stating that he "has a cavalier recklessness with fact and fancy."

The *New York Times* editorialized about the need for Hoover to step down from his high office on his 70th birthday, the legal age of retirement for all other Federal jobholders.

The press that criticized Hoover's present fantastic outburst against the serious criticism by the civil rights movement for his do-nothingness, and the mild criticism of the Warren Commission about the FBI taking "an unduly restrictive view of its role in preventive intelligence work" and thus having done nothing to help avert the assassination of President Kennedy, sidestepped, however, the entire issue of how Hoover became sacrosanct.

Had the press delved into his past, its own shameful role in creating the national hysteria during and after the first world war would, of necessity, also have come to light, and showed that the press itself played no small role in creating the legend of Hoover, and creating it out of whole cloth.

THE PAST OPEN SHOP OFFENSIVE

J. Edgar Hoover got his start as the right-hand man of the notorious Attorney-General Palmer who instituted the lawless reign of terror in 1920 which saw thousands of "Reds and foreigners" deported. The real basis for the national hysteria had nothing to do either with "Reds" or "foreigners." It had everything to do with American workers trying to unionize on an industrial basis, and better their conditions of labor and life.

The 1919 Seattle General Strike as well as the great strikes that year in steel and coal, and the rise of the first mass Negro organization (Garveyism), were the reasons why capitalism wanted to build up a secret police which differs in no fundamental sense from that in totalitarian lands.

Indeed, "Red Summer 1919" is a description, not of the extension of the Russian Revolution, but of the blood that flowed on American streets. Caused by the KKK that followed the Negro North, there were a fantastic number of race riots—no less than 26 in the last months of 1919. The Negroes did not take all this lying down. They built an organization of millions—the first mass organization of Negroes in this country—under the leadership of Marcus Garvey.

And, where the majority, were searching for a nationalist philosophy, others, like Ben Fletcher, joined the I.W.W., and still others, like A. Philip Randolph, the Socialists. The national hysteria created by the press, the lawless Palmer raids, and isolationism headed by Big Business were the foundations of the open shop offensive. It took a Depression and a very nearly endless series of strikes finally to break the stranglehold of Big Capital, and establish the C.I.O. in 1936-37.

Justice Charles Evans Hughes summed up the situation on June 21, 1920: "We may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established, whether constitutional government, as heretofore maintained in this republic, could survive another great war even victoriously waged."

THE PRESENT OFFENSIVE

To the extent that not all the lawlessness of the former era has been recreated, it is due, not to the fact that Hoover's FBI has since become "a respectable, investigative agency," but to the political maturity of the American working class, on the one hand, and, above all, to the fact that the Negro has stayed South and still organized himself into a most potent freedom movement which has gained a momentum that no white terror can stop. It is this which has J. Edgar Hoover completely befuddled.

We had, indeed, a repetition of terror during World War II, only this time the brunt fell on the Americans of Japanese descent who were herded into concentration camps. The fact that these were called "relocation centers" in no way attenuates either for their illegality or brutality.

Ever since 1946, as his letter to Attorney General Clark on Sept. 24 revealed, Hoover has been trying to withdraw from the civil rights field. The 1940s were followed by the 1950s, at

which time Hoover was too busy being a good friend of Senator Joseph McCarthy to carry on his task of investigating complaints of police brutality. Between January 1958 to June 30, 1960, the FBI did investigate 461 cases of civil rights violations, but not a single case resulted in a conviction. Supposedly, it is this local atmosphere, in the region which Hoover himself described as "filled with water moccasins, rattlesnakes, and red-neck sheriffs, and they are all in the same category, as far as I am concerned," which accounts for the Bureau's lack of enthusiasm in investigating violations of civil rights.

The truth is that Hoover has been on a private rampage against the civil rights movement ever since President Kennedy, in 1961, set up a Civil Rights Commission which reported on the lackadaisical nature of the FBI's work in the South, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy tried softly, to remind Hoover that though his Bureau eats up fully half of the Department of Justice's annual budget, it is supposed to be subordinate to the Department. The result was that, instead of the racists whose sadism is part of Southern "culture" feeling any fear of the FBI presence, it was the Freedom movement that felt a veritable new conspiracy arise against it.

HOOVER, THE ZEALOT

So, finally, though they have not yet, a year after the event, found the bombers who destroyed the Negro church in Alabama, and killed four Negro children in it, the FBI has arrested the conspirators and savage murderers of the three civil rights workers—James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman. The Negro community, however, still rightly feels that this is only a way for President Johnson to get J. Edgar Hoover off the hook:

1. Not only had Hoover not

withdrawn any of his statements at the infamous Nov. 18 diatribe to women reporters; he rushed the following week to Chicago to blast off, at Loyola University against "zealots and pressure groups" which he claimed are "spearheaded at times by Communists and moral degenerates." Any one acquainted with Hoover's loose use of the word, "Communist" (he said Rev. King showed "a tendency toward Communism") knows that this is his standard description for any and all who dare criticize him.

As the editorial in the *Afro-American* (Dec. 5, 1964) put it: "His diatribe against 'pressure' groups . . . gives further credence to the belief that the FBI chief has a foggy notion that, where Goldwater failed, he can succeed in tearing down public sympathy for the civil rights revolution and its dedicated leaders."

2. As a prime architect of the political strategy of American reaction from the 1920s on, Hoover can hardly be expected suddenly to become, instead, a prime architect of civil rights, in the South or elsewhere in the country.

3. He did not embark on even so elementary a step as opening an office in Jackson, Miss., until President Johnson instituted a special investigation, headed by the former head of the CIA, Allen Dulles, who recommended it. Even then, showman Hoover, who flew down there himself to open the office amidst great fanfare, had not one word to say there on civil rights, attributing the need to expand the FBI's activities to "the growth of the state."

4. Gov. Paul Johnson, whose "maturity" Hoover praised, and relied upon to carry through with murder indictments, has not bothered to prefer charges against the conspirators and killers. The U.S. Commissioner in Mississippi designated the FBI's statement that they had a signed confession from one of the lynchers as "hearsay evidence," and dismissed the charges.

No wonder the Negroes expect little to come from the FBI's presentation to the grand jury which meets in January. They have no faith at all that the racist grand jury will convict the white assassins.

MASS ACTIVITY

President Johnson is, of course, busy getting Hoover off the hook and he has, unfortunately, also succeeded in making Rev. King privy to it. Nevertheless, despite Rev. King's interview with Hoover, and the desire of some of the leaders of the civil rights movement to hold their fire now, the youth who must work in the South have spoken out openly.

Thus the SNCC organ in Atlanta, Georgia, *The Student Voice* spoke out editorially: "The FBI under Hoover has come to mean an organization that stands and watches as Negroes are beaten in Selma, Ala., because it is an 'investigatory agency.'"

"The FBI under Hoover has come to mean, 'the man' and the police state to Southern Negroes."

They rightly feel that it is only the self-activity of the masses that will assure their gaining freedom. It is by no accident that it was "the Negro Question" that forced Hoover to speak out his mind, thereby shattering this sacrosanct petty idol of reaction. The Negro has always been the touchstone of American history, revealing the hollowness of its democracy, and impelling the movement for true freedom forward.

is the shortage of teachers in this state brought on by the stingy state government which is supposed to have a surplus of money.

If these striking teachers are railroaded into going back to work without their contract, or if they are replaced by scab teachers, then civics class will be a problem when the teacher tries to give the definition of a yellow-dog contract, or tries to explain that the right to strike is an American heritage.

L. T. Kentucky

Editor's Note: For more about Appalachia and the ACFE see page 3.

MARXIST-HUMANISM—IN SCOTLAND & JAPAN

I have spoken at Hull and Durham, as well as at Newcastle—and I am speaking again tonight under the auspices of the Labor Worker group. What comes first with me is the important work of spreading Marxist-Humanist theory. I have received payment for about 40 of the new edition of *Marxism and Freedom* we have sold here and expect payment for many more shortly . . . sales are picking up again.

H. McShane Scotland

The Japanese edition of *Marxism and Freedom* has been off the press a little over two months, and about 700 copies have been sold so far. Our people in the universities and unions have helped us to sell the book, but we are not satisfied and hope to have more to report to you soon.

Two of the most progressive university newspapers (Tokyo University and Waseda University) and the three progressive weeklies (the Japanese Bookman's Weekly, the Book Review Weekly, and Readers' Weekly) have carried reviews which we shall translate and send to you soon.

Some of the books were bought enblock, an educational group in one union ordering 20 copies, and a political grouping another 20. This group protested against the Chinese experiment with the atomic bomb. As you know, the Japanese anti-Stalinist new left is divided into many factions which are very fluid . . . they nevertheless tried to unite in the struggle to prevent the U. S. atomic submarine from entering Japanese ports . . .

Marxist-Humanist Japan

EDITOR'S NOTE

Marxism and Freedom is now available under the following titles:

In Japan: *Alienation and Revolution* — Reformation of Marxism (from Gendaishishio-shiyo, 2-19 Nisikanda Shikodaku, Tokyo, Japan)

In Italy: *Marxismo e Liberta* (from La Nuova Italia, Firenze, Italy — 2700 lira)

In Great Britain: *Marxism and Freedom* (from Harry McShane, 31 Balbeg St., Glasgow, SWI — 10/6d)

All foreign editions can also be ordered directly from *News & Letters*, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48204.

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YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

By Eugene Walker

Students Seek More Control Over Their Educational Lives

"We have an autocracy running this university. The administration is factory management, and we are a bunch of raw material that doesn't mean to be the product of anything. We are going to put our bodies in the gears of the machine and until we are free it won't work." So spoke one of the leaders of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley.

I think that this arrives at the center of the struggle. The fight cannot be looked upon only in the light of immediate goals of the right to solicit funds and the right to advocate off-campus political activities on campus.

Both of these are important parts of the movement and neither would have been partially granted if the students at Berkeley had not demonstrated. But the real problem, and where the students are meeting a solid wall of resistance, is the question of what is the relationship of education to the university and the student. The students are questioning the current view which makes the students raw material, commodities, which are to be molded into "more valuable" commodities, as steel is made into an automobile. They object to having little say or control as to their molding.

STUDENT VIEWED AS WORKER

It seems to me that this idea of treating the student as a com-

modity is analagous to the viewing of the labor power embodied in a living worker as a commodity in the factory. These attitudes of looking upon human beings as commodities — much as one looks at inanimate objects—produces a feeling of alienation in the human being who is looked upon as a commodity, be he the worker in the factory or the student in the university. It seems to me that this is a most intolerable way of being viewed, and yet it is precisely what our society, and more specifically our university, appears to be doing.

The university administration feels that the role of the students is to go to class, study and go to class. This is the way that they would have us molded. To them this is education. The Free Speech Movement should, I feel, try and counteract this view.

REAL EDUCATION

Many students do not feel that going to class defines education. But rather that an active participation in the freedom struggles around them — the civil rights demonstrations, peace marches, creating of a philosophy of freedom—is the real way in which one obtains an education. They also feel that what is taught at the university and how it is taught is of vital concern to them. Many are tired of just being in an advisory position with respect to the running of the university. Instead they wish to participate in this running.

I feel that it is for implementation of some of these ideas that the Free Speech Movement was formed. It is a revolt against being considered raw material, a commodity, to be utilized as the administration sees fit and not as the student wishes. Its success depends upon whether a large proportion of U.C.L.A. students, not just one group or another, join in and fully participate in a discussion of what should be the role of the student in the University.

Two-Year Boycott Changes A Town

Oroville, Calif., Dec. 3—A two-year boycott of the Barnes Supermarket not only has made that store abandon its lily-white job policy, but has changed the employment pattern in the entire town. Negroes now are working at the local branches of Montgomery Ward, the Bank of America and several other downtown stores.

The boycott, bolstered by picketing, had won the support of more than 95 per cent of the non-white community. Finally, following rumors that the store was about to close management hired its first Negro clerk and the long boycott was ended.

"Members of CORE's Oroville chapter are comparing their success with Barnes Supermarket to the results of the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott, though on a smaller scale," commented Chet Duncan, CORE's western field secretary. "They feel it demonstrates again the effectiveness of complete Negro community support in ending discrimination."

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News & Letters

—Josetta Reid

Thousands Attend Mass Rallies on Campus; Scorn Arrests and Fines

LOS ANGELES, Calif — Students at the University of California at Berkeley and at the University of California at Los Angeles are continuing their demands for free speech as their emissaries cover the mid-West and East seeking the support of students.

On Dec. 2, in their fourth massive demonstration, some 2,000 students at the Berkeley campus staged a sit-in at the administration building vowing to "march into Sproul Hall and stay there until taken to jail." The sit-in was conducted because the students want the right to conduct full political activity on campus. This includes the soliciting of funds for, and the right to advocate, off-campus activities.

The university administration feels that it should have the right to regulate political activities while the students demand that only the courts should have the authority to declare political activity unlawful.

GOVERNOR JAILS STUDENTS

At 3 a.m. on Dec. 3 Gov. Brown ordered that the sit-inners be arrested. Police carried out 900 students who had remained in the administration building. At the time of this writing 814 are at the county prison farm with bail set at \$1,400 per person.

Graduate students who teach laboratory and quiz sections have gone out on strike. Picket lines have been formed around the buildings of the campus and the Bay Area AFL-CIO Council and the Teamsters are honoring them. Three professors have resigned from the university in protest of the administration's position which was also overwhelmingly rejected by a faculty senate meeting on Dec. 3, by a vote of 824-115. Fifty per cent of the stu-

dent body is boycotting classes and the Free Speech Movement is now demanding the resignation of Clark Kerr, President of the University of California.

U.C.L.A. CAMPUS

At the U.C.L.A. campus the Free Speech Movement is younger. Two rallies of 500 students were held on successive days to discuss the program of the Free Speech Movement.

Because of the Berkeley demonstrations of the past two months the regents of the university have agreed to allow solicitation of funds on campus

and the recruiting of participants for "lawful" off-campus activity. Like the Berkeley students, the student body here is objecting to the "right" of the university to punish students for "unlawful" demonstrations.

Overriding the immediate goals of the right to solicit funds and to mount off-campus activities on campus is the fact that the students want to have more say in the operation of the university. This is really what frightened the university administration into taking its indefensible position. (See New Beginnings—Ed.)

'People Will Begin to Realize They Don't Have These Things'

Where I live, when you tell people that you've been on a picket-line, or ask them to join a picket-line, they may say, "I believe in everything you are fighting for, and I believe it is my fight, too. But I'm going to wait until the other people go. I'm waiting until my friends come along because I don't want them to laugh at me when I get out there."

If we can get some of the fears out of people—and maybe to do it we will have to expose the way the schools teach us about the "glorious America" and about "liberty and justice for all"—perhaps people will begin to realize that they don't have these things, but that they can get them.

WE SING SONGS

We sing on our picket lines. I like to sing because I feel I can tell the story better singing than talking. We sing songs like "Oh, Freedom" and it is like saying, "White man, you have ruled the world for so long in the wrong way, you had your chance and you goofed. Now it is our turn. Maybe we'll goof. But we have the right to have our chance, because the white man has already messed up his."

Our group started in junior high school. One of the eighth grade classes in Civics had a project dealing with the North and the South, and they began

to have discussions about it. The kids decided they wanted to start a Civil Rights Club. The school was not for it, and most of the teachers there were prejudiced, but they got a sponsor and once you have a sponsor they can't stop you from starting any kind of club you like.

DIDN'T HAVE SOUL

It was very new and it wasn't very elaborate. We weren't really in the movement, we didn't really have soul like we really wanted it—we were just there because it was something to do. But one day one of the girls said, "Is this all we're going to do, just talk?" And after we thought about it, we said, "Well, we could look over the neighborhood and see if anybody discriminates against Negroes in our community, and if they do, we can picket them."

After that we had to have our meetings in our homes instead of the school because we couldn't use direct action and still be a school club. And the first place we picketed was a barber shop. One of our members went in to get a hair cut and the barber told him, "I don't cut your kind of hair, boy." We picketed for two days, and then called the police and the man had to cut his hair. I'm not going to tell you what it looked like when he got through, but he cut his hair.

Civil Rights Activist
Detroit

Revolt—With a Permit

So, they marched for equal right, to attain such one must really fight.

It is most absurd when rulers of this land unite with the victims of the vicious, racist band.

To receive equality of work, education much stronger methods—the Negroes' application.

In "democratic" Birmingham vicious dogs they would use. In Washington, they protest does it not amuse, confuse?

Our capital is not integrated at all. There, they still heed to the jungle call.

The Negro may march to his heart's desire in the city's hotels not a room to hire.

The outspoken racists one can respect much more than the two-faced hypocrites only a mother can love, adore?

They speak of freedom. You will search in vain to find any of such in their own domain.

I would rather encounter with those of honest views than deal with imposters who hate Negroes and Jews.

The time shall arrive when humans will be of the same status—all equal and free.
Elchanan Ben Elimelech

"Malcolm's revolution turns out to be an action for damages. He's only talking, after all, about larceny by fraud, trick, and force. It's a good cause, but nothing to fight and die for. They sue."—from a recent issue

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AS Others See Us

Italian Review of Marxism and Freedom Scores Essence of Dialectical Method

Miss Dunayevskaya's discourse follows step by step the process by which ideology has become arid, and produces evidence at every point of how this degeneration springs from the demands, practices, and tactical interests of the managerial group which is engaged in creating a powerful state-capitalism. (Her discourse always seems convincing, and well conceived even if some of the judgments appear hurried, and if certain of her analyses aren't thoroughly worked out. It is pervaded with a brilliant and lively spirit in its polemic, which is winning even when it provokes a few reservations.)

Stalin's iron-will appears as the "manifestation of the objective drive of the industrial development" (p. 219.) (1) The forced labor camps, Stakhanovism, the Constitution of 1936, the chain of trials ("purges are not due to a state of mind but to a state of production," page 236), the fetishism of the Plan—all these emerge as a product of a totalitarian politico-economic condition which also weighed on ideology to distort it and make of it an instrumentum regni. (2)

HEGEL, the dialectic ("the dialectic of negativity" — says Marx—"is the moving and creative principle"), the implicit dynamism, contradiction as a fundamental element of Hegelianism would have destroyed all pretext for stifling opposition and suppressing the forces pushing from below ("an endless battle between the State Planners and the workers", page 216). It is a process analogous, we may add, to what historically befell Christianity, in which the original communal spirit has gradually given way to the stifling bureaucratism of the Hierarchy which proclaims its exclusive right to interpret and "fulfill" the doctrine.

Marx was "organically a dialectician" (p. 57). And Hegel, with whom he is directly connected, remains "so alive and worrisome" (p. 40) because for the Russian Revolution, the "trag-

edy . . . is that this was not achieved (p. 203) — —the masses were exclusively means to an end (socialism), whereas only their self-activity is socialism.

The international socialist movement has thus found itself confronted with an obstacle which has very often caused autonomous attempts to fail, and has made of them a dictatorship chilling in the horrors and violence it has generated: "The Russian totalitarian bureaucracy is the most deadly, the most insidious, the most dangerous enemy because it springs from the proletariat and cloaks itself in Marxist terminology" (p.239).

This bureaucracy seeks its affirmation and justification in the field of technological conquests and aims at striking the imagination of the masses with astonishing deeds in space. But "launching satellites into outer space cannot solve the problems of this earth. The challenge of our times is not to machines, but to men . . . The creation of a new society remains the human endeavor. The totality of the crisis demands, and will create, a total solution. It can be nothing short of a New Humanism" (p. 287).

IN THE COURSE of a debate which took place some time ago in East Germany, the ideological organ of the Party, (3) perfectly aligned with the Soviet interpretations of Marxism, maintained that if we are oriented towards of Hegelian reading of Marx. "The consequences for ideological order and practical political action seem extremely grave". Certainly the consequences would be extremely grave for an order which is its totalitarian involution has reduced Marxism to a hash that is heavy but implemental, forced and therefore fetishistic. On the other hand, the consequences would be profoundly liberating if by Marxism one means the dialectical and libertarian spirit; and if by its directions we availed ourselves of activity for an integral humanism which takes part in the self-development of history.

"To have itself pardoned for its faults", wrote the young Marx, "humanity only has to explain them for what they are."

(4) Only by grasping an awareness of the reality of Stalinism will Communism be able to free itself of Stalinism, repudiating the comfortable but wholly psychological analysis which attributes all responsibility to a "tyrant" and his sadistic complexes, and thus rejects the methodological instruments prepared by the very Marx on whom one lays claim to a monopoly.

" . . . For a time the world has possessed the dream of something which it has only to grasp a consciousness of in order to possess it in reality" (ibid); but the courage is needed to destroy oneself in order to save oneself.

Review by Luciano Verneti in Critica Sociale, Milan, March 20, 1964. (translated by R.K.)

FOOTNOTES:

1—Italics are Dunayevskaya's; page numbers, here and throughout review, refer not to the Italian, but to the original American edition.

2—"Instrument of rule": in Latin in the review.

3—The Deutsche Zeitschrift fur Philosophie, edited in East Berlin. (It is out-lined in detail by Nicolai Merke in Societa, vol. xii, No. 5—L.V.)

4—Karl Marx, A Letter of 1843 and other youthful writings, Rome, Rinascita, 1954, p. 41.

Jail Torture by S. African Police

Washington Bongoo, a leading member of the banned ANC, was sentenced to death when found guilty of six of 13 counts of sabotage, and also found guilty of being a member of the regional committee of the ANC in East London, soliciting money for it and taking an active part in the affairs of the organization.

A case of assault on Washington Bongoo was reported in the S. African weekly Spark on March 14, 1963. At that time he was arrested and taken to the police station where he was handcuffed and hung up against a wall. Then he was assaulted with sjamboks, etc., until he became unconscious. When he recovered they again trampled and kicked him, although blood was coming from his ears.

Police Guild Aids Birchers

Philadelphia, Pa. — The story of two cells of the John Birch Society functioning inside the Philadelphia Police Department finally broke into the bourgeois daily press on Nov. 11. The first account of the better than two-year-long infiltration of the Philadelphia police by the Birch Society appeared in News & Letters, Aug. - Sept. issue.

Philadelphia mayor, James Tate, in his first statement on the issue compared the Birch Society to the Nazi and Communist movements and said that policemen who were Birchers would be given only "limited duties" in the police department. However, this was never carried out. A week after Tate's statement, the Birch-policemen were still on regular duty. The mayor's office was not yet sure that membership in the Society would be detrimental to performance of police work. The mayor's office did not know if the organization is "subversive".

FOP-BIRCH COLLABORATION

What pressures had arisen to force the mayor's retreat to a softer stand? The Fraternal Order of Police, a policeman's guild, rushed to the defense of the Birch Society. John Harrington, who has closely collaborated with the Birch Society ever since he became FOP president more than two years ago, said that he had been to the FBI who told him that there was nothing wrong with the Society "as far as we know."

Chapters of the Birch Society have held meetings in Catholic Churches. It is possible that support for the Society against the mayor's original stand also came from that source.

The American Civil Liberties Union has also supported the

right of policemen to belong to the Birch Society, although it had itself been the focus of bitter attacks from the FOP-Birch Society coalition for its support of the Police Advisory Board which handles complaints of police brutality.

HOW MANY BIRCHITE POLICE?

Besides the question of why Mayor Tate backed down, another question is up in the air: How many Philadelphia policemen are members of the Society? Mayor Tate said he knew of fourteen or fifteen. John Rousselot, national press agent for the Birch Society, who came into town to fight to keep the Birch foothold on the police force, said the number of Philadelphia police in the Society was in the 20s. But it is probable that there are many more than that, maybe more than 100. Even if the number of members is not so high, it is certain that the Philadelphia FOP is within the political orbit of the Birch Society.

If the Negro masses of the city do not act—for it now seems that they are the only ones who can make Mayor Tate take strong action—it looks like the Birch Society will become more open and more arrogant in this city and that their position in the Police Department will be more secure. Certainly, the liberal and Negro groups in the city are not as yet undertaking any strong protest action, although a few groups have taken strong stands.

A Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany who grew up in Vienna in the Twenties and Thirties, said this: "All the same lies as in Germany . . . It's nothing new to me. I've been through it all . . . They (the Nazis) always went to law in Germany when they were on the bottom and then when they were on top they abolished the law, they made their own law."

Campaign Focuses on South Africa's Naked Barbarism

Physical torture, solitary confinement, and interrogation under appalling conditions are the common lot of South Africa's political prisoners. Three prisoners have committed suicide within the last year, others have attempted it. Some prisoners are pregnant, some are teenagers — these receive no special treatment.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is organizing a campaign to focus attention on the prisoners, many of whom spend successive periods of 90 days in black painted cells with only one-hour's exercise a day and only the Bible to read, waiting for a charge that is never brought.

Non-white prisoners increasingly find themselves being electrically shocked and beaten up during questioning. Other prisoners, white and non-white, stand endless hours in a small chalked square answering questions from relay teams of Special Branch men. When they fall over, they are quickly revived. These methods of interrogation together with solitary confinement, are in themselves forms of mental torture.

Anti-Apartheid's campaign publicises widely case histories

of those who have committed suicide, or have died while in jail, or who have been able to describe their torture.

WOMEN RESIST

It focuses attention particularly on the role that women are increasingly playing in resisting the government, how their detention, often only because they are the wives of detained men, can leave children homeless and uncared for over unspecified periods.

The campaign spotlights the concerted attacks on trade unionists with particular emphasis on the case of V. Mini, W. Khayingo and Z. Mkaba, three members of the banned African National Congress, and prominent trade union men in Port Elizabeth, whose lives at the time we produce this paper, depend on the use of his prerogative of mercy by the South African President. Other trade union members have been banned, suffered house arrest or been detained under the 90-day Act.

Attention is being drawn to the numerous cases of students and academics who are detained in South Africa.

The campaign started on Oct. 31 with a poster-parade/vigil outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square.

"The first edition of Marxism and Freedom went to press as Sputnik No. 1 went into orbit. That same year, 1957, the Little Rock riots shared headlines with the scientific phenomenon. In 1962, two different events were again held in unison in men's consciousness. This time James Meredith's courageous entry into the University of Mississippi took the lustre out of Walter Schirra's spectacular six-orbital entry into space. An age in which 'a little thing' like school desegregation, can hold in tow such scientific milestones is an age in which men's consciousness is preoccupied, not with scientific conquest, but with human freedom."

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Tricks Fail; Reutherites Defeated

(Continued from Page 1)

against the old workers, and refusing to discuss this problem with the union.

The key issue in all the shops, however, is speedup.

At Chrysler, the speed-up reached the point where 50% of what was produced was scrap and repairs. They did not even have enough room to store all the repairs, but the pace continued. Finally, several weeks ago, some top quality control men came in and threatened to remove the job from the plant. The blame was put on the workers first, then on the foremen and superintendent, and finally on the time study—where it really belongs because they set the production. The day after the top-quality men left, signs went up all over the shop: "Customers Demand Quality; If They Cannot Get It Here, They Will Look Elsewhere." Before the company could get them all pasted up, workers were writing on them, "Where else can customers look? G.M. and Ford are just like you." Others wrote, "Quantity is all you want, not Quality."

For a short while after the top quality men were there, they reduced the speed of the line and the heat on the workers' welding machines. The jobs began to improve, and workers began to feel like human beings for the first time in years. But they have now increased the speed of the line once more, and the scrap and repairs are coming at the same rate again.

The company cannot schedule their production because of so much scrap. They have overcrowded all available floor space with the repairs, and they have to send part of the work force home at the end of eight hours and keep other workers ten and twelve hours trying to repair the jobs on the floor so they can have empty space to put more repairs the next day.

Rush to Save British Pound Cannot Solve A Deeper Crisis

Glasgow, Scotland — Let us have no illusions as to why the banks of eleven countries ran to the rescue of the pound. They did not come in to save Britain, but they were greatly concerned because of the important part sterling plays in world trade. The countries involved will continue to struggle for a greater share of the world market against each other, and against Britain. Trade rivalry will become tougher than ever before, bringing with it the greatest test ever faced by the world working class movement.

The Labour Government, having undertaken the task of running capitalism better than the Tories, was compelled to put round the hat when the new bank rate failed to stop the run on the pound. The Tories would have done the same.

The squabble between the two main parties in Parliament about which of them is to blame is irrelevant and meaningless in this situation. British capitalism will go from one crisis to another regardless of who lives at 10 Downing Street. In fact, the crisis that drove Britain to the money-lenders is still very much with us.

WAR COMMITMENTS

Cabinet Ministers keep referring to the mess they inherited from the Tories but find no fault with the foreign policy they inherited. Of course, much of it was inherited by the Tories from their predecessors in office. This is true of N.A.T.O. and the atom bomb. It is clear that Britain's military commitments will not be repudiated.

Could anything be more fantastic than the fact that, despite her difficulties, Britain is committed to the defence of Malaysia if the war between that country and Indonesia becomes very serious? Britain has promised that she will raise her army in Germany from 51,000 to 55,000. Expenditure on military preparations amounts to £2000 mill. a year.

Economics are possible here and there, but unless she changes her whole military policy Britain's military expenditure will remain very high. No social progress is possible in any country where such a high proportion of income is spent on preparations for war. This expenditure, and the policy it represents, should be repudiated by the entire Labour movement. The workers should sacrifice nothing either in

the economic war or the preparations for military warfare.

WILSON HAS A PLAN

There is nothing new or original about the ideas of Harold Wilson. Douglas-Home had the same ideas, but Mr. Wilson thinks that the workers will be more submissive under a Labour Government. His aim is to bring about a great expansion of industry working on a basis that will enable Britain to defeat her rivals. Industrial expansion is dependent on the production of surplus value and that means keeping the workers at work.

Mr. Wilson would have us think of nothing but production. He hopes by an income policy to curb the price of labour power. He wants to stamp out strikes that are not approved by the trade union bureaucracy. He wants the trade unions to become subordinate to the production aims of the Government and the employers.

It is not enough that the workers are dominated by the products of their own labour; the very organisations they set up for their own protection are to become additional instruments of enslavement. This must not be permitted. Let us fight like hell against those who support such a move.

A WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE

The happenings of recent weeks must have killed the illusion that there is a purely British solution to the problems presented by the present social order. The rush to the world bankers makes nonsense of the time and energy spent in opposing Britain's entry into the Common Market. The lesson for us is in the fact that the workers of other countries are in the same position as ourselves. The leaders of the Labour movement are not interested in the unity of the workers on a world scale. They are too busy looking after their own personal careers.

Ignoring history, and shutting their eyes to what is happening in the world, they believe that capitalism will last for ever. They under-rate the workers. It is not possible for them to see that the never-ending drive throughout the world for production is hastening the doom of the system that has been so good for THEM. The workers of the world must and will free themselves from the bondage of capitalism.

The Labour Government is not out of the wood. Even if it gets out, its troubles are only starting. There is a limit to the problems that can be solved by legislation. Parliament is tied up with capitalism. The new social order will be ushered in by the masses.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

The Congolese Were the Ones Massacred

In the midst of negotiations for the release of a number of white hostages held by the government in Stanleyville, the city was invaded by Belgian paratroopers, flown from British soil by exile-Cuban flyers in American-supplied planes. The resulting loss of human life has aroused public opinion throughout the world against this naked intervention in the affairs of the Congo.

The American press gave reams of publicity to the white hostages that were killed by the government that was forced to flee the military intervention, but had little to say about the thousands of Congolese men, women and children that were shot down on the streets by Tshombe's hired killers and the Belgian paratroopers.

Ed Van Kan reports from Stanleyville, "The Belgians, rifles at the ready, stopped an African riding a bicycle through a dusty side street, a bunch of bananas balanced on his head. Are you a Mule-

ist? the soldiers demanded. 'No,' the African replied. 'You're lying,' one of the Belgians said, and shot him dead.' He further reports, 'I've seen a lot of bodies, an awful lot of bodies. There is no time to count them, or desire in that atmosphere.'

Are black lives less valuable than white lives? Under Belgian rule more than eight million Africans lost their lives without any intervention from the United States or Great Britain.

Charles P. Howard, U.N. correspondent reports, "Against our fighter planes, our modern rifles, our machine guns, our mortar fire, our napalm bombs, our helicopters, these poor beleaguered Africans are fighting back with bows and arrows, spears, knives and a bit of captured ammunition and guns that they do not know how to use.

"To give some idea of the unevenness of the contest, I quote the white mercenaries fighting in the Congo, 'mass murder,—

a coconut shoot—a rabbit hunt.'"

Lloyd Garrison writes in the New York Times, "The Belgian paratroopers have come and gone, leaving the rebel capital of Stanleyville to 1,000 Congolese troops and mercenaries who stalk through the communes looting and shooting. There seems to be no end of the killing; any African man or woman was considered a rebel and shot on sight."

The leader of Tshombe's forces flew back to report that the opposition to the Tshombe regime is so strong in the rebel area that he cannot possibly hold the territory.

The Organization of African Unity, which is composed of most of the newly independent African countries, has set up The Congo Conciliation Commission to help end the fighting in the Congo and to restore democracy. The last election held in the Congo, elected Patrice Lumumba, who was murdered by Tshombe. There has not been a nationwide election since.

BRAZIL

The military dictatorship in Brazil continues to use force against its opposition. Last month four deputies of the State of Caera were arrested by the Army. When President Castello Branco protested, he was overruled by the legislature which revoked their legislative immunity.

Thus encouraged, the military arrested the Mayor of Niteroi and charged the president of Brazil's Senate and Chamber of Deputies with graft and corruption; 6,000 federal troops poured into Goiania, took over all communications, arrested the governor of the state of Goias and over 200 alleged "leftists."

FRENCH ATOMIC TESTS

It is known that France, which, along with Red China, has not signed the nuclear test ban treaty, is planning tests of its dirty nuclear bombs on Mururoa atoll, 775 miles southeast of Tahiti, early next year. But, because France, under dictator DeGaulle, is such a sensitive partner of what has become known as "the West," the alleged democracies choose to look the other way, rather than create a stench that might offend his large nostril.

Thus, when last August, a French jet tanker requested permission to land in the U.S. to refuel on its way to Tahiti with a load of "naval stores," the U.S. State Dept. granted the French permission. (Naval stores is interpreted as anything from hemp rope, turpentine, bombs, etc.) The question is, how far can the U.S. State Dept. go in its policy of appeasing DeGaulle and assisting him in his atomic tests without violating the test ban treaty?

The treaty states that the signatories shall "refrain from causing, encouraging or in any way participating in carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion in the atmosphere, under water or in outer space." The language is quite clear. U.S. intentions are not as clear.

VIET NAM

The people of Vietnam have been at war for 18 years, eight of them under the French and 10 years under American auspices. The war has cost American taxpayers seven billion dollars and the solution of the problem seems further away now than at any time during the past 18 years.

The appointed civilian government is in deep trouble with the Buddhist majority in the country, who demand the resignation of the Huong government. General Khanh, who appointed the civilians, refuses to back the demands of Buddhist leader, Thick Tam Chau, to replace the government.

Over the past few weeks, hundreds of students have been brutally beaten and jailed by the regime for demonstrating against its ineffectiveness.

Whatever government exists in South Vietnam, exists in pockets entirely surrounded by the Viet Cong, who strike at will within 20 miles of the capital, Saigon.

In the United States, public opinion polls show that as high as 67% of Americans think the U.S. is doing a bad job there.

General Taylor has just returned from the area with his recommendations to Washington which seem to be, train the Vietnamese to fly U.S. planes on bombing missions over North Vietnam. To that threat Russia has declared that if North Vietnam is bombed, Russia will help them out with a few bombs of her own. And so it goes.

It is obvious that the people of the country hate this senseless war and avoid it whenever they can. Isn't it time that all those who have profited most from the \$7 billion wasted there and all foreigners, especially the USA, get out? How about letting the Vietnamese decide their own destiny. Everything else has been tried and failed.

LABOR UNREST

For the first time in many years the top leadership of several major trade unions are fighting to hold their jobs. James B. Carey is fighting to hold the top job in the International Union of Electrical Workers. David J. McDonald is opposed for President of the United Steelworkers by a big bloc of votes that might well see him thrown out. In the steelworkers Union, the lack of job opportunities for Negroes plays a large part in the opposition movement.

In the United Mine Workers, W. A. Boyle, who inherited the top job from Thomas Kennedy, who died last year, was opposed by Steve Kochis, a 51-year-old Bobtown, Penna., miner.

The U. S. Labor Dept., acting under the Landrum Griffin Act, is also after Boyle for lack of democracy within the U.M.W. Out of 26 Districts in the U.M.W., only six elect their own officers, the rest are appointed by the Boyle gang.

The evidence of widespread discontent within the ranks of union membership in all the major unions can be attributed to the failure of the union leadership to perform their primary function, bargaining for and protecting the rights of union members in the shop. In most unions, Negroes are permitted to pay dues but are denied the opportunity of upgrading to better paying jobs. In some of the building trades they are even denied membership.

Issues within the unions today are not primarily wages, but working conditions. The recent strikes at General Motors and Ford had at their root conditions of labor on the job, local grievances, etc. The workers feel that the top leadership is far away in plush offices when these grievances are being thrashed out in the shops. The only way, they feel, of getting at the top leadership is to replace it.