

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Speed-up Is On; All Retire Who Can

The 1966 model car production is on at full speed, and the intimidation by the company of the workers gets worse as these model changes occur—and that is every year. There are some foremen called trouble shooters. Their jobs are to force workers to get out more production than a regular foreman.

These trouble shooters are the tough guys always looking for a chance to fire a worker, are supposed to be mean as beasts, carry a look on their faces as though they hate their mothers, and are very seldom seen talking to a worker as if he is a human being.

On one job where a man was working on the last model, the company raised production. After several months, the production was met. Then this pusher (another name for the trouble shooters) came into the department and set production still higher. It was impossible to get the production, but it gave the pusher and the regular foreman the chance to keep breathing down a worker's neck.

You can't get away from that line for a minute, either. You start working after you punch in in the morning as soon as that whistle blows, and you keep on working until it blows again for lunch. In the afternoon, it's the same thing. Every minute you're tied down to that job.

There are no relief men in the shop any more, and if you have to go to the rest room you have to prove it is desperate, and even then you cannot leave until they bring a worker to replace you—and sometimes that is as long as 15-20 minutes.

#### PUSHER CURSES WORKER

One worker had to go about 10 minutes before the whistle blew for lunch, and the foreman had someone to take his place. So the worker left. Only then the pusher began to curse and threaten him. The angry worker cursed him right back, and was called into the super's office and fired. The steward and committeeman got him reinstated with a week off without pay, and feel like they have really done something.

But the men feel quite different. They are yelling that the shop is the same as Hayneville, Ala., when it comes to a worker's grievance. Any foreman's word is law regardless of how justified a worker might be in fighting against being abused.

The plant is a place of misery. Every worker wants out. Many say they would get out today if there was any other way to exist.

And since the early retirement plan has been worked out, where you can retire after 50 years of age, many are leaving. Last month 90 workers retired under the agreement, although their retirement benefits are far less than they were told by the union leaders when the contract was ratified. Even though they would be getting less than they were led to believe, they wanted out anyway.

It was sad in a sense to shake hands with workers that you have worked with side by side for 15 or 20 years, knowing that you won't see them again. But it was also somewhat joyful to see the happy expressions on their faces, to hear them saying they would never be bothered by this damn place again, and to hell with the pushers.

#### ONE RETIREE'S LAST DAY

One of these retirees spent most of his last day with workers he had previously worked with. He came in all dressed up, and no one recognized him at first. Even the foreman was fooled. They thought he was a company official, and the foreman was running around trying to show how much he was working, and also trying to push the men.

When the workers finally recognized him, a big whoop went up and they all laughed and joked about the mistake. How much of a mistake it was came out in another way too.

The plant superintendent heard about him being there and sent his assistant over to get him to go into the super's office to have a picture taken with the super to be used in the company's paper.

#### "TELL SUPER GO TO HELL"

The retiree told the super's assistant to tell the superintendent to go to hell; that he had spent most of his life in this damn plant; that the company had never shown him any courtesy as a human being; that he had worked under many superintendents, but that the present one was the worst pusher he had ever worked for; and that he'd rather be caught dead than be in a picture with the super.

When the super's assistant tried to trick him into going to the office by saying there was something in the office that he was supposed to have, the retiree really let him have it. He told him in a loud voice that he had come into the plant that day knowing that he would finally be free of this damn place; that he came to spend it with his friends that he had worked with for many years; that he was not going to the office; and if they had anything that he was supposed to have, they have his address and they could mail it to him.

The workers all laughed and went over to hug him.

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## Editorial Article

# REVOLT IN INDONESIA: WHAT NEXT IN ASIA?

By Raya Dunayevskaya

So anxious was the English press to present the Oct. 1 Army counter-coup in Indonesia not only as an anti-Communist victory, but a victory for "the West" that the staid London Times hurried to declare that President Sukarno had "ceased to be a factor in the Indonesian political scene." This, despite the fact that both Lieutenant Colonel Untung, who staged the Sept. 30 coup, as well as General Nasution, who led the counter-coup, felt it necessary to declare themselves "for" President Sukarno. And 48 hours later Sukarno himself broadcast that he was not only "well," but "carrying out leadership of the state and the government."

As for the American press, whose gloating was of a more controlled kind, the New York Herald Tribune, in reporting the action of the Moslem mobs who were burning down the Communist headquarters and shouting "Kill Aidit" (Communist chairman), couldn't resist the temptation to hint darkly about that "discreetly absent leader."

#### 10 FATEFUL DAYS

The simple fact was that Communist China was at that very moment celebrating the 16th anniversary of its coming to power, and Aidit was in Peking getting the red carpet treatment accorded to all fighters against "revisionism." While this does not necessarily absolve the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) of all complicity in the coup, the more important truth is that opportunism is so deeply ingrained in the policies of the PKI over the past decade, and especially so during the past three years as the PKI both sided with Peking in the Sino-Soviet conflict AND became the most enthusiastic adherent of Sukarno's "crush Malaysia" campaign, that all its energies were directed, not to overthrow, but "to integrate into" the Sukarno regime.

Naturally, the biased reports are not the only reason for the difficulty in assessing the bewildering events of the past ten days. Thus, the "September 30th Movement," as the first coup called itself, had never been heard of either before, or after, that single day on which they beheaded six generals and proclaimed the establishment of "revolutionary councils." These failed to materialize. Very obviously, the coup had no mass support. And the Communist paper, Harijan Rajkat, that first proclaimed the coup "a patriotic and revolutionary action," later called it "an internal affair of the Army." This did not save it from being closed down by the counter-coup of the regular army.

Thus, although President Sukarno called for "no revenge, no reprisals against Communists," Djakarta Radio, now back in the hands of the government, or rather the Army, carried on an endless series of broadcasts calling for the banning of the PKI; looked the other way as its headquarters and the home of Aidit were burned to the ground; and proceeded to arrest Communist leaders that were allegedly implicated in the coup. Nor did the Army stop there. It also rounded up "other leftists." A total of 1,000 were jailed.

In view of the fact that the Socialist Party had long been banned, and just this month Sukarno with the enthusiastic approval of the PKI, had also banned the Murba (Proletarian) Party of Marxists who opposed the official Communist and Sukarno di-

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SPANISH WORD FOR STRIKE is "huelga," and signs such as this held up at edge of grape fields bring out the workers who are striking for better pay and a union contract.

## Labor, Rights Groups Unite in California Grape Strike

By Bob Solodow

Delano, Calif. — The strike in grapes began about Sept. 11 when a group of Filipinos who had been organized by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) of the AFL-CIO decided to go out on strike. Before they went out they consulted with the Farm Workers' Association (FWA), the other union involved, which is headed by Cesar Chavez.

L. A. CORE has loaned people, myself included, to the FWA on a fulltime basis. The FWA is made up of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes and Anglos. The AWOC has only Filipino members.

#### SET DEMANDS

During the first week of the strike, FWA members remained at work in the grape fields. On the Thursday of the first week, about 1,000 members of the FWA got together and voted unanimously not only to go out on strike in support of the Filipinos, but also to make those same demands for themselves.

The demands are \$1.40 an hour rather than \$1.25 an hour, and 25c a box rather than 10c a box for field packing.

The strike vote was to be effective on Monday, but most of the people made it effective the next day and have not gone to work since. The strike is now over a month old.

We began by striking about 30 growers and packing houses. By now the strike has spread to about 55 growers all through the San Joaquin Valley. This is the only valley in the state that still pays \$1.25 an hour for work; all of the other valleys long ago accepted the suggestion of Secre-

tary of Labor Wirtz to pay \$1.40 an hour.

During the first week of the strike we were able to pull out, in conjunction with AWOC, about 2,500 workers, or about 70 to 80 percent of the work force.

#### STRIKERS NON-VIOLENT

The Farm Workers' Association is dedicated to non-violence, and on our part the strike has re-

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Delano, California

mained completely non-violent. There were two Mexican-Americans arrested for allegedly using vile language.

The growers, on the other hand, have been using all sorts of harassment and intimidation, including running people down with their pick-up trucks, spraying people with sulphur, turning dogs loose, elbowing pickets to the ground and, in one case, pulling a sign away from a

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# Blatant Injustice Paves Way to Abuse Minorities

Baltimore, Md.—Don't be fooled, the event in Hayneville, where Tom Coleman, the murderer of civil rights worker Jonathan Daniels, went scot free, is not just a result of Southern "justice"—but the prevalent attitude of this nation's legal system.

The citizens and the power structure of Baltimore do not consider themselves the same ilk as those of the state of Alabama, but in reality they are when it comes to minority groups getting justice. The following four examples are ample proof.

Last fall a Negro woman and several children moved into a low income section that is integrated except for that block. She did not know the status of that block. The only reason she moved there was that her children could all attend the same school. For almost a week hostile mobs, screaming racist remarks and

## Expose Evil, But Don't Punish

Philadelphia, Pa.—A year ago, a Philadelphia paper ran an eight-part expose of the crooked-to-the-core magistrate system of Philadelphia. The magistrates are the lowest level, in more ways than one, of Pennsylvania's system of justice, or injustice as one might better put it.

The magistrates obviously believe that they are here on earth to sell justice to the highest bidder, to extort money from the poor, to get rich on illegally jacked up fees and fines, and to serve as handy instruments of collection and repossession for companies selling on the installment plan.

The poor customarily stand little chance from the magistrates, who are themselves often nearly illiterate.

### LAUNCH PROBE

Newspaper exposure forced Gov. Scranton to begin an official probe of an institution that every half-awake Philadelphian knew was a crooked mess. Scranton appointed a bright young man who had been a counsel to the Warren Commission to head the probe.

The investigation is now over. A report has been issued confirming the worst expectations—and yet offering no surprises. Several magistrates, bail bondsmen, and others have been arrested. All were little fish. Conspicuously absent from the report were the names of prominent politicians who have most certainly also been involved in the corruption of the magistrates' courts. The big fish are being left off the hook.

No long sentences, the chief investigator tells us, should be given to malfearing magistrates. He has come out for a reform or substitution for the Magistrates' courts which has been proposed by the state administration.

### SHOULD BE PROSECUTED

But no reform or new set of laws will really change the system. Full prosecution of the magisterial criminals, however, would go far and would indeed change the system for a long time.

But eventually, the general conditions of capitalistic class society would bring back the old corruptions. Here in Pennsylvania, however, the bourgeois establishment does not even want to take the temporarily curative measure of fully prosecuting the magistrates.

hurling stones, greeted her. She had only two police officers as protection.

Some citizens, becoming aware of the situation, formed a defense guard for her, but the police isolated her. Her father was contacted and the next day went down to complain to City Hall with a delegation of civil rights workers. The Mayor was too busy to see them, but they had an audience with one of the Mayor's flunkies. He said the Governor handled all situations like that.

Recently, a Negro school teacher moved into a similar section. She had a reception, too: KKK branded on her door, bullet States Rights Party. The police claimed that they did not know Maryland branch of the National holes in the windows, and hate literature distributed by the who was responsible for the literature, and that the bullet holes were not threatening because they were there before she moved in.

Two members of the Maryland section of the American Nazi Party, the Fighting American Nationalists, accosted peace demonstrators last summer. One of them approached a Jewish girl in the last stages of her pregnancy with a hatchet. He backed away when her husband attempted to snap his picture. A police officer arrived on the scene and took his address, but it was almost three months before he was arrested.

At the trial, when the judge inquired why he was not arrested sooner, they said that he had given the wrong address. Nevertheless, no charge of false information was made against him. Although he was finally found guilty, he was simply put on probation without verdict—which means that he does not possess a criminal record.

A Greek Jew, who was a member of the Resistance and later a Nazi prisoner, was beaten last fall by two other members of the same neo-Nazi group. Their trial has just come up. One was found guilty but given only six months, even though he has a previous assault record. The case against the other Nazis was dropped because of "insufficient evidence."

—Mike Walters

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct. O. Sufritz.

# Bogalusa: the Terror and the Rewards

## PART II

Bogalusa, La. — This is a community that has a long and harsh tradition of racial discrimination. Tradition includes a set of arbitrary and senseless rules of local custom, enforced by violence if necessary. At some eating places Negroes may not be served at all; at a drive-in they may be served at the window but not at the curb; and, more recently, they may be served standing at a counter from which the seats have been removed. Some restaurants, which are actually under court order to serve Negroes in the same manner as they do whites, are still refusing to comply.

For this reason, local Negroes, with the assistance of both Negro and white civil rights workers, this summer began another attempt to better the situation.

Preparations included a briefing in non-violent behavior—how to protect oneself against attack without showing any hostility toward your attacker. Would-be volunteers were warned against ordering any hot liquids, such as coffee or soup, as experience had shown that they were extremely susceptible to being spilled, which might lead to a painful burn for the prospective diner. Since the food was most likely to be prepared by Negro cooks, consuming it was not considered especially risky, although we were advised that it was prudent to look inside your sandwich before biting into it.

I was one of a group of six volunteers who set out one morning to test compliance with the law at some of the public

eating places in Bogalusa. We traveled in two cars, with our CORE photographer driving one and a local man the other. State Troopers followed us for the purpose of seeing to our safe conduct while en route, and a number of newsmen were in evidence.

### KLAN HANGOUT FIRST TARGET

The first stop on our itinerary was the Virginia Inn, which was reputed to be a Klan hangout. From our experience there, we had no reason to doubt this. A hostile waitress greeted us with the information that "You-all wouldn't be in here if it wasn't for them," indicating the troopers outside. She managed to wait on us in spite of her evident consternation, although the service left much to be desired. She refused to serve water to one of our group when requested, saying she didn't have any, but we saw some on another table. The food, however, was good.

As we walked to our cars, the troopers were arresting a local white man and leading him away. He had parked by the car of the local driver with our group and threatened him with a gun. Then he threatened our CORE photographer. He was free again the next day.

Our second stop was The Round Table, a dining room on the main street of the business district. It is said to be a very nice place. I wouldn't know. We didn't get inside. A woman who was waiting for us inside opened the door and held her arm across the doorway, refusing to let any of our group enter. As I approached I heard only her words, "I refuse . . ." We turned and went back to our cars.

The three Negro cooks who are employed at The Round Table had told local civil rights

workers that they would quit their jobs if we were refused service. They didn't know what was happening outside at the time, but as soon as they found out, later that same day, they did quit. One of them was present at the rally that night to tell about it.

The following day another volunteer group attempted to eat at The Round Table. When they were refused entrance, they sat down in front of the door for an hour. Nothing happened except that the same man who had threatened our driver the day before attempted to attack them. Then they went on to another place where they got in and sat down, but an hour later they still had not been served.

### DROP PICNIC PLAN

At one time a picnic for the local Negro people was planned to be held in a city park. This was to be mostly for the enjoyment of the children, but the idea was abandoned when it was decided that it would likely lead to shooting, and would be too dangerous for the children.

I can well imagine the surprise of everyone involved when they found their local schools being integrated only a few weeks later.

Many startling events occur in the South that you will never read in your local paper if you live outside the immediate area, and especially if you live in the North. If you can go to your local library and read the New Orleans Times-Picayune, you will read of some of the things I have been telling you about. Otherwise you will most probably remain a victim of the conspiracy which is sometimes called "the Southern News blackout." The best way to circumvent this is to subscribe to a paper which makes a constant effort to inform its readers of important events that more commonly go unreported in the national press.

## 'Plan' Hits at British Workers

Glasgow, Scotland — Well, they have a "plan." The papers here are full of it. Much of it is wishful thinking, but it lays the basis for toughness against the workers.

A few days ago, Ray Gunter, Minister of Labour, wrote to the Confederation of Engineering at Shipbuilding Trade Unions, meeting at York, proposing that "trouble-makers" be driven out of the motor car industry. He suggested that they be found work in other industries. He wanted the unions to do this.

George Brown, Economics Minister, introducing his plan, kept hammering at "restrictive practices". More married women and older people are to be found jobs. Employers will introduce more machinery and the workers will produce more. Yes, it is a blunt as that. The employers and trade union leaders ("both sides of industry") are reported as supporting the plan.

So we go forward for 25 percent increase in production by 1970. Every pound of income will be worth one pound-four shillings. It is "National Socialism" without a Hitler. No need to suppress the trade unions since the leaders are easily bribed or bullied.

It is, of course, an election programme: "Labour stands for the Nation." There will be much ballyhoo at the Labour Party conference next month. This plan will be confused with Socialism. We have a job in front of us. I hope we can do it.

Britain's trade rivals, meanwhile, are just standing idly by, waiting on Britain to catch up.

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# 11,500 Striking Miners Return to Work; Await Decision on Six Fired Officials

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — At a mass meeting of over 500 coal miners in Clarksville, Pa., on Sunday, Oct. 10, miners who had been on a wildcat strike since Sept. 7 decided to go to work, but adopted a wait-and-see attitude about the outcome of a case involving six discharged union officials.

The strike started at the Hanna Coal Co.'s mine in Moundsville, W. Va., when six union officials were fired for participating in a wildcat strike against foremen doing contract work that miners are supposed to perform. Miners at this mine, as in mines everywhere, had a long list of grievances against management, and this clear contract violation by the company simply provided a clear issue for the men to demonstrate their anger.

## STRIKE SPREADS

When the six union officials were fired, the miners at the Hanna mine moved into action. Because miners have the strongest union traditions of any workers in the country, when roving pickets from the Hanna mine appeared at other mines, the miners came out in a sympathy strike.

The wildcat spread in West Virginia, then moved into Ohio and Pennsylvania. Within two weeks some 11,500 coal miners were out on strike.

Union officials from the tri-state area went to Washington, D.C., to the United Mine Workers union headquarters to request UMW President Tony Boyle to intercede. Boyle refused, told the officers they were out on an unauthorized wildcat strike and ordered them to go back to work. Local unions held special meet-

ings on returning to work, but even in the few locals that voted to go back to work, when pickets appeared, the men refused to work. The strike continued.

Finally, after the six discharged miners were given assurances by the mine management and the UMW District officials that their case would be given "every consideration," five of them signed a statement requesting the striking miners to return to work to allow the grievance machinery to take its course. The company had refused to negotiate with the union while the miners were on strike.

The mass meeting at Clarksville was held to listen to the discharged workers, and to decide on the course of action to follow. They agreed to return to work and await the outcome of the case, but there seemed to be little question in the minds of the miners at the meeting: if the fired men were not rehired, roving pickets could again be expected to be traveling the roads.

## Lowndes County Groups Need Aid

# Big Barbecue Raises Funds

Detroit, Mich. — While I was in Lowndes County recently, I attended quite a few of the mass meetings, and words cannot express the feeling one gets by being a part of them. You can see for yourself what they are doing to get their freedom, my freedom, and the free-

dom of everyone who is living in the South or may someday go there.

Jonathan Daniels, the white minister and SNCC worker, who was murdered in Hayneville last month, had dinner with my mother the day before he was arrested. Some are saying that he gave his life to save the Negro woman he pushed to the ground, and his friend was gunned down trying to save the life of the other Negro woman.

## DETROITERS HELP

The people in Lowndes County do need our help. Knowing what I did after I visited there in person, as soon as I returned a date was set for a Barbecue Dinner Party to raise what money we could to send to them at once.

The committee for the dinner decided that each of us would

## 'Killing Daniels Won't Stop Us'

Hayneville, Ala. — Jonathan Daniels death was no surprise. We had been expecting death to come by the hundreds, not just by the ones and twos. We cannot help feeling that if they knew that killing Daniels wouldn't stop us, they would not have killed him. If they had known that his death just made us stronger in our determination, he might still be with us.

On Sunday night there isn't a church in the county that can hold the people who come to our mass meetings. The people who come have to have a lot of courage. But they need other kinds of support, too.

## A LIFE FOR \$25

When John Daniels and the other 30 civil rights workers were arrested in Lowndes County, we tried to get them out on bail, and went all around to borrow whatever money we could. We were lacking \$25 of enough to bail them all out.

I cannot help but think that if we had had enough, John Daniels would be alive today, because we would have been there to pick them up when they got out of jail. As it was, when they WERE released, nobody was there to meet them, and that was when they were gunned down at the grocery store.

It is terrible to think that a human life went for \$25.

## EVERY CENT COUNTS

The money that is being sent down to us from the North is used penny by penny, and nickel by nickel. Not a cent is ever wasted. It is put to the wisest use after very careful decision about what is needed most.

Right now one of the things we are trying to get is a set of two-way radios for communication with each other across the county. There are no telephones we can use—this is the only way we can keep in touch with each other.

## CORE and Union Join in Victory

New York, N.Y.—A joint CORE and Laundry Workers Union campaign has won a new contract in Houston, Texas, for laundry workers at the Martin Linen Company.

When the Martin Linen Company, which is owned by two New York City based laundries, replaced union strikers—95% of whom are Negroes—with imported Mexican scabs and harassed the pickets with privately hired policemen with police dogs, Russell Crowell, International President of the AFL-CIO Laundry and Dry Cleaning Union, came to CORE's National Director James Farmer.

## CONTACT OWNERS

CORE immediately contacted the New York owners of the Houston laundry and they met with CORE staff representatives. The owners expressed their concern but wanted to wait several days before holding serious discussions.

CORE National Chairman, Durham attorney Floyd B. Mc Kissick told the owners that the CORE chapters in the New York City area were alerted for public demonstrations against the plants of the New York owners unless immediate progress was made.

Negotiation sessions lasted all day Sunday and Monday (Sept. 24 and 25) and produced a satisfactory contract: wage increases ranging from 14c to 65c per hour, reclassification of several job categories, additional paid vacations, paid holidays, union security clauses, and a two year contract.

Upon conclusion of the contract, CORE National Director James Farmer said that "This was the kind of civil rights-union cooperation that made sense—working on down-to-earth issues that directly affect the daily lives of Negroes."

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## On the Line

# Careless Union Officers Lose Workers' Grievance

By John Allison

Because of carelessness on the part of the local union officers at Chrysler's Highland Park plant, five men lost three day's pay. The men in the shop, and particularly the five men who lost the pay, are angry about the lost pay, but are even more concerned about the carelessness on the part of the officials that permitted the company to get away with it.

## Only Skilled Gain in Steel Contract

Pittsburgh, Pa. — Many of the steelworkers that I have talked with seem to have a very mixed feeling about the new steel contract. They say that the contract seems to favor the crafts and in a very little way, the people that are going on pension.

In our plant, the crafts only entail about seven or eight percent of the working force. And since the company farms out a lot of the craft work, craft workers will always be a very small force here.

Most men who are eligible for a pension with the 30 year service can't afford to take it because of their high overhead—such as a home, car and food. Some have children who are still in school. This is a big stick in the company's hand, too, because they can force you to retire. If the company sees fit to let you go for any reason, you have to go.

I would say that Steel has taken the road that Coal has already gone a few years back. Where there is a growing city today, tomorrow there will be a ghost town. The coal mines and the steel mills will still be working but with a handful of people.

We at Homestead have just begun to feel the impact of the contract and it's not good.

## Watts Opens Jobs For White Women

Los Angeles, Calif. — In this Chrysler plant we didn't get an immediate reaction to Watts. Several Negroes have been hired in the last two weeks, not many, but some. In general they have been hiring more people, and a few Negroes have been included.

They paraded the first Negro they hired over the whole plant. When they paraded this man around, one Negro worker said, "Look at what Watts has done, it got another one of us in."

## ONLY LABOR JOBS

The Negroes are only being hired in labor jobs. They are not seriously involved in any management in the plant. In the last two or three weeks many new people have been hired; it may be due to the accelerated war effort.

Something else seems related to Watts, however. Ten women have been hired—all white. It has been a long time since this plant hired any women. Many of the women are friends or relatives of people in the plant.

I can't say for sure, but it seems that when the company started hiring a few Negroes, there was pressure put on to the effect: "You are hiring Negroes, why can't you hire my sister, or friend, etc."

The women are not paid as much as the men in the sense that they will not be upgraded. But they cannot work overtime, must have two break periods a day, and a thirty minute lunch period (the men have only 25 minutes for lunch and no breaks). Yet it seems they would rather hire women though they can't work them as long, than hire Negroes.

According to the agreement between the union and management, any temporary adjustment of the work force has to be done according to seniority. That is, during such periods as the recent taking of inventory, a part of the work force is laid off for a few days, and whatever jobs are available then are supposed to be done according to seniority.

## A SURE CASE

Only the company didn't choose to honor the agreement. Instead, they had five men with less seniority than other workers doing inventory work for three days. The case was clear cut, and the top five seniority workers should have been sure of getting paid for the work they were supposed to have done in the first place.

The chief steward wrote up the grievance, and the grievance started to move up in the procedure, since the foreman refused to admit that the company had been wrong. The thing about the procedure is that if it is not settled on one level, it must be appealed by the union representative to a higher level. And the steward appealed the grievance to the committeeman level.

It wasn't settled there, either, and moved on to labor relations, and from there to the local officers and plant management. The next step, if it isn't settled, is the appealing of the grievance to the International union. Only the union officers forgot to appeal it to the next step. It was plain and simple carelessness, and lost the case, because the grievance is considered settled on the last answer, and the company had said "no" to paying the men.

Now the workers know that the handling of grievances is a serious business, and they want serious people handling them. This is what disturbs them more than just the lost pay for the men who were entitled to it.

## TRY TO COVER UP

The men are talking about the union taking the responsibility for losing the case and paying the men out of the union treasury. The union bureaucrats don't like this, and are now trying to cover up their own mistake by saying it was doubtful if they could have won the case. The fact is the case would have been won if they had done their job of representing the men properly.

These bureaucrats have been around the company officers so long that they are starting to think like them, only they can't get away with the same things the company can. The company can do something wrong and try to keep it up until a worker starts raising hell with them. Then the company, when put on the spot, can say it was something that was overlooked, and clear the situation up and nothing more has to be done about it.

But if the union makes a mistake, it costs the men, and the union officers just can't act the same way as the company without hurting somebody. The men know the plant is moving, but they're not about to let the union officers give the union over to the company if they have anything to say about it. And they have plenty more to say.

## Editorial

## Thousands Protest Vietnam War

Thousands, tens of thousands, in the United States and throughout the world, have demonstrated, this Oct. 15th and 16th, demanding an end to the war in Vietnam. As we go to press here are some of the letters we have received, which are typical of the way the marchers felt.

**From New York:** "Compared to the 15,000 to 20,000 marchers, and especially to the long lines of sympathetic on-lookers, 3 to 4 deep along both sides of Fifth Ave., the little knots of hecklers were nothing. But the news media, TV especially, gave equal emphasis to these 'counterpickets' at the anti-war march here, and completely distorted the truth.

"We didn't hit anything but applause and cheers, in fact, from the beginning at 94th St. until we hit 84th St., directly opposite the Yorkville section where the Nazi Bund has always had a stronghold. The Nazis yelled their usual: 'Red'—but interspersed this with anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, and anti-Puerto Rican curses. There seemed to be three small organized groups of hecklers: the actual Nazis (who wore insignias and pins); the Buckleyites; and the YAFniks.

"The steps of the Art Museum were filled with sympathizers, and even in the ritzy section, people leaned out of windows and waved us on. We filled the whole street for a length of 20 full blocks until we reached 68th St. About 1,000 students from Columbia and CCNY had started at 11:30 a.m. and marched from Columbia through Harlem to hook up with the main parade later. Most of the CORE people and all of the News & Letters people marched with various trade union groups who participated. It was a tremendous feeling to be part of it."

**From Los Angeles:** "There were several protest marches in the L.A. area. About 1,500 to 2,000 people marched down Hollywood Blvd. at night. At the same time that a pro-administration rally at UCLA was going on where only 200 showed up, James Farmer was speaking on civil rights. Over 2,000 came to hear him. Farmer had spoken twice before and drawn only about 200. This time the place was packed. Maybe Watts had something to do with it."

**From Berkeley:** "We had a very big demonstration here, more than 10,000. I was a monitor and up near the front for a good part of the march, including the point when contact, or near contact, was made with the Oakland cops. . . . It was wise not to march right up to the cops as undoubtedly violence would have ensued, which some felt the cops wanted. But, had it been possible, I think the best move, instead of curving back to Berkeley, would have been to sit down in the street and refuse to move until we were allowed to march. . . . The march was predominantly students, through a large number of people from the community joined, including a very small number of working class people, black and white. Just seeing the big wedge of gestapo-type cops was a minor radicalizing experience."

## JOHNSON AND MAO

The devastation of tiny Vietnam by foreign forces has now reached a new stage. Since the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam began in February, enemy targets have been expanded to include South Vietnam as well. Wholesale bombing and strafing of peasant villages where Vietcong may be "suspected" of hiding has brought the toll of dead Vietnamese during the past two years of undeclared war to well over a quarter of a million.

So routine has the slaughter become that the toll of casualties for each side is now counted as the "kill-ratio" for the week.

Every pious declaration by Lyndon B. Johnson that military means alone will not win the war is followed by a fantastic increase in the explosive devastation poured upon Vietnam by American forces. The number of American troops sent to die in Vietnamese jungles has risen to nightmare strength because the Vietnamese themselves desert rather than fight for a tyrant like Ky, or Diem before him, or all the puppets in between, propped up by Washington against the expressed will of the Vietnamese.

The more Johnson holds out the vulgar lure of American dollars to usher in the "great society" once the fighting ends, the more he reveals what he means by the "great society." Little more separates Johnsonism from hated Goldwaterism than the fact that Goldwater would have bombed Hanoi yesterday whereas Johnson may not bomb it until tomorrow. Today he has already bombed the missile sites 50 miles from Hanoi.

What curbs our own administration's drift to totalitarian control as the prelude to total war and nuclear annihilation is the resistance of the American people expressed through Civil Rights demonstrations, labor strikes, and student protests. It is, therefore, against these, that Johnson has opened his most slanderous attacks.

For his part, meanwhile, Mao, whose vulgarity is on a par with Johnson's, issued a thunderous pronouncement on military doctrine which held that Vietnam was the focus of world-wide revolutionary struggles. His contribution to that struggle typically is to threaten another invasion of India, while he studiously refrains from confronting the American paper tigers in Vietnam. Despite the class unrest throughout the Western world—from the Negro revolt here to an ever-widening eruption of strikes in all the industrialized nations, from the United States to Europe to Japan—Mao claims that "the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in North America and the West European capitalist countries." By considering these industrialized countries as the "cities of the world," he extended his military doctrine of by-passing and encircling the cities (the easier subsequently to strangle the industrial proletariat) to a world-wide strategy.

## AN END TO WAR

As one can see from the events in Indonesia, the truth is that Mao, like Johnson, is losing the all-important battle for the minds of men, but neither the slanders of Johnson against the youth of America, nor Mao's cynicism against the working class, can change the facts of the matter, and the facts of the matter are that the rulers of both countries are struggling for domination over South-east Asia.

Neither is going to win the battle for the minds of men. You cannot brainwash a whole generation, especially one like ours, which has not only lived through world War II, but has not known any peace ever since its end. This is why it will continue to fight not only for the end of the war in Vietnam, but for an end to the plunge into World War III.

## Readers'

## THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE

My next door neighbor has been a nervous wreck since the announced increase in draftees and stepped up war in Viet Nam. Her son is just the ripe age to go to war!

I do not know what she would say about being "for" or "against" the war in Viet Nam, but I do know she does not understand why her son should go there to fight. I do know she does not want him to go there to fight.

I would wager that the majority of American mothers think and feel the same way, and in their own way put the lie to the Administration's claim that the majority of the American people "support" the war in Viet Nam.

Anti-War Mother  
New York

\* \* \*

Our country participated in trying Nazis for "crimes against humanity" and the fact that a German was ordered to perform crimes by his government was not considered an excuse for them.

A "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" surely includes America and Americans in this principle as much as anyone else. . . . There are mixed pronouncements from Vietnam, but it seems fairly certain to me that the burning of villages like Can Me and other places is similar to what Nazis did in Europe.

If American troops are today being ordered to perform crimes against humanity, surely to refuse to commit crimes against humanity deserves not punishment, but acclaim.

Reader  
Florida

\* \* \*

Barry McGuire appeared on a TV program singing his top hit "Eve of Destruction" and the next day, in the shop, the forelady sounded like a wild woman, denouncing him as a Communist. What really got her is that her young teenage son thinks the record is great. She told us how she explained to him that if we don't go over there to fight, they will come over here to fight. Oh well.

The song, however must really hit home. Not only with those of draft age but the younger kids too. Plenty of the mothers in our shop also liked it.

It is a song with a message, and one that can not be misunderstood. "Look at all the hate there is in Red China, then turn around and take a look at Selma, Alabama; you can bury your dead but don't leave a trace or you can hate your next door neighbor but don't forget to say grace." And on and on it goes. It must be the message the kids

go for, besides music, singer, etc.

However at the end of the record I feel lost. This I suspect is my age showing. I do think what is most important is the reaction of kids to a world they did not make—but there doesn't seem to be one shred of hope, or a way out.

Just about the time that "Eve of Destruction" came out I heard another record called "The Universal Soldier" which blames all wars on the "G.I." of every country. I don't agree with this but what surprised me was the rest of the message which said in effect that if the average soldier would not fight there would be no wars.

I heard this song only once and I suspect there was a complete and successful boycott of this record by stations and disc jockeys, whereas the attempted boycott of "Eve of Destruction" was unsuccessful. Both records came out about the time that the draft quota was raised.

Woman Worker  
New York

\* \* \*

In listening to a tape made by a radio station in Watts during the revolt I heard many Negro youth say that they would not go to Vietnam to fight but would stay here and fight in Watts.

When the Negro in the revolt area says he does not want to fight in Vietnam, I believe he is saying that he does not want the Negro movement diverted. Many of the Vietnam Committees, on the other hand, seem to be subordinating the Civil Rights Movement to their activity of trying to get the U.S. out of Vietnam.

Certainly our troops should be withdrawn, but the movement to get them out should be based on the genuine desire not to see the Civil Rights movement diverted to Vietnam, should recognize that neither the United States nor North Vietnam, China or Russia have any real desire to let South Vietnam determine its own fate.

One must be not only against U.S. intervention but for true self determination by the Vietnamese people.

Student  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

The smart boys down in Washington think they have to win the war in Vietnam. Their computers say so. They've got it all worked out with their computers and their trumped up statistics.

The trouble isn't so much with the computers though, it's with the men who believe in them, rather than in other

men—in mankind. And the trouble is the false ideas that these men "program" into the machines. Thinking themselves scientific and realistic, they suffer from the worst sort of arrogance, conceit, delusion, and narrow-mindedness.

Student  
Philadelphia

\* \* \*

How many times are we exposed to the cliché that "two wrongs do not make a right"? Suddenly even this cliché is made to sound positively "communitistic" by journalists like James Reston, who have turned from their previous mild opposition to the dirty Vietnam War—when they themselves pointed out that just because Communist China also wants to dominate Vietnam does not make the U.S. involvement there right. They disgust me.

Intellectual  
Boston

\* \* \*

My first reaction when China issued its ultimatum to India was not so much the danger of World War III as the thought that China is always on the spot with a propagandistic threat for its own purpose, but expecting Pakistan to take it as a big gesture of help. And all under the name of the "fight for freedom" while they really fight for domination.

The editorial in the last issue really made sense. It shows it was a power struggle, but such are the times that you have to fight under an ideology.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

It was my experience in WWII that marching armies—regardless of whether they were the Russian or American or German type—who go through a land killing and destroying do not present a pretty picture. I can easily see where a lot of people—especially Negro people—would be against war. Police brutality is very much like marching armies in what they have done. This is a tongue everybody can understand.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

## ESCAPE TO WHAT?

In the last issue of News and Letters, Peter Mallory in "Our Life and Times," spoke of Chinese escaping to freedom in Portuguese Macao. How much freedom is there in a Portuguese Colony?

What it points to is that conditions in mainland China must be poor indeed to escape to such a place. But to call an escape to Macao, an escape to freedom is really a gross misnomer.

Student  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Was Peter Mallory serious when he said, in the last issue, that 748 people swam from Red China "to the Portuguese colony of Macao and freedom"??

Perhaps he meant that things must be so bad in China that these people even preferred Portuguese Macao. Technician,  
New York

Ed. Note: Yes, we're sure he did.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor  
I. Rogers ..... Managing Editor

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# Views

## TENANT COUNCILS

All the tenant councils created in East Harlem decided to run two people in the Democratic primaries. We ran a woman and a man from East Harlem. The woman won by 39 votes out of the roughly 7,000 votes cast.

We are not sure about the man. They now have impounded the machines to go over the votes. We lost many votes for the simple reason that we had to buck organizations that had much more money than we did, but even if it comes out that our man lost we feel great that we all got together with very little money, etc., but with great determination and did something. The kids from the neighborhoods in the councils really worked hard.

**Council Member  
East Harlem, NYC**  
\* \* \*

The Progressive Labor Party (Maoists) here recently went into a neighborhood on the West Side which is mostly Puerto Rican, got a rent strike going, and then, showing complete disregard for the people involved, dumped it. **Everyone in the houses got evicted.** As a result the Puerto Rican families left do not trust anyone, even if you live in the neighborhood.

**Member Tenant Council  
New York City**

## LOWNDES CO., ALA.

This winter will be very hard in Lowndes County. The retaliations against the Negroes will be very heavy. But when 46 applications were made to go to the white high school, and the Klan put pressure on the parents only one child was withdrawn.

When school started there were supposed to be 900 children in the segregated schools. But less than 100 showed up. That was the only way we could protest.

**Everybody knows that if you run, that's the end. So nobody is running. It is wonderful not to be afraid.**

**Negro  
Alabama**  
\* \* \*

Even after you are registered to vote, there is no guarantee that voting will be easy. There will not only be the whites there to try to stop us, but they have four Negro deputies now—and they are there to stop us, too. The only real protection we have is when the Negroes all go together.

**SNCC Worker  
Alabama**  
\* \* \*

What is it that George Orwell said in his book, *Animal Farm*? Something about: "Everybody is equal, only some are more equal than others?"

I read that since the voter registration drive in Lowndes County, Alabama (where there was not one registered Negro voter before) about 1530 of the 5122 Negroes of voting age have been signed up so far. Meanwhile the County records show that 2314 whites are registered—although the white voting-age population is only 1900!

**Reader  
Chicago**

Civil rights is a two-way road North and South. Those in the North help with their bodies many times, and those who cannot give their bodies often send money. But there are many other ways to help, too. If people don't have money, they can still write letters to their folks back home in the South, encouraging them to register.

**The folks up North can tell the folks down South that there is no use running North, because you in the North know that you have your own troubles too. You aren't so free yourselves.**

In fact, recently the people in the movement in Lowndes County took some of the rural workers from Alabama up to Syracuse, New York, to help the Negroes picketing up there.

The only way we can really win is by helping each other.

**Negro Worker  
Alabama**

## SHOP-TALK

A few months ago the bargaining committeeman brought his son into the plant and they made a foreman out of him. You're supposed to work in the shop two years before you can even think about becoming a foreman. When the men found out about it, they voted him out. He's back working now. He's not really a company man, or a union man. **He's a company-union man.**

**Ford Worker  
Detroit**

## THE POPE'S VISIT

The remarks of reporters covering Pope Paul's motorcade through Harlem revealed their surprise either that there are Negro Catholics or that the Negro people who were interested in seeing him would be orderly, calm, patient, etc., etc.

One of the reporters, although delighted about the turnout in Harlem, showed how insensitive whites are. He asked an elderly Negro man how he felt about the Pope being white. The elderly man replied that that was not important, that he came here to speak to those people at the UN about peace and that was far more important than the color of his skin.

**Interested  
New Yorker**  
\* \* \*

I figure that Pope Paul was a pretty smart cooky. The day before he came to the UN, he made a Negro American Priest a Bishop and in of all places New Orleans and he specifically asked to be driven through Spanish Harlem and Harlem.

**Reader  
New York**  
\* \* \*

I feel sorry for the Pope. He probably did have his own political motives for the trip, but he came here to speak in the name of peace on Monday and everyone said how wonderful, how marvelous. Tuesday the butchery, brutality and wars continue as it did the day before he came. In fact it went on while he was making his plea to that thieves kitchen itself, the UN.

**Catholic  
New York**

## NEW READERS

A Community Center is in the process of being built here, which will contain a library. A subscription to your paper would be a valuable contribution to it. Unfortunately, the bit in your last issue about the starving civil rights workers in the South is no joke. Could you possibly also send us copies of your pamphlets? They might make good reference material since I am interested in trying to work out some concepts like alienation into the context of political education workshops.

We are sending you some news of our work down here, and if there is any information or material we could help you out with, let us know and we'll try . . .

**Civil Rights Worker  
Mississippi**

**Editor's Note:** We are happy to supply freedom libraries such as this with gift copies of our material.

\* \* \*

Much of your writing seems aimed at partisans and is not well adapted to more neutral or opponent readers. I am not, however, really clear about your position. It seems simultaneously to be anti-ideological and to be doctrinaire in revering Marx.

**Reader  
Virginia**  
\* \* \*

At first I was very apprehensive about reading *News & Letters*, because I have always been taught that Marxists are evil people. Nevertheless, I greatly admired the brutal honesty of the reporting on the Los Angeles riots and the Hiroshima anniversary Anti-Vietnam War Rally in Washington, D.C.

No true Christian can help feeling a sense of moral indignation at the plight of the Watts residents or the brutality of the police in their suppression of the right to dissent.

The article on education in the slums touched me the most deeply, though. I am a high school student and am very thankful for the extremely fine teachers and the many opportunities open to me. I hope, by the grace of God, that I will continue to "care" that those who do not have this privilege now may have it one day, if only for the reasons that they are human beings, and that I can do something about it.

**Student  
Wisconsin**  
\* \* \*

I particularly enjoyed the SNCC worker's report and the articles about the FSM in the last *News & Letters*. I work for a local tutorial project and was especially struck by the article of Bob Moses on Education in the South in your pamphlet *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*.

**Student  
Ohio**  
\* \* \*

Your paper is interesting, but has too much polemic, is too left, has too much sweet reason, and carries too much old "news". However, here are the names of four friends I think might be interested in getting a sample copy . . .

**New Reader  
Georgia**

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

## Indonesian Communism: A Case of World Communism's Decomposition

It is impossible at this moment (Oct. 5) to know whether the coup on Sept. 30, and the counter-coup on Oct. 1, were manifestations of nothing more than divisions within the armed forces in Indonesia, or were indicative of class divisions within the population. There is no doubt that the masses are fed up with a government that, in the 16 years of independence, has failed to make any serious dent in the prevailing poverty, or to achieve basic land reforms, much less carry through an agrarian revolution. Nor has there been any serious industrialization, much less any radical change in the conditions of labor.

The fact that both the rebels and the regular armed forces stressed that President Sukarno is "well" shows how non-revolutionary the attempted coup was. Whether or not the Communists were involved in it, it is they whom the masses will rightly hold to blame for the failure to dislodge Sukarno since the Communists too have, ever since the 1950's, always kowtowed to him. **For their one and overpowering desire for state power is based on the concept of "boring from within." This managerial concept of "taking over" power, the root cause of what successes national Communism has achieved, from Stalin to Mao, is here the root cause of its failure.**

The PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) is the proof that (1) when it comes to desiring state power at all costs, there not only is no fundamental difference between the "revolutionary" Peking line and the "revisionist" Moscow line, but the multiplicity of roads to be embarked upon is very nearly endless; (2) so capitalistic is their joint mentality that the one and only road that is completely ruled out is that of proletarian revolution; and that (3) the shift from the proletariat through the peasantry to the army as the motive force of "revolution" has, in the case of Indonesia, led to the end of the very concept of theory, with the resulting eclecticism producing the wild gyrations from the adventurist, abortive revolt of 1948 to the current policy of "integrating" the Communists into the Sukarno regime.

### AIDIT'S "FIVE DEVILS"

D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the PKI, was, characteristically enough, in Peking at the time of the latest coup. And, characteristically from the Chinese side, the head of the Chinese delegation to the 45th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party—Peng Chen—neatly skipped 31 years (1) of that period and began his interpretation after Aidit's return from Peking in 1950: "Since 1951 the PKI has had a Marxist-Leninist nucleus of leadership headed by Com. Aidit at its centre. . . . It stands steadfast in the forefront of the fight . . . against modern revisionism." And, just to make sure that standing "steadfast in the forefront" means Aidit's choice of Peking, not only in the Sino-Soviet conflict, but on all foreign policy issues, Peng Chen threw in some anti-Semitism as well: "Comrades, the present international situation is excellent . . . United States imperialism, the chieftain of world imperialism . . . is using Israel to threaten the security of the Arab countries . . . **The Indonesian Communists are at once patriots and proletarian internationalists . . .**" (My emphasis.)

Just how patriotic D. N. Aidit is can be gleaned from his speech (2) at that same May 23rd mass rally in Djakarta which began as follows: "Your Excellency, President of the Indonesian Republic, the great leader of the Indonesian revolution, beloved Bung (Brother) Karno! . . . If there is still poverty in Indonesia, which I do not deny, it is . . . because of the existence of the remnants of imperialism and feudalism and the existence of bureaucratic-capitalists as well as village and off-shore devils." Obviously, though the Communists "were unanimously determined to implement still more resolutely the revolutionary general line . . . to realize the national and democratic revolution and march forward to Indonesian socialism," they cannot do so until they overcome the "five devils: 1) Malaysia; 2) the seven village evils; 3) world devil, U.S. imperialism; 4) bureaucrat-capitalists, and 5) modern revisionism."

It turns out, not accidentally, that, since one of the "five devils," is a "world devil," the Indonesian masses must continue to work the harder and "launch more frequent and more stubborn struggles against U.S. imperialism, the world devil and ringleader of all imperialists." And, while approving the "steps taken by President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government against the Trotskyite personalities," (3) the Communist Party, "thanks to its loyalty to the NASAKOM (4) idea . . . has good comrades-in-arms among nationalist and religious believers," not to mention the "two-in-one relations between our people and the armed forces . . ."

Having thus well "integrated" the Communists into the ruling power, Aidit elaborated on the PKI's growth, which, from "less than 8,000 members in 1951, the year of its rebirth, now has more than 3 million members. By adding the 3 million Communist youth of the People's Youth League, the number is more than 6 million. There are about 20 million sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party throughout Indonesia. . . . The Indonesian Communist Party belongs not only to the Indonesian Communists but also to the entire people and nation."

The Indonesian masses may rightly question what they ever got out of that: 16 years after independence from Dutch rule, food is still rationed; ten years of friendship with "revolutionary" China, but the Chinese in Indonesia remain the exploitative landlords and usurious merchants. No wonder that in May 1963, just when Chou En-lai was visiting Sukarno and Sukarno was expressing his "undying friendship," the students and youth of Indonesia rose in spontaneous ANTI-Chinese demonstrations! For, while Aidit may attribute class suffering to "devils," and chose one among these—U.S. imperialism—as the supreme manifestation, **THEY know the DIRECT oppressors. Aidit's only answer was "politics moves to the left but the stomach to the right."**

(To be concluded next issue, which will include all footnotes)

# YOUTH

## A Day of Picking Oranges

(My column is given over this issue to a college student who worked part of the summer picking fruit in southern California. — EUGENE WALKER)

At 5 a.m. in the early morning darkness about 200 men, mostly Mexicans and a few Negroes, milled about and formed small groups here and there in the yard of the Citrus Growers Association. They waited for the trucks that would haul them off to the orange groves where their day's work would begin.

Around 6:15 I climbed aboard one of the last trucks behind Sam, a Negro I'd been talking to in the yard. Two dozen of us sat facing each other, squeezed together on the benches with our backs to the paneling. It was turning light now, but no one talked much. The truck just rumbled along the highway.

### TOUGH WORK

By the time we got to the groves the sun was up and we went straight to work. Each man was assigned a row to work on and given a pair of clippers and a canvas sack.

The work, like most agricultural labor, was darned tough. Each piece of fruit had to be clipped off the tree so that no stem was left attached to it, and every tree had to be picked completely.

When a man filled the sack which he carried over his shoulder, the sack was transferred to a large box. A box was worth 33 cents to the picker. Our grove was a bad one; the trees were too big and the fruit too small. Extension ladders had to be used to pick the upper oranges, some of which grew 30 feet above the ground.

### HURT IN FALL

Just before noon, when I'd started my second tree, there was a loud crash and we all ran to a nearby tree where a chubby Mexican boy lay on the ground gasping for breath. The extension for his ladder had broken—a common occurrence as the ladder wood was generally pretty

rotten. There was an ambulance later, but I never heard anything more about the boy. Most of the Mexicans here were "wet-backs" and they kept to themselves mainly and avoided me in particular. I was the only Anglo.

In the early afternoon some of us took a breather for a few minutes and got a drink from a water barrel. I'd busted open a couple of blisters on my hand from the clippers; so I walked up the road to the grower's house in order to rinse off the blood and grime. I found a hose on the side of the house, but the old woman heard the sound of the running water and came out to give me hell.

By mid-afternoon I had to switch hands with the clippers and that slowed things down a little; so I didn't take another break, but instead worked straight through until quitting time in order to make 15 boxes, and a pay of about five dollars.

When we got back in the truck, Sam told me that he had taken only 16 boxes himself, which was a couple less than he usually managed, but one Mexican fellow had gotten 27. That's about nine dollars for the day's work. Of course, the Mexican would have to give the Grower's Association two dollars for the cot and the two daily meals they supplied him with. That left seven dollars to take back home to his wife in Sonora.

## Labor, Rights Groups Unite in Grape Strike

(Continued from Page 1)  
picket at shotgun point and shooting holes in the sign.

Two growers have been arrested, one in the shot-gun incident. His bail was negligible compared to the bail set for the two Mexican-Americans. One other grower has been charged officially with an automobile incident in which a picket was run down.

Things were looking good after the first week of the strike. We were going to labor camps and to the edges of the fields and getting people out.

We had a parade of about 800 people through all of the Mexican-American and Filipino areas of Delano. We thought this parade would give us some pretty good results Monday morning because it demonstrated to the growers and to the people not yet involved in the strike how big and how strong we really were.

While we were doing this, however, the growers were in the surrounding towns talking to labor contractors and putting announcements on the radio telling people that the strike was illegal and that it was not really going on, which is kind of self-contradictory, but that didn't seem to bother the growers too much. So Monday morning the cars came streaming in off the freeway and the fields were full again.

After picketing all day Monday, we spent Monday night going door-to-door in Bakersfield, contacting CORE, Friends of SNCC, MAPA and other interested organizations in town, asking them to work with us to keep the scabs out.

### REGAIN OFFENSIVE

By Wednesday most of the scabs were out. People came out of the fields, and we broke one whole labor camp in Di Giorgio's field. Di Giorgio is an old school buddy of Governor Pat Brown, and on one ranch he has three labor camps. We got one whole labor camp to come out with us.

By the end of that week,

as far as numbers are concerned, we were about where we were the week before. But we had discouraged a lot more scabs from coming in, and were able to expand our operations again.

We go out in the morning, beginning at about 5:30, have breakfast with AWOC people. We are working very closely with them now. There is no question but that when a contract is signed it will be signed with both of us.

Before dawn we try to keep the workers from going in. Then we send scouts out to find where people are working. We stand at the edge of the field or on top of cars and wave our banners and our "Huelga" signs (Huelga is Spanish for strike). We call for them to come out and join us, telling them why we are there and what we are demanding. And people do come out.

### STRIKE INTEGRATED

This is a very well integrated strike. There are all kinds of people working, and all kinds of people are coming out: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes and Anglos.

We turned out a whole Negro crew the day before yesterday by singing "We Shall Overcome." The Mexican-Americans on the line sang it in Spanish. The Negroes just walked out of the field when they realized that they are on our side too.

The demands we are making have been met all over California, except for the union contract. These workers are not migrants. They work there about 10 months of the year and many live in their own homes in that area. Most of the people who are living in labor camps are Filipinos who came over here about 20-25 years ago, before it was legal for them to bring their families with them.

When we get people out of the field, we sign them up and then try to get them to testify before the State Farm Labor Division. If they say they are on strike in that field then it is certified as being on strike and the Farm Bureau can no longer refer workers to it.

Once we have gotten the workers out we applaud them. We sign them up, give them signs and have them go to the field and picket to let their own people know that they have just come out and that others should join them.

In one case there was a report that the grower was keeping people back at the point of a gun. They often block all exits to the field with trucks and tractors so we can't get to talk to the people—and so that the people can't drive out. They just feel boxed in and remain there. But once they have seen us and know what is happening, even if they don't come out that day, the field is empty the next day.

### NEED HELP TO WIN

The problem now is that the



MOTHER AND CHILD, an appeal from the Mothers' Auxiliary Committee of FWA for food and clothing for striking families.

people are hungry. In this kind of work, if you don't work on Monday your family does not eat on Monday. AWOC is getting food supplied from other unions. The Alameda Central Labor Council came down last Saturday and Sunday and brought in carloads of food, as well as money.

The only way they are going to break the strike now is by literally starving us out. For the people who have been out on strike from the beginning, or who have joined us since, the problem is getting acute. We have a desperate need for food. We can't support people monetarily, but we have set up a store and the only money accepted at the store is a ticket given for picketing. The ticket is given out by the picket captain at the end of the day. That has been successful. The store is full now because AWOC has helped us, and we have gotten some support of our own in the FWA.

But we desperately need more food for the people on strike and we desperately need money for gas. You can't go out and picket a field 10 miles from your office if you don't have gas to get there. We also need money for phones, for publicity, and for mimeograph paper.

The only way they can break this strike, since we have been pretty successful in keeping people out and in keeping scabs away, is by breaking us. The fierce determination these people have to get their union is opposed on the other side by the fierce hunger they feel now. It is as basic as that.

## Anti-War Youth Prosecuted for His Refusal to Serve in Military Forces

New York, N.Y. — David Mitchell, a young man of 22, was sentenced on Sept. 15 to five years in prison and fined \$5,000 for his refusal to participate in what he calls the United States Government's military "crimes against humanity" in Viet Nam and elsewhere.

The Federal District Court Judge in New Haven, Conn., Chief Judge William Timbers, said he was imposing maximum sentence as a sharp warning "to anyone who thinks he can avoid military service. I want this sentence to serve as a notice to Mr. Mitchell and others of his ilk that defiance of the orders of Congress will not be tolerated." What orders of Congress? The United States has been fighting an undeclared war in Viet Nam from the very start.

### INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mitchell's primary defense is Article 6 of the Charter of Nuremberg created by the International Military Tribunal for the specific purpose of trying military personnel of the Axis as war criminals after World War II: that an individual has the responsibility to refuse his government's orders that lead to crimes against peace and humanity. These laws are still in effect, but it is Mitchell's contention that the United States removes itself from any obligations under the laws which it had a large part in creating.

It is not the purpose of this article to prove or disprove the justness of the war which the

United States has inflicted on the peoples, Communist or not, of Viet Nam. As a young man of draft age, the prospect of being thrust into a war against people with whom I have no quarrel, to kill them and their families, destroy their homes and fields, raises sincere doubts in my mind as to the role I am expected to play as a citizen of the United States.

First and foremost, I and all other people, are citizens of the world; therefore can I assume that devotion to country is more important than any ethical or moral principle? And can I, or any young man, feel justified in allowing himself to be drafted into the services of one power for reasons entirely unclear, but for purposes of protecting American interests around the world, and by methods which are clearly criminal.

### VALUE OF LIFE

All Americans must ask themselves, as Mitchell has done, what these interests are that rise above the value of human life. It is inconceivable to me that the choice of other countries as to what form of government they want has any bearing on the choice of the American people as to what form of government we want.

Anti-war sentiment is rising in this country as evidenced by the increasing number of protests registered by students and professors on campuses of Universities around the United States. And these groups of individuals are not alone. Every

week the newspapers and magazines report demonstrations against the United States' Viet Nam policy at our embassies around the world.

In his statement requesting acquittal Mitchell said: "This brief raises the issues of America's clear aggressions, torture, genocide in Viet Nam . . . and it raises, as was raised in the Nuremberg trials of Nazis, the clear responsibility of the individual to refuse when his government orders him to aid and abet crimes against peace and humanity. It is obvious that our government does not have the courage even to attain a legal facade from Congress for this undeclared war."

Mitchell has been fighting the government on the draft issue since 1961. He has refused to cooperate with any of the Selective Service procedures since the day of his original registration, and has participated since 1962 in End of Draft Committee. He is continuing his defense on appeal of his present sentence. Contributions can be sent to: 150 Crown Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225 —Student

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**In Rural Mississippi**

**Vicious Intimidation of Students and Parents Mark School Desegregation**

Madison County, Miss — The plan for desegregation was published in the *Madison County Herald* on August 12, 19, and 26. On the 19th a front page article told when and where parents could register. This paper is not generally read by Negroes. Registration was set for the morning of Sept. 1 for grades one through eight, and the morning of Sept. 2 for grades nine through twelve. No mention of desegregation was made in the newspaper article.

However, Rosa Scott Negro school issued a letter to parents stating that students in all grades could register on Aug. 31, Sept. 1 and 2. It did not specify that parents had to accompany all students. Parents who attended a PTA meeting on Aug. 30 could get registration forms and send them back with their children the following three days. These forms were generally available in the gymnasium where the meeting was held.

**TRANSFERS MADE DIFFICULT**

Those requesting transfer forms could get them only from the principal individually. The

transfer forms required the signature of both parents, although this was not publically announced. Buses carried both Negro and white students to their separate schools for registration, but did not carry Negroes desiring to transfer to white schools.

On Sept. 2, six Negro students registered for the 12th grade at Madison Ridgeland High School. They were jeered at by white students, but registered without difficulty. One of the boys had to return home for a signature on his registration card, and I transported him. When we returned, he went into the school to complete his registration while I remained outside in my car.

As I was parked there on the shoulder of the road, a sheriff's officer cursed me out, struck me in the face, and ordered me to get out of town. He followed me out of town and gave me a ticket for reckless driving.

The case has been removed to Federal Court and a citation for contempt is being drawn up by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund Inc. The same law officer appeared after 10 o'clock at night at the homes of two people who had registered their children for desegregated

schools. He, in the company of two other sheriff's officers, informed the people that their homes were under threat of being bombed. They issued a general warning that any home might be hit by a bomb. It is actions like this that make it very difficult for Negroes to exercise their "freedom of choice."

**STUDENTS FORCED BACK**

When the six 12th graders went to school, the principal told them that they would be waiting a year, and advised them to return to Rosa Scott School. They had continued difficulty from teachers and students, and finally felt forced to withdraw after three days. The school officials happily took them back to the Negro school.

One of them had trouble from physical intimidation. Her mother was threatened with loss of her job. On the evening of the first day of school, her father was brutally beaten by a State Highway Patrolman. He sustained severe head injuries. The following evening groups of whites threatened the house, but no damage was done.

**DELAYING TACTICS USED**

At Farmhaven Elementary School, people were sent back for the signatures of the parent not present, even though by Mississippi law only one parent need be present at school registration. Other delaying tactics were used so that registration took two and a half hours, preventing civil rights workers (who had provided transportation) from bringing others.

School officials asked the people about the workers. The workers (MFDP volunteers and a CORE staff member) were ordered away from the area of the school by sheriff's officers, and forced to drive around while the people were inside.

On the evening of Sept. 10, another sheriff's officer visited the house of one of the families registered, and told the children to call him if they saw any bombs lying around. Since the sheriff's reputation in this area is rather bad, this was hardly reassuring.

On the evening of the first day of school, three shots were fired into the home of the other family which had registered children. The school board informed the parents that no transportation would be provided, thus making it necessary to have community people transport the children to and from school each day. As a result of this pressure and intimidation, these children, too, were transferred back to the Negro school.

**NO GOVERNMENT ACTION**

All these events have been recorded in affidavit form by the persons involved. These forms are in the possession of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. All incidents have been reported to the FBI and the Justice Department. But we have seen no government action and presume this can only mean that the government supports those who have attempted to prevent desegregation of the schools.

We believe that these events show a pattern of discrimination in violation of the court order to desegregate schools in Madison County. We hope that some action can be taken by either the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or by the Justice Department to bring about a more reasonable solution to our problem of unequal education.

**In San Bernardino**

**Organize Freedom Schools**

San Bernardino, Cal. — The school boycott here started suddenly with the beginning of school. The Community League of Mothers, which is sponsoring the boycott, wants the right to enroll their children in any school of their choice in the public system. They have charged that city schools in the predominately Negro areas are not providing the same quality of education that is available in other sections of the city. They also have felt that Negroes' contributions to American culture have not been incorporated in the history and civics courses in the schools.

When the school board decided this year to cut back free bus transportation from beyond one and a half miles to two miles for junior highs, and from beyond two miles to three miles for senior highs, the mothers simply decided to educate their own children in their own schools until the school board made some changes in both these matters.

Almost overnight two churches and three homes were donated for classrooms, cars were volunteered for shuttle-busing, six full-time and many other part-time teachers were "signed up," and 300 children were enrolled. (Enrollment in the regular schools is a little over 35,000.)

The CORE chairman here had no plans for a school boycott the last time I saw him at a CORE conference over Labor Day. But when he got back home and found that the cut in free bus transportation had triggered a boycott, he quit his job to stay with the boycott until it is over. He stays around the clock at the Freedom School Center.

**OPEN 'ROUND THE CLOCK**

Clabe Hangan, an artist, who is the unpaid superintendent of the new school system, is there just as long. I stayed there myself overnight while I was in town, and bedtime is anywhere from 3 a.m. to 8 a.m. They are open for business all night through, so the different teachers can stop in for school supplies, and new

teachers can come in to see what they can do to help. After they come in, they fan out to the different areas where the classes are being held.

All day long there are also informal meetings. The day I was there a dozen Negro mothers were busy busing the children to the Freedom Schools, and others kept coming in to see what they could do to help.

The night I was there they had a teacher's meeting. Clabe Hangan chaired it, and the teachers discussed the problems they are having. There are plenty of them. Their objective is to run the schools so well that when the children go back to regular school, they will be not only up to par, but above the other children. In addition they want to teach them some Negro history. And this mounts up to quite a job, especially with the physical conditions they are working under.

**ALL MUST BE INVOLVED**

In time they could do a really wonderful job, but the problem now is Freedom, which must permeate everything.

Right now many parents in San Bernardino are confused about the aims of the Freedom Schools. Is it just the bus transportation? Or are there are a lot of other things, they want to know.

I volunteered to contact the mothers of the "drop outs," or absentees, and either visited or talked over the phone to about 25 mothers that day.

The main problem seemed to me that after the first great step of the parents in signing their children up for the Freedom Schools, nothing was making these parents a true part of the movement. As a result the small town newspapers had been able to confuse them as to what would happen to their children's education.

I could not help thinking of what made the Montgomery Bus Boycott so great in 1956. The whole movement met three times a week. That was their way of communication. That was their radio, TV and newspaper. That movement still has a lot of lessons that the movement today can benefit from.

**In Detroit**

**Students Reject Unreality**

Detroit, Mich. — In a recently published book by Claude Brown called *Manchild in the Promised Land*, there is a scene in which a young Harlemitte expresses his wish to go to college. "Now don't go getting uppity young man," his mother tells him. "Be sensible. There's nothing wrong with being a janitor."

This example brutally illustrates what Albert Einstein spoke of when he said that the most tragic aspect of racial discrimination was when the minority group tends to accept the majority group's opinion of them as inferior.

Every day hundreds of subtle injustices and inequities, which seem designed to stimulate a feeling of "inferiority," are felt everywhere: in the courtroom, the newspapers, the home, on the job—and in the schools where every facet of the Negro child's life is skillfully excluded from the classroom. The books are as middle class as the teachers and the pictures and themes and ideals and whole "way of life" in the school.

**FALSE SCHOOL WORLD**

The neat, anti-human, bureaucratic, secure, orderly, "talky," world of the school pompously refuses to recognize that the child's world exists.

If an English teacher tries to bring in some of the recent stories by Negro writers which deal with slum life, he is usually admonished by the principal that 1) stories about "lower-class" life deal with characters which children should not identify with or respect, and 2) the use of profanity and/or words like "whore," "drunk," or "junkie" will lower the level of the classroom and sanction such language.

Where does the principal think these children live? Does he think the children respect the insipid middle-class characters in the texts that are "approved"? What kind of language does he think these children use when talking among themselves?

The fact that the average Negro child fails to absorb the "school culture" that is forced on him is seen in the fact that thousands of students are graduating from high school who don't know how to read or write at a functional level. As a teacher in a Negro high school, I have to let many students graduate from the 12th grade who can not read or write at the fourth grade level.

**MISEDUCATION**

There is little you can do in one semester after 12 years of mis-education. The only thing you can do is let them know what is in store for them as unskilled workers in a society where jobs for the unskilled are being automated out of existence at a frightening rate. You can try to make them see that their feelings of worthlessness are exactly what this society wants them to feel to keep them oppressed—and that their lack of education is not because of lack of potential on their part.

The 12th grade student who cannot read at a fourth grade level is the result of an educational system that gave him books which failed to stimulate his imagination, or which tried to force on him ideals opposed to what he already knew. His inability to write has much to do with the fact that he was usually asked to write about things he didn't care about. His unwillingness to express himself in the words of the grammar book has a lot to do with the fact that he is laughed at outside of school for using "formal grammar."

Many Negro children who do have been told by their friends that they are trying to be "uppity" or else that they're "talking like white folks." And what value is formal grammar to him when, out of a job or forced into a job of which he is ashamed, he finds himself in the same hopeless position as those in generations before him?

The freedom movement today is the only thing that gives promise that today's youngsters will not have to tolerate the same conditions their parents were forced to endure.

Could Mao have been behind the Coup in Indonesia? What is his underlying philosophy?

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# REVOLT IN INDONESIA: WHAT NEXT IN ASIA?

(Continued from Page 1)

rection toward making Indonesia into a satellite of, and/or partner with Peking, it is impossible not to conclude that the generals are out to silence any voice of protest to their reactionary moves. Not many Leftists could operate freely under President Sukarno's "guided democracy." Fewer will be able to do so now.

The latest reports say that Colonel Untung has been captured. General Nasution, who escaped an assassination attempt (that resulted in the murder of his five-year-old daughter), and who is now leading the "mop-up," is not listening to Sukarno's appeals for "calm." Although Sukarno is not likely to succeed in his skillful balancing act, playing off the Communists against the Army and vice versa, we must take a closer look at his history if we are to try to understand the situation in Indonesia.

## SUKARNO THE NATIONALIST

Whether we take as our point of departure the year 1927, when the Indonesian Nationalist Party was founded and Sukarno became its Chairman, (and soon landed in a Dutch jail), or we take the year 1942, when the Japanese occupied what was then the Dutch East Indies (and freed Sukarno), the one unchanging element in the quixotic behavior of Sukarno is his nationalism. He saw nothing wrong in collaborating with the Japanese. But he also worked with the underground movement. On Aug. 17, 1945, he proclaimed the independence of the archipelago. It took four more years of guerrilla war and negotiations plus support by the UN, before Holland finally recognized the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. This ended the 1940's.

Beginning with 1955, the year of the national elections in Indonesia in which no less than 30 parties participated, and also the year of the Asian-African Solidarity Conference, we witness the birth of consciousness of a third world. Although the conference met at Bandung, it was not Sukarno, but Chou En-lai and Nehru, who were the dominant personalities, each trying to be the authentic voice of Asia.

The following year Sukarno travelled both to America and Europe and to Russia and China. It was obvious that the single party state appealed to him. In trying to find an indigenous basis for it, he came up with "guided democracy." "I propose that the leaders of the people confer and decide to bury all parties," he declared. He blamed "free-fight liberalism" for the multiplicity of parties, for the lack of economic progress in the country, for the standstill of the national revolution.

Instead of going deeper into the masses, or even continuing with his famous "gotong rojong" (mutual cooperation), he proceeded to establish a National Planning Board: "Guided democracy is a democracy to implement this blueprint and in implementing this blueprint there should be guidance, the guidance of really expert men. . . . Let us cling to our own characteristics, let us cling to the only right standpoint for guided democracy, namely, no voting."

By 1959, he dissolved Parliament, reinstated the early and more vague Constitution of 1945, and declared himself President, Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief, Great Leader of Revolution, not to mention also "Chief Pioneer." Nevertheless, on the whole, during the 1950s he considered himself a neutralist, and though he leaned heavily on the

PKI, he also had the support of the Army, especially so General Nasution who, in putting down the army revolt of 1958, showed that he was more than just an anti-Communist. In any case, Sukarno knew how to use both the Army and the PKI.

What he didn't know how to do, or more correctly, didn't want to do, was deepen the revolution within Indonesia, set up an active relationship with the masses in his own country who had won independence from Dutch imperialism, but found little enough freedom and socialism in their own lives. What they did find was a state of bureaucracy and an Army that was becoming as corrupt as any other military force, although its origins were in guerrilla warfare for the freedom of their country. And the National Plan didn't stop the deteriorating economic conditions either in the countryside or in the cities. In the 1960s Sukarno embarked on a most adventurous foreign policy.

## SUKARNO THE "IDEOLOGUE"

With characteristic gall, Sukarno moved against Socialists, Trotskyists, Marxists as if he were doing so from the left in the name of "genuine instead of the false Marxism." Thus, on May 23 of this year, at the PKI 45th anniversary rally, here is how he explained his original invention of NASAKOM (nas standing for nationalism, a for the religious groups, and kom for Communists): "Some Indonesians asked me why did Bung (Brother) Karno pursue the policy of uniting all the anti-imperialist forces and all the revolutionary forces that were called NASAKOM? Why did Bung Karno not use the word 'nasamar' or 'nassos' but used the word, 'nasakom'? The word which is most often unlawfully used by political scoundrels and political cockroaches is the word Marxism. Brothers and sisters, you all know the banned Indonesian Socialist Party. . . . I say that they are not Marxists, they are usurpers of Marxism. Therefore, I do not use the word 'nasamar'. . . . they are in fact counter-revolutionaries. . . . out and out revisionists. . . . I repeat once more, 'kom'. Yes, be genuine Communists and not false Communists."

Demagogue would, no doubt, be a more precise word than ideologue to describe the eclectic Sukarno. The point is that the masses in his own country, no matter how aroused to "crush Malaysia," were more concerned with labor conditions in their own country, with their lives, 16 years after independence, this formerly rice-surplus area had to import rice. It was short all foodstuffs. There was little industry, in many respects less than before independence when you consider the decline in oil, and the near standstill in tin and rubber. And in the countryside, where the overwhelming majority of Indonesians live, there was little enough of "musjawarah" and "mufakat" (communal deliberations and decisions), but a great deal of plain old exploitation. The class divisions, moreover, were not only native, but also "foreign"; the Chinese landlords and merchants still play their old roles. The peasants and students and youth who rioted during Chou En-lai's visit saw this, just this, and not any "permanent revolution," in the word, China.

All in all, 1965 was a very bad year for Sukarno. Not only had his "crush Malaysia" campaign failed, but his loud boast to do so "by the time the cock crows on January 1, 1965," was simply ludicrous.

Although Sukarno's Jan. 8

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## American Labor and Politics

The American labor movement devotes a great deal of time, money and effort to elect candidates of the Democratic Party to offices throughout the country. They claim chief responsibility for the overwhelming majority of that party in the Congress and Senate and look upon Johnson as "their candidate." Never have so many sacrificed so much for so little!

President Johnson rightly claims that he has passed into law more of his program than any President in the past 20 years.

The "labor leadership" asked him for only two things: an increase in the minimum wage under the minimum

wage law, and repeal of section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Law, which prohibits the union closed shop, the so-called "right to work" law. Labor's "friends" in the Democratic Party refused to pass any of these measures and left the labor score in this session of Congress at 0%.

The reason that Congress refuses to take the labor movement seriously is, it does take itself seriously. For the past 30 years it has threatened like a paper tiger, yet, when the chips were down, continued to support the political party to which the southern segregationists belong and control the important chairmanships of Congress.

Everyone knows that Meany, the President of the

AFL-CIO, is far from ready to battle his way out of a paper bag, but what about our red-headed "friend" Reuther?

In Detroit, his home town, seat of comfortable Solidarity House, HIS headquarters, an election is taking place for a new city council. Detroit is 34% Negro in population, without a single representative on the Council. The conservative candidates are running high in the polls and if the present trend continues, a council with a reactionary majority will be elected. Reuther sits on his butt, expresses opinion less frequently than the local Baptist ministers and lets reaction win.

Under these circumstances, who can take the role of labor in politics seriously?

## RUSSIA

The capitalist press is making a big deal out of the recent changes in Soviet economic life. Recent trends toward top bureaucratic planning in the field of the production and distribution of consumer commodities, more freedom by manufacturers to produce clothing on direct order from stores, insistence that industries "show a profit" and compete with each other for orders for consumer goods, all are pointed up as straws in the wind toward the restoration of capitalist methods of doing business.

Premier Kosygin appears to be lending official support through a 15,000 word "plan" called "On improving the management of industry, perfecting planning and strengthening the economic incentives in industrial production." Like his fellow American capitalist bosses, Kosygin finds, "insufficient interest of workers in the results of their work." Deductions will be made by state enterprises from their profits to establish a fund for the payment of bonuses for "good" work.

Where formerly a Soviet manager requested new capital from the central planners, and got it, he must now, "to make the managers more thrifty," take new working capital in the form of credits on which he must pay interest.

To sharpen competition Kosygin says, "An enterprise that produces low quality goods will experience difficulties in disposing of its goods and consequently will not be able to fulfill the plan."

While these signs are encouraging to the capitalist press, both they and Kosygin are quick to point out that in their opinion this does not mean the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Both base themselves on the mistaken notion that state-owned industry equals communism.

Marxist-Humanists have long pointed out that the ownership of the means of production is meaningless in a situation where the worker merely exchanges one boss (private) for another (the state) while his conditions of labor, exploitation for profit, continue. The Soviet Union has been operating a State Capitalist economy for three decades. So long as the worker on the production line has no voice in his conditions of labor, the economy of that country is basically capitalist, no matter who "owns" the industry. The only thing new is the eye with which American capitalists view the perennial "reforms" in Russian economy.

## BRAZIL

The recent elections in Brazil, the first since the Army, in April 1964, with the blessings of the U.S. Govt., overthrew the last elected regime of Goulart, have resulted in a sharp defeat of the military dictatorship that replaced that regime.

When the military junta took over and abolished democracy in Brazil, they jailed or sent into exile over 50% of the elected representatives in the country. Civil rights and democratic processes were denied to leading citizens in every walk of life. The excuse used by the military at that time was, waste and extravagance were leading the country into bankruptcy and "communism." Since the beginning of 1965 the regime of the militarists created a situation where the cost of living has risen 39.2%, meat has disappeared from the shops and rail fares are up 30%.

## AMERICAN LAW AND JUSTICE

In Detroit, Michigan, a police informer has confessed to sending a number of people to jail for long terms motivated by vengeance and for police pay. James Wells, who is now serving a five-year term at Jackson State prison, confessed to the following:

In Feb. 1964 he sent his girl friend Marie George to prison for a 20- to 25-year sentence for selling narcotics which, he now says, the police gave him to frame her with. "The police gave me the heroin. I had it with me when I entered the building and she did not sell me anything," Wells now testifies. "I did it because she refused to marry me."

In his confession he names 10 other innocent people he framed as a Detroit Police Informer. All victims remain in jail today pending re-trials and the rounding up of witnesses by the very same Police Department that framed them.

speech, "Quit the UN" was highly acclaimed in Mao's China as "a revolutionary action which resounds throughout the world as the first spring thunder of 1965" none of the the Afro-Asian nations followed that "spring thunder"! The African nations had had their experience with the Chinese "revolutionary thunder" so bent on fighting "Russian revisionism" that it was in a most unseemly haste to recognize Boumediene's overthrow of Ben Bella. And so, while many did consider Malaysia a symbol of neo-colonialism, they failed to see the creation of any possible Indonesia-China axis as the answer to the world crises any

more than they accepted US imperialism's rationale for the dirty war in Vietnam.

## WHAT NOW?

Worst of all for Sukarno were the food riots in Java.

Whether the Communists were planning to take advantage of the critical situation — and of the fear that Sukarno might die before he passed his mantle on to them, or the right wing in the Army tried to use Oct. 5, Army day, to stage a coup "with CIA aid," as Col. Untung who staged "the preventive coup" on Sept. 30, claimed; whether the 3 million strong Communist Party will collapse like the proverbial house of cards (as the more real Communist and Socialist Parties col-

lapsed when Hitler came to power), or go into the hills to carry on guerrilla war; whether Sukarno becomes a mere figurehead or retains sufficient power to stop the counter-coup from becoming a full-fledged counter-revolution and militaristic move to collaborate with "the West"—the tragic truth is that class collaborationism in Indonesia and world adventures with Mao's theory of "encirclement" of the industrialized world and American imperialism with "people's wars" from the underdeveloped worlds, has resulted not only in moves to the right in Indonesia, but in strengthening the hand of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.