

## CORE, Baltimore Negroes Form Md. Freedom Union

Baltimore, Md. — This city — with a big black ghetto, a CORE chapter in action, few unions, and plenty of Negroes working in low-paying, non-union jobs — was chosen as a pilot city for the organization of a Northern Freedom Labor Union. We planned to spend weeks investigating and setting up organizing committees. But the first week we were there, seven groups of workers came forward and asked to be organized, and one group from the Lincoln Memorial Nursing Home wanted to strike immediately.

There was no strike fund and no possibility for community action such as boycott tactics here but the workers insisted. They had been getting 35c an hour and working a 60 hour week. Often they worked three weeks in a row without a day off.

### WORKERS FIRED

The owner, Asa Wessels, got wind of the plans, and on Feb. 9 he called them into the office and fired nine of the 18 people on the day shift and refused them termination pay. Minutes later, four other workers walked out in sympathy with those who were fired and began to picket outside.

A leaflet was written by the workers which said: "Wessels' Plantation — The Black People Slave in Baltimore so Wessel Can Live Like a King in his Florida Nursing Home. Support Freedom Local No. 1."

Another leaflet described the conditions: The patients were all black, all on welfare. The owner got checks directly from the Welfare Dept. but gave the patients nothing. Eight had died in a week, and bodies had not even been removed. There were few blankets, bad food, no mattress covers, no qualified nurses, not enough eating utensils. Patients were kept in a damp cellar.

The workers demanded \$1.25 an hour, a 40 hour week, time and a half for overtime, the rehiring of the fired workers, and we tried to get a health inspection of the place to show violations of the law.

### SYMPATHIZERS JOIN PICKET

Strikers went to a "Peace and Freedom" rally that had been called that weekend by local peace and civil rights groups, and asked to speak. Five who had never spoken before made speeches that they wrote themselves. There were 300 in the audience and \$75 was collected on the spot. Many from the rally went to picket with the strikers that evening.

The pickets were interviewed by a reporter from the Baltimore Afro-American, and his story ran as a front-page banner headline. Soon all over the ghetto areas of Baltimore, people were talking about the strike.

On Feb. 14, the employees of Bolton Hill Nursing Home, more than two miles from the first strike, came to work telling about the article in the Afro. They arrived on the job at 7 a.m. and discussed the story. At 8:30 a.m. 20 out of 29 day-shift workers walked out and began to demonstrate against conditions similar to those at Lincoln Memorial.

That's how the Maryland Freedom Union was born—in the fight of workers making poverty wages to get human decency on their jobs. But the idea of a Northern Freedom Labor Union has been discussed in CORE for over a year, ever since it had become clear that attempts to organize workers in the Northern ghettos into the AFL-CIO had been nearly a complete failure.

The two million Northern black people who work in retail and

service trades have remained almost as unorganized as they were in 1935 when the Retail Clerks International Association began to increase its membership. The approximately 100,000 black union members in Northern retail and service represent a pitifully small percentage of those potentially organizable.

### DIFFICULTIES OF ORGANIZING

The wave of migration from the rural south after World War II was forced into retail and service as production jobs became more and more scarce for those without skills or high school education. The RCIA and its CIO counterpart, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), tried to organize this new group with traditional tactics: petition for election under NLRB, or strike and de facto recognition.

From 1960-1965 CORE chapters have been involved in many of these campaigns, but retail and service jobs have high turnover rates and little job protection. As a result, organizing committees disintegrate during the months of waiting for an election and election failures in retail and service in Northern ghettos run about 80%. Strike failures have run nearly 9 out of 10.

The influence of workers alone in jobs like these has not been great enough to win. Support from the community and the added impetus of the civil rights movement is needed to help the workers. The civil rights movement, for example, can use consumer boycotts, sit-ins, pickets, large amounts of publicity, and financial support.

Retail establishments in or near a large ghetto are highly susceptible to consumer boycott by black patrons. It is a tried and proven tactic long used by the civil rights movement. The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union has used consumer boycotts successfully in its labor organizing.

### DRAMATIC RESULTS

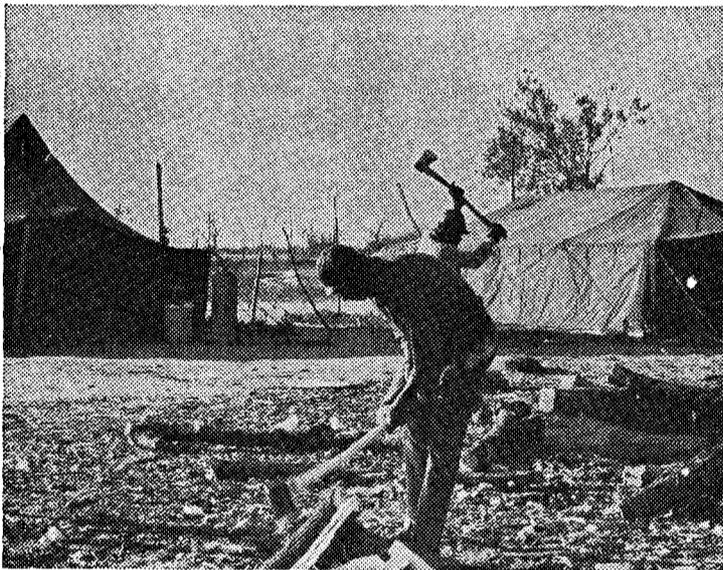
The Maryland Freedom Union, though only a month old, has already seen dramatic developments in the nursing home strike. Continued picketing at the nursing home as well as at Mr. Wessel's \$60,000 home (with swimming pool) by strikers and student sympathizers has resulted in an agreement by Mr. Wessels to meet with the union's lawyer.

The workers have taken a hall at 322 Schroeder St. in the black ghetto which they are furnishing with donated furniture. At their last meeting (which the organizers do not attend, as only the workers themselves must speak and vote) the main point was how to divide the money and food that had been collected. The workers reviewed each case on the basis of how much each striker had been able to save or get from relatives, how many children she had, what debts she was responsible for. Then each

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## Labor, Negro Movement Make New Links to Change Society

A caucus of rank-and-file auto workers in Detroit, organized to oppose the Reutherite bureaucrats and elect their own delegates to the UAW convention to be held in April, has chosen as one of their five main planks the need for a Southern Union organizing drive, linked to and allied with the Civil Rights Movement, and has borrowed the civil rights slogan "One man, one vote" to emphasize their fight to have all the International Officers and Board Members elected by a direct vote of the members.



SNCC Photo by Bob Fletcher

**STRIKE CITY** — Mississippi citizens chop wood for heat in recent freeze. Greenville Air Base demonstrators have now joined this tent city. See story, page 7.

## Japanese Auto Worker Hits Reuther Visit and Automation

Kawasaki, Japan — We, who also work in the auto-factory, extend our fraternal greeting to you from Japan. It is with deep sympathy and full support to your struggle that we are writing to you. We know your struggle is directed at the man-eating monster, automation, which deprives workers of their humanity, and at the labor bureaucrats of U.A.W. who pay no attention to the hard life and struggle of the production workers under the pressure of the automation.

Last year the vice president of AFL-CIO (Walter Reuther) came to Japan and visited our factory professing solidarity of the Japanese and American auto-workers. On that occasion, we, rank and file workers, were ordered to clean inside and outside of the factory building and to hoist the national flags of Japan and USA (!) for his welcome. Then Walter Reuther, together with the boss of our company, showed up accompanied by the union officers in a luxurious car. In this way he took a round view of the plant.

### FAR FROM SOLIDARITY

We factory workers wondered why we should receive Reuther in such a way and also wondered if his visit would contribute to the solidarity of the Japanese and American workers. You American workers may all know, like we do, that it is far from establishing genuine solidarity of the workers in the both countries.

It is not only militant workers

but also other workers in the shops that felt thus. As one of our fellow workers put it, "It has nothing to do with us!" when he saw Reuther's visit. We all can not but regard it as an attempt at strengthening control of the management and union bureaucrats over us workers.

**SEEK INTERNATIONAL UNITY**  
Basing ourselves on the general feeling in the shop like this, we are firmly determined to continue our struggle for overthrowing both capital and labor bureaucrats, strengthening international solidarity of the workers, especially with you American workers. The heroic struggle of the auto-workers in the 30's in your country has always encouraged us in showing the vital energy and great strength of the proletariat.

For the unified struggle in Japan and USA!

Kazuo Takada,  
Autoworker, Nissan Plant

Exposing the failure of Reuther's still-born and long-forgotten "Operation Dixie," these workers have declared that the problem of organizing the unorganized—to which the labor leadership scarcely even pays lip-service anymore—remains the most important job for the labor movement today.

Moreover, it is a job, they point out, which has been tackled recently by unorganized workers and civil rights groups who had almost no funds, but plenty of determination, in as widely separated areas as Delano, Calif.; Baltimore, Md.; and Greenville, Miss.

### RANK AND FILE RESOLUTION

"Therefore be its resolved", they have declared, "that the UAW shall revive the practice and principle of organizing the unorganized Southern white and Negro workers and throw its full resources behind such an effort, and

"Be it further resolved, that the UAW shall actively seek the support of and link up with the civil rights movement to establish solidarity between the labor and civil rights movement in a combined and determined program designed to establish and successfully carry out the unionization of the unorganized Negro and white workers of the South."

This single act of the rank-and-file signals a new, important, and very much needed, step forward toward the unity of the labor and civil rights movements in this country, precisely because it does come from below, from the rank-and-file.

The desperate need for union organization for Southern Negroes has long been recognized by the Negro movement. Last year it took the form in Mississippi of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union.

### FREEDOM UNIONS MOVE NORTH

The idea of Freedom Unions is now moving North as well, where, just as in the South, Negro workers are stuck in low-paying jobs in non-union places, such as the service trades, small shops, laundries and hospitals.

These shops are notoriously hard to organize because of the low wages, the high unemployment, and the lack of skills involved—but in Baltimore, which was chosen as a "pilot city" for the project, before the "organizing committees" were even set up, seven groups of workers came forward and asked to be organized. Six of them were laundries or food-stores, where tactics such as consumer boycotts and picket lines could be effectively used. The seventh was a nursing home, where the workers who made 35 cents an hour wanted to strike immediately. (See story, Cols. 1 and 2.)

The burning desire for the unorganized to be organized—North and South — emphasizes the inexcusable do-nothingness of the labor leaders, who have marched in freedom parades, paid lip service to the freedom movement, and written a few well-publicised

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Watts Students Speak Out

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Early Viet Nam Analysis Confirmed

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# WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

## Police Birchites Are Given Green Light by Superiors

The Police Commissioner of New York City, who was formerly the Police Commissioner of Philadelphia, has stated publicly that if his policemen want to join the John Birch Society it is OK with him. There was recently a fair-sized scandal over the number of Philadelphia policemen who were Birchites, and nothing was done about that. They are now trying to quiet the New York story by saying that "only" around 500 out of a force of several thousands are actually Birchers.

There are probably a good number of Birchers on the Los Angeles police force, too. What is disturbing is that in Los Angeles, the one policeman who had joined CORE and openly participated in demonstrations with them was fired. It appears that if people in responsible positions join a fascist-type of movement the public is not supposed to be concerned about it. But if they join or support organizations that are concerned with human justice, they are to be persecuted.

### WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

One young Negro I was talking to recently said he felt that the Negroes were going to keep on fighting for freedom, no matter what, until they achieved it. But what concerned him was whether history would repeat itself as it did after the Reconstruction period. "If we don't succeed in controlling our own destiny," he said, "by getting into leading positions in all the rural, city, state and federal governments, I'm afraid the Negroes will lose everything they have gained. The white segregationists are working day and night to make history repeat itself."

Many workers I know are concerned with what is happening right here in Detroit, where some 300 middle-class whites have organized what they call a "fourth Friday forum". Their guest speakers have included reactionary whites from Alabama and Mississippi who seek to spread the same poisonous race-venom that they spread in the South. Their last speaker was Congressman William L. Dickinson from Selma, Ala. He called the Selma to Montgomery March of last year a group of "sex-beatniks-weaklings-hypocrites (the witches' brew)". One of the future speakers will be Sheriff James Clark of Selma, and another will be Dearborn Mayor Orville Hubbard. There have been over 20 other such organizations listed as "Radical Right" groups of one type or another which have connections to the John Birch Society.

One worker in our plant said that what concerned him the most was the shield that the states give to such people. He felt that the Federal Government also seems to help in shielding them, and mentioned the recent investigation of the KKK by the government. "After all the murders, and all the inhuman treatment these individuals and groups committed were brought out as proof of their crimes, every single one of them was sent back where he came from, without even being told that if they commit those crimes again they will be punished," he said. "When the government tried some members of the Communist Party, they convicted them — but they weren't trying to convict the KKK. I wouldn't be surprised if they were sent back home at government expense!"

### NEGRO RIGHTS ARE FUNDAMENTAL

It is true that the Negro people, with their white allies, have made some tremendous progress in the past ten years. It is also true that many hate groups have organized against this progress, and have displayed the decay of this system to the whole world. The civil rights movement has precipitated a tremendous battle for the minds of people everywhere. Yet when the union bureaucrats yell loud and long that the question of civil rights is not just the Negro question but a question of the rights of everyone, they are really trying to evade the real issue.

In a general sense, it is the question of the rights of everyone, but basically and fundamentally it is the question of Negro rights. In many instances, when the Negro people got their freedom, other groups will automatically get theirs. That is what happened recently in Alabama, when the Negroes in Lowndes County won their demand for the right to sit on juries there. The white women of Alabama, who had not lifted a finger to support the Negroes but who were also barred from jury-duty by law for more than 50 years, now can also sit on juries all over the state of Alabama.

### GAINS BRING RETALIATION

These same Negroes have also won some other important victories in the Federal courts. Out of 27 Negro schools in Lowndes County, 24 must be torn down by the end of this school term and rebuilt on an integrated basis. This Lowndes County organization, less than year old, has thrown itself against the power of George Wallace himself. They shook the entire country, in fact, from end to end when they organized their own political party in their county.

But their gains have not been won without retaliation from the whites. They are being forced to leave their homes simply because they have registered to vote. The Administration in Washington has been yelling for years that every American citizen should register and vote. Yet when the Negroes in these rural areas have followed the instruction, they have been forced out of their homes with no place to go. (See Appeal for Tent City p. 3.)

As one worker in our plant put it, "There is something very wrong with a government that goes out of its way to find jobs and places to live for refugees from Cuba, but cannot take a single action to help Negro citizens — who have fought in all of this country's wars and made so many contributions to its development — and who are now sleeping in tents on the frozen ground, simply because they registered to vote!"

### Special notice to our readers in Japan

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Order directly from: Zenshin, 1-50 Ikebukurohigashi, Toshima-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

# Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

## Who Can Speak For Us?

Sometimes I wonder, who in our government cares about the black people? Nobody cares about us but ourselves, I think. Certainly there are no black folks in the White House to speak for their own race. Sometimes it seems as if we black folks are not considered to be Americans until there is a war, and then the white folks tell us we must go and fight to help to save our country.

But when the war is over these same white people tell us: Negro, you can come on back and stay in your place. They tell us there is no place for us in America where a Negro can get a high-class job, or be "over" a white man. They think that white men have to lead the Negroes in every way.

### WHAT NEGROES HAVE LEARNED

But, Mr. White Man, those days have passed. Times will never be like that again, because we black folks have learned that we must fight hard for what we want—and what we want is freedom. Between you and me, this fight will keep on until we have it, because if there is one thing the Negro people have now learned, it is that there is

no use waiting for the white people to give it to them.

Another thing the Negro people have learned is that every time they talk about their freedom, they run the risk of being called Communists. That doesn't frighten Negroes, but it doesn't frighten us any longer. We are going to do just as the white people do—keep on fighting.

### WHEN ARE WE AMERICANS?

There are some whites that will never stop trying to hold the Negroes back. They are in the South today trying to keep the Negroes from registering to vote. They have thrown old people off their farms, driven them off like dogs.

But what is worse than those whites is the fact that the Government, which has not hesitated to ask the Negro to sacrifice his life for his country, is not doing a thing to help these old people stay on the land they have called home all their lives. When will the government try to make the white man do something for his country by treating the Negro like a human being? When will the government treat the Negro as an American all the time, and not just when it thinks it needs him?

# Scottish Ship Workers Face More Layoffs

Glasgow, Scotland—A substantial drop in profits is reported by the great shipbuilding company of John Brown's of Clydebank. This has led to a call for Government help to launch a new scheme to build large modern docks on the Clyde. Other shipyards would be involved in the plan to make the Clydeside shipbuilding industry more competitive.

Judging by what Lord Aberconway, Chairman of the company said, he is looking forward to the report of the Geddes Committee due to be published soon. In this regard the comments of Mr. Iain Stewart, the new chairman of the Fairfield company, are of interest. This is what he said:

### EYES SPEED-UP

"All the big industries are facing the same problem—they are employing superfluous labour. There are two, three or four men doing one man's job. There is a lesson in this for everyone and I hope to prove the lesson with what I am doing in Fairfield."

Mr. Stewart is telling us that the aim is to reduce the labour force employed in the industry. This means that many of those who cheered Mr. Stewart as their new found saviour will have occasion to curse Mr. Stewart, Mr. Brown and the "leaders" who called on the workers to submit to the plan.

Behind all this is the desire to reduce the bargaining power of those employed in the industry. Capitalism always fights for survival at the expense of the workers.

### REDUCE LABOR

Modernization under capitalism has the aim of reducing the labour force in order to enhance profits. This will continue until the workers secure control of the tools of production.

As in the case of Fairfield, many of those associated with the working class movement have been too cowardly to say what they know to be true. One man who, at a meeting of trade unionists, said something like what we say above was described as a Luddite by an official of the Communist Party. This was nonsense but it shows us how cowardly and opportunist this party has become.

Events will show how correct we were, but the Fairfield business must not happen again. Too much time is spent considering the opinions of M.P.s and party leaders without sufficient attention being paid to the possibilities of rank-and-file initiative.

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Farm Workers Association  
Box 894  
Delano, California

# Baltimore's Negroes Form Freedom Union

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got a certain amount of money based on the specific need. All wanted to be scrupulously fair.

**NEW LEADERS DEVELOP**  
Most of the union members are young people who are the heads of families. They are young women with children whose fathers are contributing little to support the family. With the exception of two people, the workers are newly arrived in Baltimore from the South. None owns an automobile, and few have telephones. In order to assemble union meetings a car pool was formed using the CORE field secretary's car and those of volunteers.

One of the first items of business for the union was to figure out how to get a car. The members voted to contribute money from the strike fund they had collected. The cost of the car is \$150 and Baltimore CORE is helping the union buy it.

Vivian Jones, MFU's president, and Ola Johnson, the secretary, had never met before the strike. Ola worked at Lincoln Memorial and Vivian worked at Bolton Hill. Both were leaders in the walk-out. Before the formation of the MFU neither had any experience in running a meeting or speaking to large groups of people. Now both they and many other members have addressed large meetings of college students, contacted many ministers, and spoken to entire congregations. The union membership is planning immediate fund raising in their new hall. Benefit suppers are planned and door-to-door solicitations have already begun.

**PROJECT NEEDS HELP**

The continuation of the project, and the organizing of other workers—such as laundry and food store workers who make 80 cents an hour—will depend upon the effectiveness of our fund raising. Money will be needed for direct strike benefits to families, union office expenses, and publicity. Transportation to meetings for workers is essential in ghetto organizing, for workers are spread over a wide ghetto area where public transportation is inadequate, and most workers cannot afford either cars or telephones of their own. Some used office equipment must be bought. We need typewriters, mimeograph machines and paper.

The Baltimore CORE Chapter has been helping with funds,

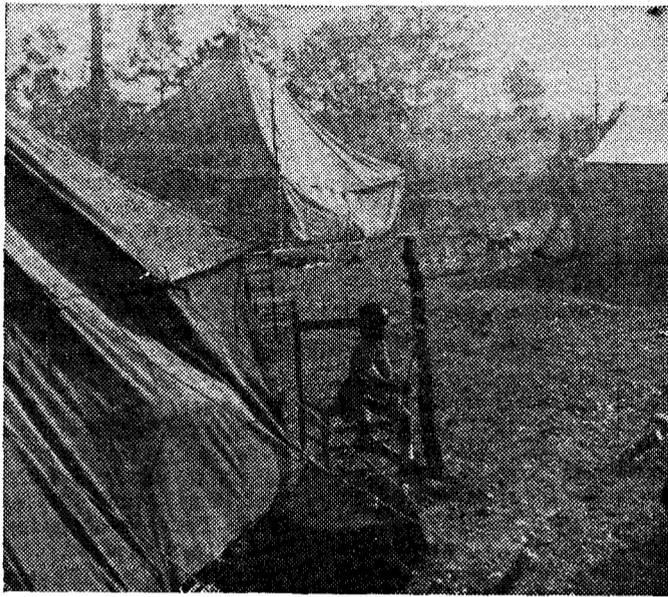
manpower, and office materials. Four organizations from colleges in the area have formed a student committee to help. Volunteers from Columbia University in N. Y. have been commuting to aid the project and raise funds in N. Y.

Building an independent union from scratch is a rough job. Workers who make \$25 a week

—when they aren't on strike—can't supply enough money to finance a large-scale organizing campaign. The MFU asks those who read this story to give us a chance to end the 35 cents an hour, 60 hour week. Send your contributions to:

**MARYLAND FREEDOM UNION**  
322 North Schroeder Ave.  
Baltimore, Maryland 21223

## Help Ala. Tent City Families



—SNCC Photo

Lowndes County, Ala. — Twenty-five more families have been asked to move from the plantations, because of their voter-registration activity. This totals more than 50 families so far in Lowndes County alone. Unfortunately, we are unable to house these people even in tents, because we do not have the money for tents and the necessary materials for proper construction. Hopefully something will break soon, as we are trying our utmost to keep them in the county where their roots have been for years.

In other surrounding counties where we are working — all Black Belt counties — the trend is also to kick Negro families from the plantations. Greene County Negroes and those in Wilcox County who

have registered to vote have been told they will have to leave. In those counties we've also had to set up tent cities.

We are struggling to get money for tents and materials for the immediate needs, and also to get money to purchase 40 acres of land at \$100 an acre so that these families — averaging eight per family — can, for the first time, have their own land and their own homes. Can you help?

**Food, clothes, medical supplies, and money are desperately needed to sustain these families. We urge our readers to send whatever they can to:**

Lillian S. McGill, Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, Box No. 25, Whitehall, Alabama.

## ON THE LINE

# Leaving Safety to Company Is Leaving Chickens To Fox

By John Allison

The local union has no control over safety in the shop. Authority for carrying out safety programs rests with the corporation. All the union does is complain about unsafe conditions, but doesn't do anything about it.

What this means to the welfare of the workers is that they suffer injuries such as they have never suffered before. The workers at Chrysler Highland Park plant are simply telling the truth when they say: leaving the corporation with complete control over safety is

like leaving the fox to watch over the chickens.

**NEED VOICE IN SAFETY**

Any safety problem is a subject that is legitimately a collective bargaining problem, and since this is the case, all local unions should have safety committeemen with power to act. So long as the union does not have this power, the loss of fingers, hands and arms — and worse — will continue.

It is no secret why management fights any attempt of the union to have an equal voice in safety considerations. The reason is that safety and production are not the same things. Production is king, the machine is second, the worker is not even in the picture and safety is last on the list.

The growing number of workers in the press room of plant 6 who are losing fingers and hands is a constant source of fear to the workers. The machines are old and are not properly kept up. The result is that they are repeaters.

**REPEATERS CHOP HANDS**

What this means is that the press comes down when it is not supposed to. A worker puts a piece of stock in the press, pushes a button, and the press comes down and cuts the stock, then goes up and is supposed to stop at the top by a brake on the machine. The worker then takes the piece of stock out, puts in another piece and pushes the button again. Only it doesn't always happen that way.

Because the machines are old and are not operating properly, sometimes the brake doesn't hold the press up, and it comes down again in a flash—when the worker's hands are under the press. And fingers and hands are chopped off.

We know about Automation; we know about it better than anybody else. But the old and new are still side-by-side in the Highland Park plant.

**PARALYZED FOR LIFE**

We remember so well the case of Brother Willie Broomfield, the jitney driver who had his load topple over on him. That was before Christmas. Now we are told that he will never walk again because he is paralyzed from the waist down.

The Jitney he drove was not automated and did not have any of the safety devices there are on the new jitneys. The equipment some of these drivers use is a disgrace, but more important, is a death trap for the men that drive them.

We read in the papers about Michigan's Labor Department; how it is the worst one of any industrial state in the country; and how many thousands of plants in the state have never been seen by a safety inspector.

**SAFETY IS ALWAYS**

All of this is true, but they could pass a million laws about safety inspection and these injuries would still keep on happening. We need union people in the plant every hour, every day whose job it is to enforce safety standards; who have the right to shut down any machine or any line that is unsafe.

Then, and only then, will we be able to put a stop to this absolutely unnecessary loss of limbs, health and life. Every worker knows that all of these unsafe conditions could be eliminated if the welfare of workers came first.

## All Hurt by Discrimination in Inspection

Detroit, Mich. — Workers at the Chrysler Highland Park plant have asked News & Letters to report on the steps being taken to discriminate against Negroes in the Inspection Department.

Negroes were integrated in the Inspection Department during Second World War years. This was shortly after the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) was established by the government, and the local union FEPC committee helped break down racial discrimination in jobs.

The first Negroes in Inspection were given jobs whites did not want, and there were plenty of Inspection jobs like that. This condition existed for some time.

**A SHIFT**  
Then Automation was born, and to the inspectors, this meant Quality Control. A neat little shift took place here.

Inspectors before Automation had the authority to reject defective work. Their job was to check what was being done to see to it that work being put out was right. But with Quality Control, many Negroes were shifted to Production Inspection, and here the boss ruled the line and the inspectors could not interfere with production.

There are many Negroes, including many women, who are in the Inspection Department and who have been doing their jobs for 10-15-20 years. But now the company has come up with another wrinkle. The Inspection Department has started to give tests to see who remains in the department.

No other department in the plant practices this test business, and inspection workers are saying this is being done to get rid of the Negroes so Inspection can be lily-white again after being integrated for more than 20 years.

**LOW PAY**  
Inspectors have pencils, and for some strange reason, this seems to give them a sense of false pride. The money this pencil-carrying job pays is little more than a sweeper gets for his day's work. But the company, with its tests, is demanding that the inspectors have skills that are ridiculous for the pay scale.

And the union's part in this is strange indeed. The steward and committeemen play a nice little game of pitting one worker against another and helping the company in this drive to eliminate Negroes from Inspection.

There are also white women and men inspectors, and their jobs are in danger too in this attempt to get rid of the Negroes. But to those who are determined to get rid of the Negroes, the white women and men can go too, so long as the Negroes are gone.

# Transit Strike Gave New Sense of Power

New York, N.Y. — For many years I have watched "Sam", a transport worker I know, dispassionately analysing the political events around him. Having grown up in the Depression, he had talked sympathetically of the Civil Rights movement, the anti-war movement, etc. He, however, felt removed from these movements. During the transit strike, he was involved.

Since the union has no strike fund, he was forced to drive people to Manhattan to make a little money, and he went heavily into debt on top of this. He has a wife, three children; lives in city housing, and made less than \$86 a week take-home pay as a token-booth attendant.

**"MY UNION"**

During the strike he began to speak of "my" union rather than "the" union. He began telling me that "my union is one of the best I have seen in terms of Civil Rights. Anyone can be a member."

When I asked about the union leadership, he avoided condemning them, pointing out that they had handled themselves pretty well during the strike. He was aware that in forcing the leadership into a strike it didn't really want, he made the union more "his," and he did not want to divide it now with a re-hashing

of the old fights.

He felt that the leadership had probably gotten the shaking-up it needed to remain responsible to the workers, and he said that if it hadn't, the workers had gained enough respect for their power and solidarity that they would be able to shake the Leadership up again in the future.

**STRIKE CHANGED WORKERS**

He felt the strike had made a change in the workers. The many classes of transport workers (there are over 16 types of transport workers with widely varying pay, working conditions and problems) were, before the strike, aware only of their own problems. They envied and often resented those in the next higher pay bracket. "Now we know that we all have to stick together," he said.

One fact that was not publicised was that the Transit Authority evolved a plan by which they would not have set a precedent of allowing the Condin-Wadlin Act (which prohibits strikes among municipal employees) to be broken. This was that the transport workers would all be "fired" for a two-day period during the time of the strike and then "re-hired", retroactively, before its end. Thus there would be no loss in pay to the workers, and the compulsory firing of workers for

striking, which is part of the law, would be satisfied.

This plan was unofficially passed down to the workers while the Transit Authority waited for their response. "Sam" said that the response of almost all the other workers he had spoken to was that if they were fired, they would want to be rehired on their own terms, which surprised the Transit Authority considerably. In other words, the Transit Authority would have another strike on its hands! Needless to say this plan was not instituted.

**GAINED POWER**  
This shows a development in thought from a question of whether "I", as an individual, will lose money, to one of will "we," as a group, lose some of the power we have gained.

When the workers refused to cooperate with the Transit Authority in a phoney deal, the legislature had to pass a totally unconstitutional law exempting these workers from the automatic firing clause of Condin-Wadlin. The state legislators had no choice. When the workers speak together and join together in a direct action that wins, all the laws and regulations go out the window like so many dry leaves. This strike definitely radicalized many of the transit workers in New York.

## EDITORIAL

## The Tragedy of Ghana

The overthrow of the regime of Kwame Nkrumah brings an end to the first independent government on the African continent.

In recent years Nkrumah has been heavily criticized for assuming a dictatorial role in Ghana; for suppressing freedom of expression; for jailing all critics, both left and right; for spending far more than his country had the ability to produce; and for the assumption of fancy titles and the amassing of personal wealth.

## NKRUMAH LED GHANA TO FREEDOM

It was not always the case. After securing two degrees in the United States, Nkrumah left as a socialist and joined the London Bureau to fight for freedom in Africa. He was jailed by the British, but finally succeeded in leading the first country in Africa to win its freedom, Ghana.

The struggle against British imperialism was conducted by the Convention Peoples Party, and during the early days, Nkrumah placed great reliance and trust in the youth section of that party to overcome the resistance of the old tribal leaders and other backward elements in that society. As the regime was consolidated, Nkrumah placed more reliance in the deals he was able to swing abroad, in membership in the British Commonwealth, in financial aid from the United States and other countries, and in arms and technical assistance from the Soviet Union.

As aid from abroad rolled in, Nkrumah relied more heavily on it, rather than on the broad masses of the country and his own political party, the Convention Peoples Party. Promising youth were sent to the Soviet Union for training and found racial discrimination there too. While Soviet technicians filled the hotels of Ghana and lived well, the people of the country found themselves facing food shortages and a lack of consumer goods. They found that all forms of public opposition to the policies of Nkrumah were met with jail sentences without trial and preventive detention for an unspecified number of years on "suspicion" alone. A number of attempts on his life ended with him establishing a Russian-trained bodyguard at his palace in Ghana, some of whom were killed during the military coup.

The new military regime released hundreds of political prisoners, but hastened to rejoin the British Commonwealth which Nkrumah had left over the Rhodesian issue, proclaimed a fondness for "returning to private enterprise", and promised a new constitution similar to that in the U.S.

## REVOLT REJECTS LEADER CULT

Meanwhile students paraded in the streets for eight hours with placards reading, "Liberty reborn", "Russians and Chinese Go Home", "Hang the Thieves".

The people danced in the streets and the expensive statues of "Osagyefo" ("The Redeemer"), as he chose to call himself, were toppled and his bronze head rolled in the streets where children used it as a footstool.

The people of Ghana chose this method of expressing their hatred of a regime that poured money into the public monuments and the glorification of the leader cult at the expense of providing the tools and equipment that would have made their daily burdens at hard labor less arduous.

It is not, as is commonly supposed, that the workers of Ghana did not resist this state of affairs. They did — through countless strikes and other forms of resistance. The strikes were broken by Nkrumah through the use of brutal force. His penalty for striking was to make the workers work overtime without pay "to make up for loss of time during the non-patriotic strike", to use his own words. Then, as if they did not have enough burdens, the workers were forced by edict to put up to 10% of their wages into "forced savings" on top of their tax burden.

## NKRUMAH IS NO MARXIST

The failure of Nkrumah, a self-avowed "Marxist" will be blamed on Marxism as a theory. Nothing could be further from the truth because nothing that Nkrumah did could be, in the slightest degree, linked with anything in the theory of Marx.

The tragedy of Ghana is not the overthrow of the Nkrumah dictatorship, but the failure after nine years of independence to build a collective leadership capable of running the country without resorting to a military dictatorship. Nkrumah's failure lies in taking the power out of the hands of the broad masses and substituting military force for workers' control of the regime. The One party state, which he is responsible for establishing in Africa, lends itself to this kind of military coup, substituting one dictatorship for another.

Unless the masses themselves get control of the country, all the talk of the military about instituting greater democracy will be so much poppycock. There is no example of the military of any country in recent times establishing a truly democratic regime.

When the world price of Ghana's chief produce, in this case cocoa, fell from 42 cents to 12 cents a pound, it is understandable why the national income of the country had been reduced by over 60% over the last few years. It was quite another thing, however, for Nkrumah to plunge wildly ahead as if nothing had happened and make great pretensions of taking over the leadership of all Africa, as if he were running the most advanced country on the continent.

Ghana has a tremendous potential for future development, despite the drop of cocoa prices which accounts for the present financial crisis. But only democratic control of the country by the masses can ensure decent conditions of labor and a community run for the benefit of all its citizens, not a handful on top.

## GHANA'S COUP

There was a lot of discussion among the Negro workers in our shop when Nkrumah was first building up his dictatorship. I remember the guys talking about a TV program once that showed how many streets were named after him, and how many statues were built to him. The same program showed the conditions under which the workers there were forced to labor, and that really hit home with us.

We know first-hand the resentment that builds up under conditions like that. That is what Marx meant, I figure, when he talked about a system breeding its own destruction.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Nkrumah reminds me of our local union bureaucrats. I guess there must be a certain common mentality all rulers get. It is good to know that even the most powerful ones can one day be deposed.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I am very suspicious of any military coup as being capable of bringing in democracy anywhere. But in Ghana, the jubilation in the streets on the part of the masses at Nkrumah's downfall spoke volumes.

When I saw the pictures of the decapitated statues in Accra, I could not help remembering the pictures of the smashed statues of Stalin during the Hungarian Revolution, and of Madame Nhu when the Diem regime was overthrown in Vietnam. Unfortunately for the Vietnamese all they got in place of that tyrant was another — and another — and another. Let us hope the Ghanians will not have to go through as much to finally get some true freedom.

Technician  
Chicago

\* \* \*

The overthrow of Zik and Nkrumah shows that it is getting damned expensive to be a leader now-a-days.

Old Politico  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT AND JOHNSON'S WAR

I don't remember ever hearing about Congressional opposition to a war that had the magnitude that the current opposition to Johnson's war in Vietnam has reached. I do agree with your February editorial, however, that it is important mostly because it is a sign of a much deeper anti-war position of the American people themselves. Your editorial was very blunt about the fact that the "hawks" and the "doves" are all arguing from the same basic ground: defense of American capitalism. That is what makes some people I know wonder if Bobby Kennedy may just be giving up war for Lent?

Reader  
New York

\* \* \*

... As Senator Morse has repeatedly pointed out, it is the USA which is the aggressor in Vietnam. We are conducting an immoral and illegal war of extermination against the Vietnamese people. LBJ's advisors appear determined to now embroil us in a ruinous war with both China and the USSR, a war which

## Readers

can only end in world-wide atomic annihilation.

As Commander-in-Chief LBJ may have the last word today. But if we survive to see the next election, the American people will have the last word and vote (him) and all his misguided supporters into oblivion.

M. W.  
Detroit, Mich.

\* \* \*

LBJ is so interested in stifling opposition to his Vietnam policy that he is forever trying to gather all views under one big consensus, defined of course, by himself.

Gavin and Kannan spoke for eight hours before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the President immediately says that he is doing exactly what they are asking for — limiting the war. Then Senator Kennedy says that we must be willing to negotiate with the Viet Cong — and LBJ has a White House spokesman say that is what he is for.

But he also has his summit with Ky in Honolulu and says that he and Ky are in agreement. Ky states that he is totally against negotiation with the Viet Cong. How can LBJ be with everyone?

The anti-war movement, on the other hand, is isolating itself from the population. It goes to 77th Street Police Station (in the Negro area) to picket for "Peace and Freedom Now." But they don't even bother to find out if people in the community are interested. As a result, one gets a picket line of 200 whites and a few Negroes—in an almost entirely Negro neighborhood.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## POVERTY ELECTION

Only a sprinkling of the county's estimated 400,000 poor went to the polls to vote for anti-poverty board members here. It was a real fiasco — but the preparations for it were really a joke. Whenever there is a regular election no matter how small the official, there are months of preparation and publicity poured into the community. For this election there was one week-end of activity. The results were self-evident.

Old Politico  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

The poverty board in Los Angeles has succeeded in pulling the wool over the eyes of the poor once more. Did anyone think they were going to put any power in the poor's hands? Just two weeks ago Mrs. Opas Jones was fired from the poverty board because she was making waves. She wanted more representation for the poor.

If we really want representatives of the poor we must select our own candidates, not let big daddy Mayor Yorty approve who he wants to represent us. Who cares who he wants? Those who represent us should not be a go-between for Yorty's political machine.

We must stop listening to what we hear on the news media because they are totally uninformed of the wishes of the people. All they know is what downtown tells them. We must wake up and listen to the moans and the groans

of the people who are not being heard.

We should tell Yorty we will decide who runs for the representation we need. We don't need doctors and teachers to tell us we're in poverty. We don't need some paid experts to tell us what's wrong. We don't want any paid expert to tell us what we need to know. We are tired of having Yorty play politics with us.

Poverty-Area  
Teen-Ager  
Los Angeles

## FROM WASEDA TO BERKELEY

The students of Waseda University have been on a campus strike here since the beginning of January against the raising of fees, and other issues. There were 203 students arrested for "occupation of the campus", including our Zenshin comrades. Please send our greetings to the Berkeley Students from Waseda.

NC-JRCL (Zenshin)  
Tokyo, Japan

## THE NEGRO REVOLUTION

All the slanders about where the idea of the Black Panther is supposed to have come from do not invalidate the soundness of the "all-black slate" in an area where the overwhelming size of the Negro majority actually makes it possible for the Negroes to win control in that locality. I am no black nationalist, believe me — but I wish the Black Panther movement in Lowndes County all the success in the world!

Activist  
Chicago

\* \* \*

Since the Negroes here have won some victories, there is a distinct change of attitude on the part of both the whites and the Negroes. Many of the Negroes who were timid about standing up for their rights before, like the Negro teachers for instance, have been sending in donations. Two school officials have bought miniature voting machines so the people can learn how to use them at night.

As far as the whites are concerned, some of them have begun to realize that they just might lose the election this year — and some of them are even trying to make "deals" with us to see if they can get our support.

Activist  
Alabama

\* \* \*

We have been making a lot of progress, but we are trying to prepare ourselves for the violence that may come in the next 12 months, when the whites make their last desperate attempt to push us back. We are worried, but we are not afraid.

Worker  
Alabama

## ANTI-COMMUNISM'S BOOMERANG

The lunatic right wing "Breakthrough" group here should receive a medal from the Communists for making Herbert Aptheker's recent visit here such an overwhelming success. Without the publicity they gave him, the meeting that the local DuBois Club on Wayne campus had

## News &amp; Letters

VOL. 11, NO. 3

March, 1966

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

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# Views

planned, would have been lucky to have attracted 50 students.

But "Breakthrough" flooded the campus with a leaflet calling on students to pack the meeting and give him a "traitor's welcome." The state legislature helped by passing a resolution requesting the Dean to refuse him permission to speak, and the TV stations and newspapers picked up the story and gave it top publicity.

As a result, no less than 3,000 students showed up to hear him, and the "Breakthrough" pickets were just about swallowed up in the sea. Moreover, since the hall that had been assigned for the meeting seated only 150, the students who couldn't get in decided to stage a sit-in outside the room, to protest the fact that the Administration hadn't provided a large enough room! They protested that the university had given Aptheker the right to speak, but hadn't given him them the right to hear him.

Observer  
Detroit

Katzenbach says youth who might join the Dubois clubs are entitled to know what is behind these groups. Right! But this can best be implemented through free and open democratic debate and discussion, not government-sanctioned thought control... It occurs to me that those opposed to compulsory registration of the Dubois Clubs might out of protest join them as "protest members." Perhaps the prospect of zooming membership in the Clubs would reduce Federal enthusiasm for this type of harassment.

It is even conceivable that if there is something anti-democratic about these clubs, a more diverse membership would correct this... Of course that would depend on the willingness of the clubs to admit protest members.

Florida  
Reader

The university administration at Chapel Hill, North Carolina has done it again. They refused Aptheker permission to speak on campus—and wound up getting 2,000 students out to hear him! The reactionaries just never seem to learn. To paraphrase the old cliché, with enemies like that, the Communists don't need friends.

Disgusted  
Chapel Hill

I wonder if the Attorney-General has a Communist on his advisory staff? I'd be willing to bet that the latest attempt to make the DuBois Clubs register as Communist front organizations will probably result in more members for them, not less.

Student  
New York

## CUBA

Peter Mallory's comments on Cuba (November N&L) were a fine example of the dilemma facing Marxism in the U.S. Being a Marxist, and a Negro, I feel it is my duty to force discussion on this dilemma, a new breed of Marxism, racist Marxism.

Is it not possible that the capitalistic system in America

has so twisted the souls of Americans that even those among us who choose to be Marxists cannot escape being racists?

I say it is possible because capitalism has destroyed the souls of many millions of Negroes, making them hate themselves... It is not forces from above that keep the Negro in his place; rather it is his own concept of himself, his belief in his own inferiority... When the Negro frees himself enough from this belief to become a Marxist... perhaps there is hope that he will overcome his own racism against himself.

But what of the white Marxist? Is it not possible for him to become a Marxist without examining his own racist tendencies?

What has all this got to do with Cuba? Mr. Mallory, you have not been watching enough television. If you had, you would have noticed two very important aspects of the recent 'exodus' from Cuba: (1) that all the people getting off those boats and planes were very well dressed. They were definitely not the poor sugarcane cutters who helped Castro overthrow Batista. (2) that in all the news broadcasts I have viewed I have seen not one black face, or even a brown one, and perhaps only a dozen olive ones.

You have failed to understand that the Castro Revolution, the Cuban Revolution, is not only a class revolution, but, in at least 40% of the cases (the black population of Cuba) it is a racial revolution... You fail to understand that any white Cuban is better off in Florida than any Negro who has ever lived, died, passed through, slept or worked in Florida.

Black Student  
New York

I was happy to see that your editorial on Vietnam in the February issue was both comprehensive and honest about the many different tendencies within the anti-war movement. I was especially taken by the reference to how the Sino-Soviet conflict undermines the independent actions of the third world of Africa, Latin-America and Asia—as witness the new conflict between Castro and Mao.

Reader  
Chicago

The Latin-American countries at the U. N. were furious over the Havana meeting which was supposed to be a gathering of the underdeveloped African, Asian and Latin-American nations. Russia and China were there not just as observers, but as voting participants. As a result, it sort of backfired on both Russia and China, when a resolution by the Latin-Americans struck out against both Yankee Imperialism and Russian Imperialism.

Observer  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## IF THE SHOE FITS...

The president of our local just about flipped when he saw the cartoon in the February issue of N&L. He was ready to sue you, he was so sure that the bureaucrat in that cartoon was supposed to be a picture of himself!

Chrysler H.P. Worker  
Detroit

## HUELGA!

Thanks and appreciation, from all of us in Delano, for your excellent coverage of the Delano Grape Pickers strike. Reporting like yours has broken through the news blackout that California newspapers tried to impose. (The L. A. Times owns almost 200,000 acres of land in southern Kern County and didn't want to publicize articles on the problems of their neighbors.) Now news of the strike and the conditions that caused it have spread all across the country.

Enclosed is a copy of Eugene Nelson's *Heulga! The First Hundred Days of the Great Delano Grape Strike*. We thought that many of your readers would be interested in this book. It is an exciting, vivid commentary on this social and political and economic upheaval... *Vivi la Huelga y la Causa!*

Doug Adair  
Farm Worker Press  
Delano, California

Editor's Note: We urge our readers to get a copy of this informative and exciting book which we will review next issue. The pictures alone are worth the very modest price, only \$1.50 from Farm Worker Press, PO Box 1060, Delano, Cal. See ad on page 7.

## NEW READERS

I have just finished reading your Afro-Asian pamphlet, and *Indignant Heart*. They are powerful pieces of literature — especially the latter. It made me feel as if I were looking in a mirror. Every word could have been about myself.

Negro Reader  
Detroit

After reading your paper, I feel that you are showing only one side of the major issues. You know there are two sides to every story, and if we as American citizens are to decide what is best for our country and act accordingly, don't you think we should read both sides? Your paper can do this for us.

Concerned  
California

Editor's Note: The so-called objective daily press spends millions telling "one side" of the story. We exist to tell the side of the workers, the Negroes, the students, the freedom fighters throughout the world. There is no other place where they can speak for themselves.

I have been reading your literature for several months and would like to promote your newspaper among the unemployed and underpaid workers in this area. We are thoroughly involved in voter-registration, employment and political education. Please let me know how I can get copies of your paper to promote the issues.

Worker  
Alabama

Editor's Note: We will be glad to send bundle orders to those who feel it will help their organizational work. We also urge those active in the movement everywhere to use our pages for stories about their own work and problems, and thus make the paper a true weapon in their struggle.

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman  
National Editorial Board

## Early Marxist-Humanist Analysis of Viet Nam Predicted War Moves

(Editor's Note: A reader in Boston writes: "I have just been re-reading some of Raya Dunayevskaya's *POLITICAL LETTERS*, and was amazed at the accuracy with which she predicted what has happened in Vietnam, though she wrote of it in 1961, when most of us did not yet know such a place even existed. I wish you could print that letter in a future issue. It certainly testifies to the power of the Marxist-Humanist method of analysis." We print below the letter to which our Boston reader refers.)

\* \* \*

October 9, 1961

Hidden in the inside pages of the local press of Friday and Saturday (October 6th and 7th) was a brief AP dispatch which stated: "State Department sources revealed privately yesterday that sending troops to South Viet Nam is under consideration." The same day one of the Alsop brothers wrote a column which, at one and the same time, tried claiming that the most important aspects of Kennedy's speech before the UN had been the references to Laos and South Viet Nam, and played down the idea of commitment of U.S. troops to "the defense of South Viet Nam" on the ground that these were not so much for combat as for "training." Obviously, however, the "training" would be on live human beings!

Just now the Sunday N.Y. Times has arrived and I note that, contrary to the local press, the Times does give the matter front page coverage. However, it becomes even further removed from the real danger point by relating it to the failure to achieve the peace in Laos promised by Khrushchev. Since at this moment the three princes have finally worked out a modus vivendi, the item on South Viet Nam will again "be lost."

### UNDECLARED WARS OF IMPERIALISM

Following the long bloody mess of the Korean War which Truman had called a "police action," no doubt we should be hardened on the matter of imperialistically undeclared wars. Nevertheless, the new point here is that while all eyes are on Berlin, and nothing short of mankind's total annihilation is deemed worthy of serious discussion, an old-fashioned war is being clandestinely prepared.

Let's bring it out into the open. If the Berlin crisis was manufactured in Moscow, the one in South Viet Nam is being manufactured in Washington, D.C.—and for the same reason. That is to say, the struggle for world domination means, first and foremost, a struggle against the working people in one's own country AND the countries one dominates. In the case of South Viet Nam, the so-called "democratic regime" of Ngo Dinh Diem has so steadily moved to the right that it is little distinguished either from the old-fashioned mandarin regime, or the French puppet regime of Emperor Bao Dai, except that this one's bills are paid by the United States.

The agrarian reforms promised and haltingly begun when Ngo Dinh Diem first won the presidency have in each case given way to the old landlord rule and even when a new project is begun, it is the old landlord who becomes the new administrator. The peasant masses rightfully see no difference from the old ruling class. Neither do the petty-bourgeois revolutionary intellectuals that originally helped the country created in 1954 see any of its civil liberties restored, or even the corruption cleared up, now that the corruption has moved from the religious sects to the family of the aristocratic president.

The victories of the guerrillas are not "foreign" but mass supported. In the seven years existence of South Viet Nam, Ngo Dinh Diem has lost what support he had when he fought France and its puppet, Bao Dai. When South Viet Nam was first established, nearly a million refugees from Communist North Viet Nam moved in. At the moment of the regime's total isolation from the masses, however, the "liberal" intellectuals around the young, vigorous, smart man in the White House think it is time to rally around the flag (though the flag be that of a tottering though new semi-feudalism).

Inasmuch as the war is not yet full-fledged, it does give us the opportunity not to limit our analysis to the immediate question, but to extend it to the relationship the theory of permanent revolution has to the conditions in the underdeveloped economies in general, and Viet Nam, South and North, in particular.

### THE THEORY OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

Heretofore,\* we stressed the negative features of the theory of permanent revolution because, in its under-estimation, if not outright rejection, of the peasantry as revolutionary, a vanguard force, the theory was far removed from the realities of our age, while in its over-estimation of the role of the State Plan, Trotskyism turned out to be nothing but the loyal opposition to Communist rule—that is, where it was permitted to exist at all.

We presently wish to take up the positive features of that theory as it was first born in Russia, 1903-06, and as it gave Trotskyism the only base it has in the underdeveloped economies, whether that be Ceylon, Indonesia, or Viet Nam. That positive element is twofold: (1) the element of genius—its anticipation of future development—relates to its thesis that the Russia of 1903-05 need not await full industrialization to have its revolution; that it could be the first to have a proletarian revolution since it does have a cohesive, though small proletariat, to lead the vast mass of peasants. Victory could therefore be assured it, PROVIDED (2) it was part of a world revolution.

These two elements fired the imagination of the colonial masses in our era and won the Trotskyists members, especially during the periods when the Communists were in one of their right-wing zigzags of being for "all four classes," or of slavishly following the Russian foreign policy at a moment when the national revolution in any one country demanded a totally different policy. Thus in 1936 during the Blum regime in France which gave Indo China some political freedoms, while the Stalinist "anti-fascist" policy within the colonies made it unite with the middle-class, the Trotskyists won a Saigon municipal election which put the Communists in the shade.

Continued on page 7

\*See Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolution, pp20-22.

# YOUTH

## NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

### The Real Issue of the Student Draft Problem

U.S. college students are now being faced with the distinct possibility of being drafted in the near future. The director of Selective Service, Gen. Hersey, has indicated that examinations will be given college students this spring to determine whether they will be drafted. Those who score too low will lose their student deferments.

At the university I attend, thousands of students found that the automatic deferments which they had received in previous years were no longer granted and many were reclassified 1A. This has led many to examine the draft regulations.

#### NON-COLLEGE YOUTHS ASK: WHY?

The special status given college students certainly put youth who do not go to college in a position of being more likely to be drafted. The non-college youth ask why they should have to go just because they are not in college. Many cannot afford to continue in school.

The rationale behind exempting college students is that they are being trained for jobs which will benefit society as a whole. The tests which will be given are designed to eliminate from privileged student deferment those in the lower portion scholastically.

This is supposed to be some type of an intelligence test. However, those who are not full-time students will lose any deferment before the test. Thus the student deferment already favors those who can afford full-time class loads.

There are also students in college who came from inferior grade schools, or who go to school full-time but still work. Many of these students, while able to stay in school, are not in the top of the class. Thus the tests will select against them.

#### POOR ARE PENALIZED

An argument can be made that the whole draft system with its special deferments favors the drafting of the poor who can not often obtain these deferments. And now the new tests may very well select even against those

poor who have managed to go to college.

Nevertheless, is it right to oppose the student deferment because it is protection for a certain portion of the youth at the expense of another portion?

The whole problem with such a discussion is that it is arguing on the grounds of how best to supply the government with the 30,000 men it asks for every month, and thus it cannot give any rational solution to the conflict, save universal service. And this certainly in no answer to those opposed to military service.

#### THE REAL QUESTION

The real question that should be asked — both by those eligible to be drafted and those protected for the moment — is: should the government be able to draft 30,000 men a month for duty when we as citizens have little control over what they are used for? Recently 20,000 were sent to suppress a popular revolution in Latin America; 235,000 are now involved in Vietnam.

Exactly what are we fighting for and whom are we fighting against is the question. I do not wish to try and answer that here. What I am raising is how do you approach the individual problem of being drafted, and perhaps being involved in the killing of other human beings.

One has to put in objective terms what is happening. To put it on a basis of choosing one group of people over another is what the government is doing. It will be arguing on their ground to ask that another group be chosen to go, or that all should have to go. Why should ANY go? If we attempt to answer this question we will not be trapped in answers which always end up giving the government its 30,000 men for the month.

### Rightists Make Baltimore Gains

By MIKE WALTERS

Baltimore, Md.—The 1964 presidential campaign was not really a defeat for the American Right. Although their standard-bearer was defeated, they developed a "mass base" that they needed to counter-act the political advances that the election had won for the liberals. Millions were exposed to their propaganda, which lies dormant until the right issue can be utilized.

The defeat of an open occupancy ordinance in Baltimore by the City Council illustrates this situation. It should have passed without difficulty, as the majority of the populace in Baltimore belong to some minority group, whether Negro, Jewish or Catholic.

#### VOCAL SUPPORT INADEQUATE

Religious leaders of all the major faiths supported the bill. Organized labor officials spoke in its favor. The majority of the City Council are Johnson Democrats. Yet open occupancy was defeated by a vote of 13 to 8.

At an open hearing, Cardinal Sheehan, who spoke in favor of open occupancy, was greeted by boos from hundreds of Rightists. Yet the majority of the Catholic

members of the City Council voted against the bill. This was all due to mass political agitation by the Right. They formed front groups, labeling themselves "taxpayers associations" and "citizens interest" or "civic leagues."

But the Right was still not satisfied. It had the taste of a political victory in its mouth, and was eager for more. The chairman of the Baltimore Human Relations Council is an active member of SANE and participated in the November March on Washington. In the cause of patriotism, he was defeated for renomination. The City Council linked the issues of civil rights and peace.

#### RIGHTIST AGITATION

Their actions are as much due to the political inadequacies of the liberal community as to the manipulations of the Right. Although the official leaders of Baltimore's religious community and labor supported the bill, their activity was from above. Their rank-and-file were being agitated by the Right on such issues as property values, crime in the streets, etc.

The mayor, who has a reputation for being a crusader for liberalism, was silent. He had just gotten back from Asia with Vice-President Humphrey . . .

### Watts Youth Speak Out

## Students Organize to Keep Class

Los Angeles, Calif. — For the past several years the high school I attend has offered drama classes for the students who are interested, but this year there was the possibility of the classes being cut until a new teacher was reassigned. Also, the administration moved us from the one classroom built for the drama class needs, to another which has inadequate space. This room is

too small to act in; it is over another class room and when we talk and jump around, it disturbs the class below us.

We asked the principal and the administration to reassign us to our first class room, but they refused. So we organized the students and were going to try to petition the school.

#### TALKS WITH PRINCIPAL

I mimeographed some petitions for the students to sign. Before passing them out I talked to the principal. He showed me the School Administration Book, which says no outsiders, or teachers or anybody may petition the school.

Then I showed him the petition. I believe that really upset him, because after he had finished talking to me, the vice principal came up to my room and got me out and he also talked to me. He told me that if I didn't give him the petitions right then I would immediately be thrown out of school, and not be allowed to get into a school.

I knew that this was a lie because I would just have to organize 50 of the dedicated people, and we would walk out. And we would all be reassigned to our school.

#### THREAT TO EXPEL

The vice principal went into my locker and took the petitions. He was really mean about it. He said if the petition went out, I would go out. But then he said we would get our room back before the week was out.

He told me that the main reason we didn't have the room was that the school was overcrowded. I explained to him about two adjoining rooms which have about 80 seats in them which only 10 students occupy for various classes. Across the hall in another room, which is a health class that all boys have to take now in order to graduate, there are about 50 boys all crammed up. All that has to be done is to switch rooms. I think part of the problem is the administration does not care.

#### TEACHER IS BLOCKED

Before we had begun our preparation of petitions, the teacher had gone down to the administration and tried to get the old class room back. They just blocked him out and told him that we were not going to get the room.

We were not going to get the class because another new teacher came in and she pulled some strings. She didn't want to move out of that room because her classes were all in this particular room, and she just didn't want to walk a few steps to another class room for the one period a day when drama is taught.

#### STUDENTS READY TO ACT

The kids in the drama class all agreed that we had to do something to get the room back. They wanted to draw posters and signs, or walk out, or do anything just to get back the room.

I discussed the situation with about 30 kids outside of those in the drama class. They liked the

idea of what we were doing. They wanted us to get the room. They didn't like the idea of the administration putting you where they want to put you.

Although the vice principal said that we should have our room back by the end of the week, we got it the very next day. I think that they gave us the room so fast just to cut down on any trouble that might occur.

## Hits Malcolm X Trial Proceedings

New York, N. Y. — Twice during the course of the trial of the alleged assassins of Malcolm X, the doors of the courtroom have been locked against the press and the public—the people. Behind those closed doors, two "mystery witnesses" have given secret testimony for the prosecution in its case against Thomas Hayer, Norman 3X Butler, and Thomas 15X Johnson.

The nature of that testimony is not important here, nor is the guilt or innocence of these three men. But the nature of secret testimony itself and its effects upon the jury (nine men and three women—three of the men are black) is of grave importance. Such testimony is damaging to any defendant in any case, not because of its content, but because of the circumstances surrounding its presentation.

There were other common violations of human rights in the trial:

(1) Every prospective juror was asked if he would give greater weight to the testimony of a law enforcement agent than to that of an ordinary citizen. Those who were accepted as jurors maintained that they would not. But does any reasonable man seriously believe that the average juror will give equal weight to the testimony of a white police detective, his badge shining on the lapel of his Ivy-league suitcoat, to that of a 70-year-old Blackman from Cape Verde, who joined Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity in the hope that it might send him back to the island of his birth?

(2) From time to time, jurors are introduced to disregard certain portions of the testimony, or certain comments, or certain statements. But a statement has been made, is in the air, is heard; it cannot be forgotten. Certainly lawyers consider such statements an important part of their legal arsenal.

Under those circumstances, is it at all possible for a jury to remain unimpressed by the exclusion even of the press, or by an empty, high-ceilinged courtroom when moments before every seat had been filled?

A society that permits these kinds of self-deception in its courts is either dishonest or insane.

Black Student

## Farce of War on Poverty Is Clear

Philadelphia, Pa. — Two professors of political science and six sociologists from local colleges have planned out what they call the Philadelphia "War on Poverty Institute." The "Institute" is supposed to train 383 persons whose yearly incomes are under \$3,000. They include the 144 elected members of the neighborhood "anti-poverty committees," 144 "scholarship students" chosen by the former, and 95 employees of the "community action councils."

According to a political science professor from Temple University, "The Institute will train the leaders of the war on poverty to understand their own needs and familiarize these leaders with ways to improve their conditions. They will then transmit this knowledge to the impoverished."

There have been purblind and arrogant professors before, even professors who thought social conditions (which they know little about) could be changed by teaching a course or stating some half-baked ideas, but that last sentence really takes the cake. Imagine, "transmitting knowledge to the impoverished." What's even funnier, or more pathetic, depending how you look at it, is the \$600,000 a year that the Government is putting into the "Institute."

## Youth Sees Slow Racial Advances

Detroit, Mich. — On Thursday, Feb. 24, at the Jewish Community Center, there was a discussion for youth on racial harmony in Detroit, now and in the past. Leonard Gordon, Michigan area Director of the American Jewish Committee, and Henry Silver, of the Mayor's Commission on Community Relations, were the guest speakers.

Silver talked about the riots of 1943 and the general condition of Negro life then. The Mayor's Commission on Community Relations organization was formed at that time to help Negroes and others who needed help with segregation problems. This committee did everything except stop general segregation in most people's minds.

Gordon talked about the racial issues now at Wayne State University. Some students are active in the Civil Rights Movement. Others agree without meaning it, or taking an active part.

A question was asked about when racial harmony will be complete in Detroit. Silver and Gordon answered that it will be a long time until complete racial harmony is attained in Detroit, but that day will come.

I believe that racial harmony—at least in terms of desegregation and equal opportunity—will be achieved much sooner, but I think these outward changes will come sooner than the changes in people's minds.

—Pre-teenager

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**Jailed 6 Months**

**Try to Frame Watts Negro for Murder**

Los Angeles, Cal.—Philip Bentley Brooks, 23, has just been released on bail — six months after the Watts Revolt, when he was arrested on a charge of first degree murder for the slaying of a deputy sheriff, although the deputy had been shot by his own partner.

Bail was set at \$2,500, which is quite low for first degree murder, but evidently the state has a very weak case. Nevertheless, they kept Brooks in jail for six months without bail. He is married and has four small children.

According to police records, the deputies approached a car being driven by Brooks which had stopped for a red light at the intersection of Imperial and Wilmington on Aug. 12, 1965, about 9:30 p.m. Joseph Lavine, Jr., 23, was in the front passenger seat and Harold Potts, 22, in the rear.

The deputy walking toward Brooks carried a shotgun, his

finger on the trigger. The deputy alleges that Brooks reached out of the car and placed his hand on the gun; that he (the deputy) became startled by the action of Brooks and jumped back, jerking the gun, causing it to discharge and fatally wound his fellow-deputy.

**STORY DISPUTED**

Brooks denies that he touched the gun at any time. He asserts that the deputy aimed the gun at him. "Then he hit me with the butt of it. When he hit my elbow and the top of the door, it went off."

Lavine charges that sheriff's deputies beat all three of them. He claims that the deputies at first thought he was driving the car. They handcuffed him with his hands behind his back, he claims, and then, pulling his body up by the handcuffs, rammed his head four or five times into the side of the car, and also whipped him over the head with a flashlight. All three were given medi-

cal treatment in jail.

Originally all three youths—none of whom had either a juvenile or an adult police record—were charged with murder. Attorney Kenneth Thomas, counsel for Brooks, reports that the District Attorney propounded various theories in an attempt to support this charge. The first theory alleged that the slaying was an act of conspiracy among the three defendants. Next, it arose from an attempted robbery; Brooks was trying to take the gun away from the deputy in order to appropriate it for his own use. The third theory maintained that existence of a riot sufficed to show that the defendants had malicious intent to take the officer's life.

**TWO RELEASED**

For lack of probable cause to hold them for murder the cases against Lavine and Potts were dismissed and they were released after being held in jail for four months without bail.

Brooks, however, was held for first degree murder on yet another theory. A section of the penal code makes it a felony to interfere with an executive officer in the performance of his duties. This current theory holds that the deputy sheriff is an executive officer and that Brooks was committing a felony by interfering with him. Therefore, the act of the deputy in shooting his partner can be attributed to the felony being committed by Brooks.

**SCAPEGOAT NEEDED**

"This case exemplifies the degree to which officials in an attitude of hysteria will overreach in an attempt to find a scapegoat," Attorney Brooks said. He noted that if no Negro were to be prosecuted for murdering a Caucasian during the riots, no justification would appear for the killing of more than 30 Negroes during the uprising. Only two Caucasians were killed at the time: this deputy sheriff and a fireman.

A Committee for the Defense of Philip Bentley Brooks has been formed by a group of concerned citizens. It will work for the release of Brooks, and raise funds for his defense. For more detailed information, contact Mrs. Jeanne Freeman, chairman, 10203 1/2 Compton Ave., Los Angeles, California, 90002, 569-6814 (day), 733-9428 (evening).

**Tell Why They Occupied Greenville Air Force Base**

(Editor's Note — Impoverished Negroes issued the following statement before they were evicted by the Federal Government from the Greenville Air Force Base. They are now at Strike City. See picture p. 1.)

Greenville, Miss.—We are here because we are hungry and cold and we have no jobs or land. We don't want charity. We are willing to work for ourselves if given a chance.

We are at the Greenville Air Force Base because it is federal property and there are hundreds of empty houses and buildings.

We need those houses and land. We could be trained for jobs in the buildings.

**WHAT ARE WE DEMANDING?**

1. We demand food. We are here because we are hungry. Our children can't be taught in school because they are hungry.
2. We demand jobs. We are here because we have no jobs. Many of us have been thrown off the plantations where we worked for nothing all our lives.
3. We demand job training. We demand that people be trained for things that they want to do and they be paid while they are being trained.
4. We demand income. We demand that poor people be given an income instead of handouts and food commodities. Until we get an income for our families, we want commodities which are fit to eat. The commodities we get now are old and full of bugs and weevils. We want fresh vegetables, fruits, and meat. We want to decide what foods we want to eat.

5. We demand land. We are here because we don't have land. There are thousands of acres here that the government owns. We say we are supposed to be part of that government. We want the clear and the unclear land; we'll clear the unclear land ourselves.
6. We want "Operation Help" to be stopped. We don't want the Mississippi county boards of supervisors to have another chance to decide whether poor people should get food. We don't recognize these county boards because they don't represent us. We want the Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Department of Agriculture to hire poor people to represent us. We, the poor people, want to distribute the food.
7. We demand that Project Headstart schools be started now. We demand that the Office of

Economic Opportunity give us the money they promised us last September so that our children can be taught in the Headstart school.

We are ready now to ask of President Johnson whose side are you on — the poor people's or the millionaires'?

POOR PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE  
January 31, 1966

WRITE TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TODAY in support of the people of the Mississippi Delta asking that federal land in Mississippi be made available to those who need it.

FUNDS ARE DESPERATELY NEEDED to provide food and clothing for the poor, tents and land for the homeless. Make contributions payable to: MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 802 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

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**TWO WORLDS**

**Early Marxist-Humanist Analysis of Viet Nam Predicted War Moves**

Continued from page 5

Even during World War II when all political freedoms were once again removed, the Trotskyist participation in the resistance to the Japanese occupation kept it stronger than the CP. When, however, at the end of the war the Trotskyists became part of the Vietnam and a provisional government, with Ho Chi Minh as president, was established, the duality in the theory of the permanent revolution aided the Communists in gaining power. The Communists do not take chances with anyone who questions their monolithism. Whether it was the great figure of Leon Trotsky himself whom Stalin made sure to murder during World War II, or the Trotskyist leader in Viet Nam, Ta Thu Thau, whom the Communists assassinated as World War II ended, the Communists made sure that no polarizing independent Marxist force remained alive for long.

When I was in Paris in 1947 and met some Vietnamese Trotskyists, they saw the role of class-compromise the Communists were practicing then, but failed to see the vanguard potential of the Vietnamese peasants. They did not fight for that question to be put as a separate point on the agenda of the Fourth International because they themselves could not see victory through total reliance on those revolutionary peasants. At the same time France betrayed Ho Chi Minh by only promising to negotiate for an independent Viet Nam. By then civil war was inevitable, and once again the Trotskyists, to the extent they existed there, became just an appendage to the Communist movement.

**THE "NEW" STATE CAPITALIST ADMINISTRATORS**

Viet Nam was divided in two by the Geneva Agreement of the "Big Four" plus China in 1954. Though by 1950 Peking had recognized the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam," headed by Ho Chi Minh, and though Ho Chi Minh had been a leader of the resistance, the Vietnamese masses did not accept him in 1954 when the civil war ended and they fled South by the thousands, tens of thousands, until they had numbered nearly a million. Only in part was this due to the fact that Ngo Dinh Diem had resisted French overlordship, and its puppet Bao Dai for, by comparison, Ho Chi Minh was still an outstanding revolutionary. What, then, made the peasants run? They were, quite obviously, the first to smell that the state capitalist bureaucratic administrators were no different from the old conquerors. Therefore they ran in the opposite direction—but no one was there to listen, much less to build on what those refugees felt and thought.

In 1958, before the rightist coup in Laos I had written to a friend specializing in the study of Southeast Asia about the moment in history when the Communist tide had been stopped—and not by arms: "What is this totally new phenomenon? . . . Could the refugees from Communism tell? Could living with Vietnamese at this point of history reveal the new and dramatic that may be so vital to the whole 20th Century struggle for the mind of man? All I know is that what is abstract in Hegel in the Absolute Idea, like 'Self-determination in which alone the Idea is to hear itself speak,' was made concrete in Lenin's time by the speech of the Irish Revolution which Lenin immediately embraced as not just 'ordinary principle of self-determination of nations' but as the 'bacilli of socialist revolution.' Can we try to be that daring and bold in the philosophic approach needed in our day? . . ."

**THE DESIRE FOR WORLD DOMINATION**

The rightist coup in Laos in 1958 was followed by the Leftist Pathet Lao coup in 1960. Supposedly peace and "neutrality" has now been established—only to have the Kennedy Administration announce that the U.S. "would not permit Laos to be used as a Communist military base against South Viet Nam." (N.Y. Times, October 8, 1961) As I stated above, it is not "the foreigner," the outside that makes the downfall of South Viet Nam imminent—it is the internal, the rejection by the masses of the corrupt Mandarin nepotism of South Viet Nam. Just as it was important to show the positive in the theory of permanent revolution to explain the mass base in the few places Trotskyism has one in the underdeveloped countries, so it now becomes imperative to clarify the distinction between U.S. monopoly capitalism with state overtones and Russian state-capitalism with "socialist" overtones. Both are out for single world domination, it is true. Both are part of the world stage of capitalist development — state capitalism — it is equally true.

Nevertheless, the Russian (and Chinese) variety wish to remake the world in their own image and therefore open up for the intelligentsia the vista of being the new ruling class while the American private capitalists are lazy enough to want to dominate by pure identification with the old ruling class and thus open no vista to any section of the population that would gain from the overthrow of the status quo.

It is this which makes Kennedy resort back to the mailed fist, the old Eisenhower-Dulles policy variant of it: whether it is West Germany and the re-establishment of the Krupps that gave birth to Nazism, or it is South Viet Nam and the re-establishment of the rule of the mandarins. In this way the young bright intellectuals around Kennedy expose their total bankruptcy. In less than a year of rule we face the possible commitment of U.S. troops in Southeast Asia. But the American people are not about to consent to another Korea, nor to another brainwashing, whether it comes from the full state-capitalists, or those only on the road to state-capitalism. What we as a group need to do while this still is in the discussion stage, and the State Department is still busy denying it means actual combat duty, is to show that no event, no matter how minute, can be analyzed, or acted upon, except as a totality of philosophic, economic, political and organizational outlook such as Marxist-Humanism is.

**MARXISM AND FREEDOM**

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

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# Labor, Negro Movement Make New Links to Change Society

Continued from page 1  
checks—but have done nothing either to end discrimination in their own unions or organize the unorganized.

The failure of the labor leadership to come to the aid of the Mississippi and Tennessee Freedom Unions is documented by the very existence of the now famous Tent Cities in both Tennessee and in the Mississippi Delta. In Mississippi, the Tent City near Greenville is known as "Strike City," populated by the men, women and children who were thrown off their plantations after they waged an unsuccessful strike for higher wages last year.

Prodded by the activity of rank-and-file Negro workers in their own union—such as those in Detroit who have organized a Michigan Chapter to aid the Lowndes County Christian Movement "back home"—UAW officials have finally taken the first steps to send help to the Tent Cities which have sprung up for a variety of reasons throughout the South.

## FROM NONE TO MAJORITY

Tent City in Lowndes County, Ala., for example, is populated by Negroes who have been evicted, not for strike activity, but for voter registration activity. One short year ago, just before the historic Selma to Montgomery March, not a single Negro was registered to vote in this county where Negroes outnumber the whites almost 4 to 1. By today, registered Negro voters far outnumber registered white voters, despite the most extreme forms of intimidation and reprisal against them.

The more intense the intimidation, the more determined have become the Negroes to continue their drive. Though driven out of their jobs, out of their homes, and even shot at in their tents, they have made it plain that they intend to stay in Alabama and use their hard-won vote to wrest the 11 counties of Alabama's "Black Belt" from white dominance this November.

One of the most important of the new developments has been the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), a new "third party" which intends to run an all-Negro slate in November with the Black Panther as its symbol.

## DRIVE FOR SHERIFF OFFICE

Once LCFO is established, SNCC plans to organize similar parties in other counties where the overwhelming Negro majority makes it possible for them to win and gain control of the county government. The LCFO intends to run candidates for almost all local offices: sheriff, supervisor, tax assessor, board of education, and jury commissioner. The fact that the right to vote is considered nothing less than a "life-and-death" question in the Deep South, where so many have already lost their lives merely for the crime of being a Negro, is seen in the fact that the office of sheriff is one of those Negroes are most anxious to win.

The strength of the Negro movement, and the fact that the whites now know they will need Negro votes to stay in power in many of the counties, is clearly shown in this: the motto "For White Supremacy" which has always appeared on the ballot above the white rooster, symbol of the Alabama Democratic Party, has quietly been removed this year.

The most recent, virtually unanimous, Supreme Court decision to uphold the major provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and clear the way for large-scale participation by Negroes in this year's elections, is one more testimony to the never-ceasing pressure of the movement—the same

pressure which had finally forced passage of the act last summer.

The new forms of struggle that are evolving South and North emphasize not only the ceaseless nature of the freedom movement—which refuses to be sidetracked until full freedom is won—but also the inseparability of the class question from the race question.

## WATTS QUESTION REMAINS

That was the fact of life that the Watts Revolt hurled at the world last summer. But the warning that Watts sounded has fallen on deaf ears insofar as the power structure has been concerned. All that has come out of that Revolt has been a \$300,000 report that has warned that unless some changes are made, Watts can erupt again. (Ed. Note: As we go to press, it has.)

Meanwhile, both Martin Luther King, and CORE'S new director, Floyd McKissick, have been trying to emphasize anew the importance of the common struggle of labor and the Negro. In Chicago, Rev. King has openly asked the labor unions to back his drive to clean up the slum conditions in Chicago. As a starter, he received pledges of \$25,000 in aid from a meeting sponsored by the United Packing-house Workers.

Since then UAW Region 4, with 90,000 members in Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska, has officially committed more than 100 organizers to lead King's drive to organize slum dwellers into a union to bargain for better conditions with their landlords. The UAW has also agreed to help in a massive voter registration campaign, and to publicize the low wage rates of Negro workers in an effort to get a high state and national minimum wage. It is the biggest move to date by the official labor movement to help a civil rights drive, and reflects the pressures from below.

## LABOR AND NEGRO

The two great movements that have produced all the progress and given all the democracy that America has ever known have been the labor and the Negro struggles in this country—from the beginning of the 19th century right up to today.

But it is only when these two great movements, labor and Negro, have coalesced, instead of merely running parallel to each other, that any real turning point has been achieved. That is what made possible the CIO—and that is the only thing that will make possible the true reconstruction of society on humanist foundations without which total freedom will never be achieved.

The Negro movement in this country that began ten years ago with the 1956 Montgomery Boycott and refused to "wait" for the labor movement to join it has not only produced more gains for the Negro than had been seen in the entire century before—but has provided the inspiration for new freedom struggles everywhere—and has impelled many whites to stand up and be counted with it.

## SIGNS OF FUTURE

That it has now inspired a new move on the part of rank-and-file workers—such as those in auto who are consciously seeking a direct link to and alliance with the civil rights movement—is a tremendously important sign of things to come. What these workers feel must surely be felt by thousands and thousands of other rank-and-file workers—and not only in auto, but in steel, coal, rubber and every other industry, as well.

It is when these forces do finally link up in a decisive manner, from below, that total freedom, freedom from class society, will finally be possible.

# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## 50th Anniversary of the Irish Revolution

On Easter Monday, 1916, James Connolly, a man of socialist convictions, led the Irish Citizens Army in a life and death struggle to free Ireland from the hands of British imperialism. He was betrayed by people he depended upon, but fought bravely until captured and finally executed by the British. While he did not live to see it, the struggle that he initiated finally led to the independence of the southern part of Ireland, and the Irish have never ceased to struggle against the partition of their

country into two parts.

To mark the anniversary of the event, the hated statue of Lord Nelson in the main square of Dublin was blasted to ruins by Irish patriots.

To acquaint the youth of today with the views of the man who fought in opposition to World War I, I would like to quote something James Connolly wrote in 1915:

"We have held, and do hold, that war is a relic of barbarism only possible because we are governed by a ruling class with barbaric ideas; we have held and do hold that the working class of all countries

cannot hope to escape the horrors of war until in all countries that barbaric ruling class is thrown from power; and we have held, and do hold that the lust for power on the part of the ruling class is so deeply rooted in the nature and instinct of its members, that it is more probable that nothing less than a superior force will ever induce them to abandon their throttling grasp upon the lives and liberties of mankind."

Those who fought and died 50 years ago in the struggle for freedom should be remembered today as having passed on to us a proud heritage.

## ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The O.A.U., as it is called, has held a six day meeting in Addis Ababa to discuss the problems that African nations mutually face. The foreign ministers of these African countries, after six days of disagreement, finally found one issue they could unite on, a resolution calling on Britain to apply effective measures, including force, to bring about the downfall of the Smith rebel regime in Rhodesia.

The first disagreement came over the seating of the new regime in Ghana in place of Nkrumah's delegate. Guinea, Mali and Tanzania stormed out of the sessions. The United Arab Republic and Algeria followed over the issue of Rhodesia, when the Algerian resolution was rejected.

Somalia left the conference stating they would not be a party to submissive resolutions that violated the very principles on which the O.A.U. was founded. Kenya walked out in an expression of solidarity with Nkrumah.

Zambia followed suit, returning only to praise Nkrumah. With the withdrawal of Mauritania and the Congo Republic, the meetings became quite meaningless and the Organization of African Unity ended its meetings in the greatest state of disunity that has ever existed since its foundation.

## DUBOIS CLUBS

For the first time since the era of Senator McCarthy, the U.S. Attorney General, Katzenbach, has petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to add a name to this illegal list. The organization cited was the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

As if his request was the signal for a new period of McCarthy hysteria to begin, the national office of the DuBois Clubs in San Francisco was completely demolished with 40 sticks of dynamite and six members of the club in Brooklyn, N.Y. were attacked on the street outside their clubroom.

We do not support the DuBois Club in any shape or manner, but we do condemn anyone, from Katzenbach to the hoodlums, who tries to suppress political ideas, whether through blacklisting or through force and violence.

## GUATEMALA ELECTION

The military regime in Guatemala has just conducted its first election since it overthrew the government of President Fuentes in 1963. They had promised to abide by the results, expecting to win with their candidate, Col. Aguilar.

Another right wing candidate, Col. Ponciano, was former Army Chief of Staff. The civilian candidate, Mendez Montenegro, was the candidate of the Revolutionary Party, representing the center-left.

First reports indicated that Mendez had won a majority over the combined military candidates because of the wide support he enjoyed among the industrial workers. He won overwhelmingly in Guatemala City. Doubts as to whether he would be allowed to assume the presidency, however, grew as the military demanded that the vote in the capital be "invalidated" and new returns were brought in later from the more remote regions. Although Mendez continued to lead the other two candidates, his vote was whittled down to less than the majority needed to win. If no candidate receives a majority the election will be decided by the congress, and the serious political crisis will merely be postponed two months.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

In an unexpected decision a Federal Judge has ordered the State of Alabama to include both Negroes and women of both races on all future juries. Thus the white women of Alabama have been given back their civil rights through the Negro struggle for their rights. At the same time the judge ruled that Alabama's justice of the peace system was illegal.

It had been common practice in the state for these justices to levy big fines on motorists passing through the state. The justices kept the fines as their "fee". If you could not pay you stayed in jail or forfeited your car for the fine.

The states of Mississippi and North Carolina still employ this system of fake justice. You can imagine what kind of a chance a Negro stands when hailed before such a "court".

## AUSTRIA ELECTION

Since the end of World War II, Austria has been about evenly split between the Socialists and the conservatives, neither able to obtain a majority. The election of March 6 gave the conservatives 85 seats to the Socialists 74, with six elected by other parties. Thus the conservatives have a clear majority with which to form the new government.

The campaign was marked by much bitterness as the right wing elements carried on an anti-Semitic campaign against the Socialists, whom they accused of being a front for the Jews.

While anti-Semitism is of-

ficially banned in Austria, the nationalist elements, some student organizations, and die-hard ultra-conservative Catholic elements still practice and preach hatred of Jews.

## BRITISH ELECTION

The government of Prime Minister Wilson, in power for the past 16 months on a very slim majority, has called for new elections at a time it seems to him to be most appropriate. According to experts, he stands a good chance of returning the Labor Party to power, where it will remain until 1970 if he gets a clear majority.

If Wilson wins, it will not be because of any great improvements he has made in the lives of the British working class. He has shown himself to be adept at walking the thin line between victory and defeat, not making enemies, and throwing a few crumbs to the working class.

The conservative opposition as represented by Heath has little new to offer even to its own members. If they win, they are expected to make peace with the Smith regime in Rhodesia, which would just about end any hope Britain might have of playing any future role in Africa.

## SYRIAN REVOLT

It was somewhat startling to read that, "leftist officers overthrow socialist regime in Syria." So loose has the capitalist press become with the use of the words socialist and leftist, that they are quite meaningless.

"Leftist" in Arab countries has come to mean anti-Semitic, since the first thing the new army regime did was to embrace the philosophy of Nasser, whose aim it is to destroy Israel.

All the new regime means to Syrians is more military dictatorship. The new dictator, Nureddin Atassi has called for an immediate "War of Liberation" against Israel.

## NUCLEAR BOMBS

The crash of an American military plane over Spain revealed that it was carrying several nuclear bombs, one of which was "lost" and cannot be located after over a month of searching.

Crashes elsewhere reveal that American planes carrying nuclear devices are in the air at all times in all parts of the world, including the United States. We have been told that they are "quite harmless" unless properly set off. That must be why the U.S. is spending millions of dollars to locate it.