

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Which Side Are You On?

When I first became interested in politics my vested interest was Negro rights—complete Negro equality. Many of the old radicals would say that under our present system Negroes can not achieve their complete freedom because keeping them down is profitable to this system; and for this and other reasons, the Negro people will never be totally free.

They said that there may be some concessions granted to some few—this would be done in order to pacify the masses of Negroes—and these privileged few would be responsible for keeping the Negroes quiet. They also said that as the Negro masses would press forward for their freedom, the reactionaries would also rise and do everything in their power to push the Negroes back—this would be possible because these reactionaries would also have the support of the State Government and troopers, and in the final analysis, the sympathy and support of the Federal Government.

After seeing the counter-revolution go in full force against the Negro when Meredith was enrolling at the University of Mississippi—and those responsible for the rioting who were apprehended going free; then seeing Negroes and their white allies given stiff jail sentences for walking into or sitting in a bus or train station—no one has to second guess who is on what side.

CIVIL RIGHTS ON PAPER IS WORTHLESS

Some of the cry from the Negro leaders was that we need a strong Civil Rights Bill. On paper it could be the strongest the world could afford. But when white racists can say, "to hell with it, because we will not be punished for violating it," what will it mean to have a strong bill?

A worker said he remembered when they passed a law in Washington making bombing a Federal offense. But the Government, along with the state of Alabama, not only still allows bombings to continue against Negroes, but when they finally catch a few bombers, their fines and bonds are so small that the accused can laugh while being sentenced.

I had a discussion with a young white man and his wife in Washington at the mammoth march on Aug. 28. They were graduates of Michigan University who were active in the freedom struggle there. Their position was that this March would force the President and Congress to pass the strongest Civil Rights Bill ever known in history.

When I disagreed, they seemed much surprised. I began to explain that Congress and the government are not for Negro freedom; the role of the counter-revolution; and how if we get a watered down version of this Civil Rights Bill everyone will rush to the TV, radio and press to say what an historical achievement has been made—when in actuality it will mean nothing.

The wife agreed and said if it happens, they should call another March on Washington—and that the next one should be on the Capitol, not at Lincoln Memorial.

PRESIDENT FLIP-FLOPPED FROM BEGINNING

A leading Negro at this March told me he was a member of the committee that went to see the President prior to the March, when the government was opposed to the March on Washington. At the beginning, he said, Kennedy was opposed to the March and definitely did not want it on the Capitol. Someone suggested marching from Washington Monument to Lincoln Memorial, after pointing out to the President that it was suicide politically to call it off.

This man said the President finally agreed by saying that he guessed it would be acceptable if the Negroes could control themselves. One of the members of the committee told the President that he knew the Negroes controlled themselves in the Birmingham, Ala., situation and the whole world could see it was the whites who did not.

Some Negroes are afraid that Goldwater might win the presidency if nominated by the Republicans, because the reactionaries throughout this country are swinging to him. But Kennedy is bold enough to show his color on Civil Rights, because the Administration feels the Negro will not vote for Goldwater no matter how much Kennedy waters down his Civil Rights proposals.

It is easy to see how someone who puts his hopes in leading politicians can look to the future with no hope. But the facts are simple and clear for all to see: If we would have had to depend on the politicians there would not have been a Montgomery Bus Boycott, no Birmingham, not a single sit-in, wade-in, pray-in, study-in, not a single march or demonstration.

The same applies to workers—both white and colored. If we had to wait for Reuther, Meany, McDonald or the others to do something before we took action against unsafe conditions, speed-up or other company abuses, we'd all be dead or worse than slaves in the shop. We have to fight; nobody does it for us.

ON THE INSIDE

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Hated Diem Regime Overthrown; What Now For Vietnam Masses?

Months of open talk and silent preparation have finally resulted in the overthrow of the Diem regime in South Vietnam. Technically, it was the Vietnamese military that achieved the success. Politically, nobody doubts that it was U. S. imperialism that pulled the strings. No matter who gets the credit, there was joy at the downfall of this hated regime. The people danced in the streets — particularly the twist and the tango, both of which had been banned since 1962 under Mme. Nhu's "morality laws." Unable to get their hands on Mme. Nhu, who was still "on tour" in the United States (See Readers' Views, page 5) the Vietnamese crowds smashed to pieces a huge statue that looked like her.

The entire Diem family was detested, and none more than Diem's brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, who, as head of 10,000-strong Secret Police Force, had been responsible for the notorious raids on the Buddhists and the wholesale arrests of over 8,000 students and youth. Equally despised was Diem's sister-in-law, Mme. Nhu, who had greeted the Buddhist protest-suicides with hyena-like laughter and a clapping of her hands.

The point, however, is: Has anything changed fundamentally? Will the people have any more to say under the new rule than they had under the old? Will the never-ending, unpopular war with North Vietnam ever stop?

NEW RULERS CRACKDOWN

The civilian "caretaker" government that the military has substituted for the old regime does not give much promise of any fundamental change: Nguyen Ngoc Tho, the new Premier, is none other than the former Vice-President under Diem. Moreover, the real power is concentrated in the hands of General Duong Van Minh, who not only is the very one who led the attacks on the Buddhists, and who has certainly had a very checkered career, but who has already revealed what is now in store for the Vietnamese:

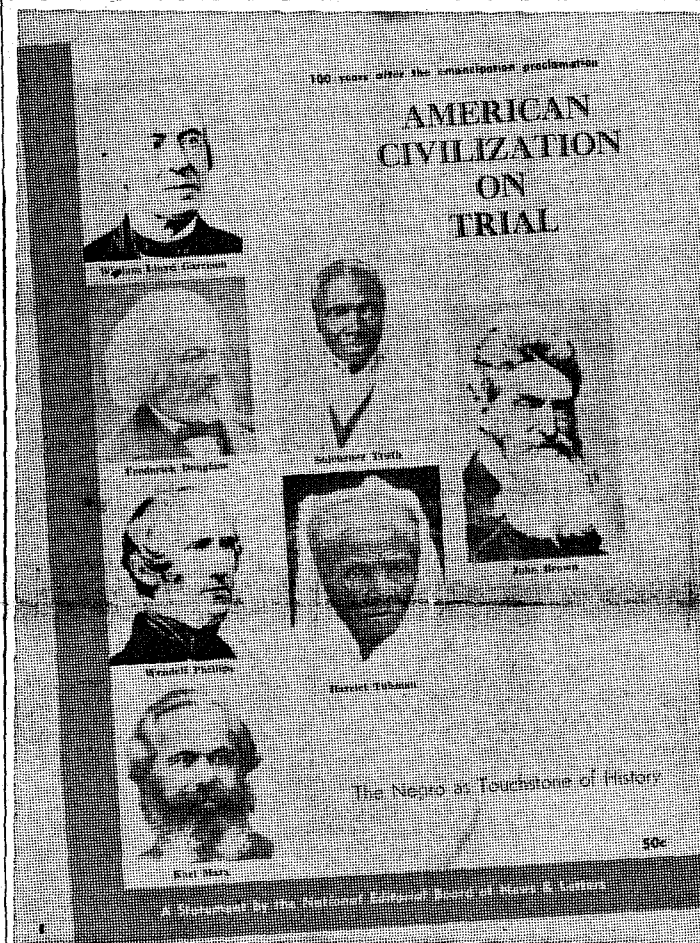
The first acts of Minh and his military junta were to declare martial law and censor all press messages abroad, suspend the constitution, dissolve the National Assembly, and announce that they had no intention of establishing a "disorderly democratic regime."

EARLY DIEM POPULARITY

The United States must certainly take responsibility for having spawned and supported the Diem regime ever since the Geneva Agreement of 1954 put an end to the Indo-China War between France and the Vietnamese nationalists.

No doubt, as compared to the French puppet, Emperor Bao Dai—who didn't even bother to live in Vietnam and became notorious as the "emperor play-boy of the Riviera"—Diem was popular. In the election of 1955 Diem defeated Bao Dai by winning 98% of the votes, established a Republic and instituted some mild reforms.

He even had large support in the North, where, despite Ho Chi Minh's undisputed reputation as Vietnam's greatest revolutionary leader, no less than one million Vietnamese peasants fled South from him in 1954. As leader of the resistance both against the Japanese during the Second World War, and against the hated



REPRODUCTION OF COVER

New Edition, American Civilization on Trial — See Ad, P. 7

All Night Sit-Ins Protest deFacto School Segregation

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Three CORE demonstrators were jailed on "battery charges" here on Thursday night, Oct. 31, during a second all-night vigil at the Board of Education building where students have been protesting de facto segregation in the Los Angeles schools.

The three were yanked from a massed group of sit-inners and arrested, when 35 demonstrators succeeded in keeping the doors of the building open with the packed mass of their bodies, after security agents for the Board tried to lock out further demonstrators coming to join them.

The vigil climaxed a month-long series of CORE-initiated study-ins here in which students took the lead in the fight against segregated schools. Four study-ins had previously been held, with the fourth followed by the first all-night vigil.

In this vigil 110 participants remained overnight in the Board of Education building to further emphasize their protest at the Board's failure to end the situation in Los Angeles, where vast numbers of Negro and Mexican-American students are crowded into inadequate schools throughout the city.

Alameda Blvd. separates a white residential area on one side from the Negro "ghetto"

on the other. This residential segregation is bad enough. But the Board of Education, as CORE has charged, has actually built this same wall into its school district map, by making Alameda Blvd. the boundary line between school districts. The result is that white schools are on one side, and Negro schools on the other, with a "wall" between them.

STUDY-INS STRONGLY SUPPORTED

Such is the spirit of the entire country, and so strong the desire to do something, that the study-ins have proven to be the best project CORE has ever had here. The students meet at the Plaza, about six blocks from the Board of Edu-

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Overturn Cars for Barricades

Italian Workers Battle Police In Rome Streets

TURIN, Italy—Violent street battles erupted between workers and police in Rome on Oct. 9. The bricklayers have been leading a long struggle (legal naturally, that is directed by the trade unions) for better wages and conditions. One of the centres of the resistance was Rome.

The capital has nearly doubled its population in the last ten years (it's now near two and a half million), and has required an enormous increase in houses and other buildings.

20,000 WORKERS PROTEST

At the beginning of this month, after negotiations with the trade union broke down, the Housebuilders Association declared a one week close down in all Rome, starting from Monday 15th.

The workers' reaction was immediate: on the morning of the 9th more than 20,000 bricklayers met in a central square of Rome, where they were told the usual things by the usual trade union bureaucrats, who finished up by inviting everybody to clear the place and peacefully go back home (this was their agreement with the police).

But a great number of workers marched off instead towards

Where's String To Unwind Mess?

They've started already; they are going to have the UAW Convention in Cleveland, Ohio. Well what happens there? The convention structure is the same structure you have for elections in the county, state, etc., where one representative represents a certain number of people, and he goes down and casts a vote for you.

But who goes to conventions? Committeemen, presidents, vice presidents, etc. Well these guys are already paid by the international union; they're paid by the local union.

They're already corrupted when they leave for the convention. You KNOW you're going to get corruption when they come back. All you're going to get is what Walter said, or another kind of junk.

How can you change it? You've got the whole problem of changing the constitution. If you could actually change the constitution where every rank-and-file worker's vote in the plant would count against Walter Reuther, they would defeat him. I know they would, but Reuther knows it too!

How could you get this type of legislation through? The only way you could do it would be to get the rank-and-file down there, to change the constitution. You know that Walter and his guys would never propose changing it.

MEN FOR UNION

The guys are not opposed to union as such. They are still loyal to organized labor. They know nothing else at this point that will take its place. But they are sick, they are critically sick with local union politics, and International Union politics. This is the thing that they are sick and tired of. This is what frustrates the workers.

When they look at this whole ball of wax that Walter and all these guys have tied up and twisted up—they wonder where in the heck do you get the string to start unwinding it?

Workers talk about eliminating a bunch of potholes. They don't know how to get rid of them. They're like leeches, like parasites on the workers.

the Housebuilders' Association building.

Police had already completely surrounded the building; trade union officials went into action and succeeded in convincing the bricklayers to wait a moment and send a delegation inside. But as soon as the delegation disappeared inside the door, the workers started pushing the police back, and the first bricks flew towards the windows. At this crucial point a CGIL (Communist) official appeared at a window and invited the workers to keep calm (I was afterwards to learn that he was once a well-known blackleg, and hated by everybody).

STREET BATTLE EXPLODES

The workers exploded: cars were overturned and transformed into barricades, streets were broken into small fragments to be thrown against the police, and so on. The police brought the hoses on and towards 5 o'clock in the evening the square was empty again; more than 150 police were wounded, and some seriously; as for the workers, no exact number was given. Presumably several hundreds were wounded more or less seriously.

Five hundred workers were immediately arrested; 35 are still in prison, and are now on trial. The other odd 460 were freed and will be judged in a few weeks. The next day, the Roman Housebuilders' Association called off the close down. But no agreement had been reached otherwise.

THIRD SERIOUS CLASH

It's worth remembering that this is the third serious clash between workers and police during the last 15 months in Italy. The first happened here in Turin in July 1962, during the national metalmechanics strike, and the second in April 1963 in Taranto.

After the first two clashes the Communist Party, on both occasions, insisted on giving all the fault to "provokers" and "under proletarians, with no class consciousness." At this late time the Communist Party openly supports the workers, having finally unearthed the long lost thesis that not the workers but the policemen are the hooligans responsible for the disorders.

Wildcat at Fiat

TURIN, Italy—On Tuesday, Oct. 16, 1963, one thousand workers at the Number 4 shop of Fiat's foundry plant had a half an hour sit-in because they received from 10,000 to 35,000 lire less than usual this month, and also in opposition to the qualification system.

The interesting thing is that the trade unions had no part in the strike (probably didn't even know about it), and the workers had to organize everything for themselves. The first shift stopped at 2 p.m., half an hour before their usual time, while the second shift entered at 3 p.m. instead of 2:30 p.m. The day shift on their side stopped the whole hour from 2 to 3 p.m., so that the whole plant was blocked for the hour.

On Wednesday several hundreds of other workers at shops Number 2, 3, and 5 of the foundries also stopped for the same reasons.

At Chrysler

Headlines Lie About Recalls

Detroit, Mich. — Front page headlines in Detroit's daily press blazoned the news that all of Chrysler's laid off workers had been recalled. Those who read just the headlines could have heaved a sigh of relief that so many who had been laid off for seven or more years were now finally back at work.

A careful reading of the rest of the article, however, revealed the lie in the headlines. The reference was not to 1955 when the work force was cut from 92 to 64 thousand, but to the unemployed in 1961 — a figure that was not even reported.

But it wasn't quite this, either. As the article pointed out, there were thousands who could not wait five or more years for a job. Then, too, there were other thousands who found jobs elsewhere and who rejected the recall because of the uncertainty of future work. They were making less an hour, but they were working steadily — which was more than they could say about working at Chrysler.

Then there were others who left the city or were now too old. After all these jokers in the article came another: all of the workers recalled were hired back. And as every Chrysler worker in every Chrysler plant knows, all of the laid off workers were not recalled.

In other words, after reading the article through carefully, it became clear that the article resulted from a conspiracy between the company, the writer of the article and the labor bureaucracy. After you take away the thousands that were not around for one reason or another, you have a few thousand — if that many — who were recalled.

Can't Cut The Mustard Now? A Code Will Get Rid of Him

DETROIT, MICH. — Let me give you a little history of this coding business we have in the shops. First of all, when Automation was introduced and production zoomed up, women were the first to use the gimmick of going down to Medical and getting a code which restricted the classifications of work they could be forced to do.

The company went along with the women because it is easier to give a woman a code than it is a man, and because they also thought that they could use this—since Chrysler is bound by seniority to the female workers — in order to ease a certain amount of women out of the shop.

This was the company's purpose. If they could get enough codes, and they could say that they don't have enough jobs, they could leave the women out on the streets.

CREATES PROBLEMS

But what it did, because of the wording in the contract, was create a problem for the union. The union, to my knowledge, always has been opposed to any worker getting a code. They don't want sick workers getting grievances and getting out on the streets — then the union has to get them back because of the seniority clause in the contract.

Then men began to get codes. That is when the union began to howl about it.

AN OLD WORKER'S CASE

A recent example is a man who has some 35 years with the corporation. But his sight is not as good as it has been. He's a conscientious worker, but he can't cut the mustard like he

used to, and the superintendent can see this.

The superintendent is an ex-time study man; he was one of the "whiz kids," and he studied this business of human motion. So this superintendent said to the foreman:

"We'll get this guy in here and put on the 'brotherly love' act. We'll send him into Medical to get him a code."

ACT IS ON

A committeeman was there when they brought the man in and told him they wanted him to go down to Medical. The worker said: "What for? I'm not sick."

They said: "We just want you to have a check-up. When was the last time you had a check-up?"

He said: "I just had one last year."

The Committeeman interrupted, "Are you going to force the man? You're not his physician. He has a private doctor—do you want a physical? He can go and have a physical from his private doctor, and bring you the report."

To make a long story short, they were stopped from sending him to Medical. He went back on the job, but he was still under observation.

After some time, they did manage to send him down to Medical. They checked him out, then brought him back. They had in his report that his reflexes are not fast enough to protect him against injury!

There is a "Transfer Clause" in the contract which says that when you transfer people from one department to another, you transfer them with their seniority. But in this case (and in one case before) they didn't transfer this man into another department with his seniority — they "loaned" him.

LOAN—OR TRANSFER?

The questions raised then were: Is there anyone laid off in this department? How can you "loan" people into a department where you still have people laid-off?

So they said that if he was "transferred" in and there were still people laid off, this would be a violation of the contract. But since he was "loaned," it is not a violation. And the reason he was loaned was because he could not work with moving machinery.

But here's the thing. They put the man on assembly. And all assembly lines MOVE. This thing is moving FASTER than where he came from. If this man couldn't keep up where he came from and you put him on a merry-go-round, you KNOW he can't keep up.

A NERVOUS WRECK

But the whole question comes down to this. The man is 62 years old. They could retire him tomorrow. But if they retire him, the company will have to give him double pension until he picks up his Social Security.

So they have a way of getting this brother out of the shop, but it's going to cost them some money to do it. Meanwhile, they use all of these innovations and all of these punitive actions. The poor man is a nervous wreck.

But this is the kind of thing you go through every day in the shop.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Can't Live By Crooked Ideals

What is wrong with the world today? Will it be destroyed by men who are teaching false history, history that has never existed in the laws of America? History that is made up by a bunch of white crooked men?

All this is because of the Negro struggles for freedom. Every Negro in the world has found out just what white men are doing to try to keep themselves in power over the Negro people.

MUST RE-FIGHT BATTLE

On that July 4th in 1776 the great Americans signed the Declaration of Independence that said that all men were free.

But after all these years have passed and gone, and the Negro has helped fight and win all the battles against other nations, and many of our Negro fathers gave their lives for the cause of "freedom," so that their children might be free—now the Negro has to re-fight that same battle against this United States.

The President won't take sides with the truth. He is always trying to take over some other country and doesn't give a damn about the Negro in this country. But it will be too bad when he finds out that he hasn't done anything for the people and what they want. That is, the white man wants to keep the black man under bondage—but the black man wants to be free. So you can see that the truth is not in the White House.

WHO LIT HATE?

Today the preachers are try-

ing to find out who lit the match to hate. But the way I see it, even if someone finds out how it was started, the white man will not believe it because the white man does not believe in true history anymore.

A white Catholic priest said he will find out who lit that match to this terrible thing called hate, and that there is no need for white people carrying on like this in their own country—shooting, killing and putting dogs on the Negro race as if they are not human beings

Dr. A. Burke, on his TV program "Probe," said in one discussion that true history is no longer written today. In fact, he said, no one writes a true book now because they are afraid that if they do they will be called Communist.

OUT WITH CROOKED IDEAL

The white man thinks that he will keep the black race afraid to say or do anything to fight for its rights. But that is not true anymore. Negroes know about whites making up all these laws to keep the black race down.

So the white man had better look back and see what the good book says about trying to serve the Master. We black people can't believe in your laws, or go by your crooked ideals. Your sins will find you—all the dirty work you have been pulling on the black race. Nothing can stop us now; we will overcome these hard trials and tribulations.

An Evening With Pauline Myers

Saturday, Nov. 23, 9:00 p.m. Ethical Culture Center 837 S. Parkview, Los Angeles

Donation—\$1.50

Ford Workers Leave Jobs Together

'I Noticed Then The Line Had Power'

DETROIT, Mich. — The main subject at Ford is Walter Reuther. Everybody is talking about Walter Reuther. I think that somehow, some way, someone has to stir up the worker about this problem. Now the worker has all this confidence in Walter Reuther.

The other day, the superintendent of my department came over and was looking at the line. He noticed that the workers were piling stock on these Automated lines, piling one piece on top of another so that when the stock got down to the next man, he had to stop and break the stock loose. Yet that man is supposed to get his production. The superintendent tells the first man, "Don't pile the stock up on the next man." The foreman comes around and tells us to pile it up. Then we start arguing about what Walter Reuther is going to do in the next contract.

WORKERS POWER IN ACTION

If the worker knew his power, I believe he could do something about it. I remember one day when the line was stopped before the whistle blew. The foreman asked why the line stopped and was told because it was time to go home. He said, "Well, I'll see about this tomorrow."

So in the meantime, the next day, all the workers who were working on my line got the word:

"Look, we're going to stop this line two minutes before the whistle blows, and we want everybody to stop."

As planned, two minutes before the whistle blew, the line stopped. Again, the foreman came over and asked what was going on, and again was told that it was time to go home, and all the fellows walked off the job. I noticed then, that that line had power.

So, the foreman called all the men together to have a safety talk. The "safety" was: Work until the whistle blows! That's all. That was "safety." Out of all this I discovered that the men could do plenty by sticking together.

'IT'S HUMAN-MATION'

I do not have any confidence in Walter Reuther at all. Because, as it says in News & Letters, he is a master of substitution, and that is correct.

And who are we looking up to? We're not looking up to Ford, we're looking up to Walter Reuther. Walter Reuther is not going to do one thing. They say Automation, but it's really Human-mation. It is the man who is doing the work.

If we could show the working man that he has this power, he could stop a lot of stuff that is

going on in the plant; the same as the saying that if the elephant knew the man was on his head, he wouldn't let the man ride him. If the working man knew his power, he wouldn't let the foreman, the superintendent or anybody else ride him. He could really bring out these concrete ideas into actuality.

And I think that if we could get some sort of news, waking up and stirring up the power within labor, within that man, I believe we could start something going that way.

FACTORY DISCIPLINE

You know, Ford Rouge is something like the Army. You go in, and the people on the street know more than you know. It's almost like solitary confinement out there, anyone will tell you that. When you go to work and come back, you're tired. The only thing that we do out there is fuss and argue at one another instead of fussing and arguing with the foremen and superintendents.

We don't know what is going on in other departments. My department, that is, my building, has about 12 to 13 thousand people. The other buildings are quite some distance away, and you don't know what is going on in them—no more than what you read in the papers.

CLIQUE VS. WORKERS

We have an educational committee but it's not functioning for the simple reason that after people get into office they turn against the workers. You will find that out of about 12,000 people, there are only about 20 at these meetings, and of these, only nine or ten are rank-and-file and the rest are bureaucrats.

The rank-and-file are not interested because the bureaucracy is running it. I used to attend quite frequently myself. But you go to a meeting and you are not allowed to say anything — they boo you down. Why should you try to get up to try to say anything? And if you can't say anything, why should you go?

You have to be in the clique. And there are certain things you don't want to do to get in the clique. For instance, when one guy was running for committeeman, somebody drew a picture on a card showing that the man who was in office was an Uncle Tom down on his knees shining the Caucasian's shoes. I don't want to be a part of anything like that.

No African is entitled as of right to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa, nor is it the intention of the present Government to grant such right.

ON THE LINE

Class Struggle Leaves No Room for Racial Friction

By John Allison

DETROIT, Mich.—I want to consider the war between labor and capital, and in particular to look at the bitter fruit that the seed of racism has brought to all of those who work for their daily bread.

It is true that there has been extreme persecution of the Negro worker that goes back to slavery. This open persecution of the Negro was a stage in the class struggle to persecute all labor.

The oppression of white workers wasn't as naked as that against the Negroes. A white worker did not have to take the kind of job a Negro was forced to take. Where the white worker had a little bit of a choice, the Negro had none.

But there was always the division between mental and manual labor, which is just another way of saying that there was the boss who did the thinking, who told the worker what to do, no matter what the color of his skin was. And the worker only did the manual labor, what he was told to do. While many things have changed, this division between mental and manual labor is even greater today.

SAME AT WORK

Today however, in most of the shops across the nation, the Negro and white worker work side by side. If the white worker looks at the Negro worker, he can see that both of them are on the automated line, face the same conditions, have many of the same problems in the plant.

When the boss speeds up production, he is not only speeding up the Negro, he is speeding up the white worker as well. If there is a dangerous situation on the line, it threatens both black and white alike. When there are lay-offs, white and Negro

are both in the streets; their families both suffer and worry about what they are going to do to make ends meet. And both feel there must be something very much wrong about having to be out of work when they can work—but can't find any.

What is basic, what determines if there is work or not under this system is the capitalists. They own the means of production: the plants, the machines, the land, the raw materials. But most important, they own our labor. We all, Negro and white, sell our labor to them for our weekly pay check. When we sell our work skills and power to the company, they own it. They own it to do with as they say.

HAD TO FIGHT TOGETHER

There are a few limits we have all—all of us—fought for. The things the company can't do to us today, but would like very much to, is where we have all said "Stop! You can't go any further with me. I'm a human being and you can't do this to me."

And what did we do to win our demands? We took away our labor power from them—we went on strike. Without our labor power there is nothing. All of the land, plants, machines and raw materials the company still had. But without our labor, both black and white, what good was it? And it is the same today. The capitalist, the company, knows that without us there are no profits, because we make the profits for them from our work. They need us; they can't do without us.

But what we have to begin to understand is that we don't need them. What we do need is to change this whole crazy set-up so that we can all make the decisions about what is going to be done and what is not going to be done in the shop. We have to start doing the thinking as well as the working, break down this division between mental and manual labor.

The only way it can be done is that black and white labor must unite in the struggle to free all wage earners from a system of work and government that is not made for, but against, man.

SEE GOVERNMENT ROLE

Why do I involve the government in the class struggle? For a very good reason. We can see the class struggle there if we look at the Taft-Hartley Act, the Landrum-Griffin Bill, the compulsory arbitration law just passed against the railroad workers. These are all against the workers; all for the companies.

The economic conditions mould the minds of the masses. The weight of the dead lies heavy upon the minds of the living. No one knows how many workers lost their lives in the struggle to gain control of the tools of production.

The hope of the future for workers in this land is the unifying of Negro and white to end the rule of capital. If the worker keeps beating the dead horse of racism, he dissipates his energy. The freedom of labor begins with a new social order, with man, and not machinery, being the master of his fate.

Steelworkers Outline Way To Halt Mill Discrimination

HOMESTEAD, Penna.—At a meeting of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) of the United Steelworkers Union Local No. 1397, the workers proposed a course of action to eliminate discrimination in the mills.

The steelworkers present were determined to do something effective. Knowing union politics, and especially in regard to discrimination, the men demanded that the FEPC committee be free from the control of the local union and have rights and power to act on its own.

They also said the FEPC committee chairman should have the right to sit on the executive board meeting to help set policies dealing with fair employment practices and civil rights, and that the committee should have access to all of the tests given employees to make sure there was no discrimination in job placement.

Two other points were made: that a special job training program be set up for Negroes to enable them to master skills for jobs, and that all of the signs in the mill that say anything about equal job opportunity be taken down until there was equal job opportunity in fact, not fiction as it is now.

There was no biting of tongues. The men, predominately Negro, bluntly stated what every worker in the mill knows: that both the union and the company have always been aware of the discriminatory practices against the Negro and could have done something about it long ago if they had chosen to do so.

USELESS GRIEVANCES

The anger and distrust of the men toward the union came out in statements made against the directive read from the Commission of Civil Rights of the International Union, which stated that grievances pertaining to discrimination were to be processed through local union machinery as set up in the FEPC.

"We have filed grievances," one worker said, "but what happens after we file them?"

We never hear one word about what became of those grievances. You can ask all year long what happened to the grievance, but you'll never get an answer."

"So far as we're concerned," said another worker, "the grievance procedure is used to discriminate against Negroes."

LIST EVILS

Just about every type of job discrimination came out: that Negroes were frozen in the labor pool, while whites went on to higher classifications; that whites with lower seniority could bump Negroes with higher seniority; that skilled and trade jobs were never open to Negroes; that notices of better job openings weren't posted where Negroes would see them; that whites were hired off of the streets into skilled jobs, bypassing Negroes with long experience and seniority in the mill; that no apprenticeship opportunity exists for Negroes; that summer clerical or technical jobs were open to white college students in the summer, but not to Negro college students; that there were no Negro women in clerical positions, no Negroes in plant protection, police or fire departments.

To the men's question of when action was going to be taken on these problems, they got the answer that another meeting would be held in a month, after the company and union discussed the questions the men had raised. The men replied that if the action wasn't soon, they would take their fight to places outside the mill to get results.

Beginning in Detroit on Friday, Nov. 22

A series of 10 classes on Marxism and Freedom— From 1776 Until Today

From the first session, to be presented by the author, Raya Dunayevskaya, throughout the series to be given by both workers and intellectuals, participants will hear and discuss the relationship of thought to action of every history-moulding influence that has impelled modern civilization to the present, and of the present forces shaping the future. (For complete class schedule, see "With the Committees," p. 7).

TIME:

Friday, 8-10 p.m.
Nov. 22-Jan. 24

PLACE:

News & Letters Office
8751 Grand River

Editorial

A Long Way To Go On Civil Rights

The self-activity of the Negroes, fighting for Freedom Now since the election of President Kennedy in 1960, put an end to his grand illusion that giving a few new posts to Negroes in his Administration could possibly stop the movement in its tracks.

After the riots in Mississippi—followed by outright murders, the riots in Birmingham—followed by world indignation, and the pressures by the ever-expanding Negro revolution right in this country, the cautious John Fitzgerald Kennedy finally decided to introduce a Civil Rights Bill to Congress.

WHITE COUNTER-REVOLUTION WORRIES JFK

Thereupon, however, he attempted to transform the "Jobs and Freedom" March on Washington into a tour of Washington's legislative halls to "ask for redress of grievances" by passing the President's Civil Rights Bill.

This, however, stopped neither the black revolution nor the white counter-revolution. It is the latter which has Kennedy the politician running for re-election in 1964 worried, for the polls tell him that he not only stands in danger of losing the South, but allegedly "the liberal North," as well.

Contrary to these pollsters, some Congressmen, Republicans and Democrats, know that they cannot possibly win in the big industrial cities with heavy Negro working class populations unless they show that they do more than talk about civil rights and jobs. These banded together in Committee and made the original Civil Rights Bill introduced by Kennedy a much stronger one, particularly in the sections relating to Fair Employment Practices and the strengthening of the Federal Government's hand in intervening in the Southern Government's restrictions of the Negro's civil rights "locally."

INDECISION GIVES REACTIONARIES STRENGTH

It is this daring of some Congressmen to act independently of Administration that galvanized the President to forget all about getting credit for civil rights legislation and, instead, to pair up with Republican Halleck to get the bill watered down again.

First President Kennedy had brother Bobby, the Attorney General, make a speech urging that the Congressional Committee, which strengthened the Civil Rights Bill, should water it down to make it acceptable to the reactionary members of both parties. Then the President himself promised Rep. Halleck "equal credit" for the emasculated legislation in return for his assistance with Republican members to push the weaker bill through Congress.

Not that even this bill is assured passage in Congress. Far from it. The Southern filibuster in the Senate will first then come.

The inevitable consequence of the pussyfooting tactics of the Kennedys is to bring out the most reactionary instincts in the North as well as in the South.

PROSECUTOR OLSEN MOVES AGAINST NEGROES

In Detroit a massive demonstration was held by the NAACP against bringing the Olympic Games to segregated Detroit. While the demonstrators were chanting, singing and shouting their opposition, someone told the band to play the National Anthem. Thereupon Detroit Prosecutor Olsen, well known for his anti-Negro attitudes, condemned the demonstrators for "showing disrespect" during the playing of the Anthem. To retaliate he sent his agents into the classrooms at Wayne University to drag students from their chairs and throw them in jail.

This illegal action, in turn, "inspired" the judge not to dismiss the case on the excuse that its validity should be judged "in courts." Thus, North and South, in and out of Congress, racist attitudes, along with police brutality, continue their century-old reign, even after a Civil War was fought and won.

THEY DO NOT DIE FOR TOKENISM

Throughout the country the ugly picture of rampant discrimination remains the same. Where reforms have been made, they are but tokens, signifying no basic change. It is this tokenism which the Kennedy Administration is trying to legislate into "principle." It is this tokenism which Kennedy is willing to share with Republicans in order to avoid making civil rights "an issue" in the 1964 elections.

Is it for this tokenism that President Kennedy thinks hundreds of thousands of Negroes, and tens of thousands of whites, have fought for these past three years unremittingly, and for which they faced jailings, beatings, bombings and even murders? How many more does he expect to die for the rights which are supposed to be theirs as a matter of course—just in order to assure his re-election?

It is evident from all the criticism levelled against him by civil rights leaders and ranks that the Freedom NOW movement will by no means be stopped by this tokenism. They know there is a long way to go to win their civil rights.

Those who were not stopped by Ross Barnett's inspired riots and Wallace-trained Bull Connors and Lingos with their police dogs, cattle prods, water hoses and outright murders will not be stopped by Harvard-accented reaction. By any other name and accent deprivation of civil rights is deprivation of civil rights. All Kennedy's maneuverings will succeed in doing is to drive home the lesson that civil rights will never be achieved in this country either in the legislative halls of Congress or the Executive halls of the White House. Only the self-mobilization of people determined to be free will achieve freedom.

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Readers'

MADAME NHU AND THE LUNATIC FRINGE

Considering that the universities and town-halls were going out of their way to give her plenty of platforms. I was certainly happy to see that the student-youth of this country made their feelings known by greeting her with boos and catcalls, rotten eggs, and picket signs. My favorite was the one I saw in a picket-line sponsored here by the Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) from Wayne State University. It read: "Down with Nhu Frontier."

Marcher
Detroit

When Kennedy sent his investigators to South Vietnam, I couldn't help feeling that they would probably find out about as much (or, rather, as little) as the investigators he sent to Birmingham. They never talk to the ordinary people—just to the big-shots. They never find out more than they really want to — which is more or less just what they already knew before they went.

Negro Reader
Chicago

It takes even more than the normal gall Mme. Nhu is famous for for her to have come out publicly in support of those Birchites who spat upon Stevenson in Texas. It takes the feeling that you are "at home" among your "own" people, the Texas oil millionaires. When one of their sons came out and even declared himself her daughter's "boyfriend," I was pretty sure who was behind Mme. Nhu's obviously "sponsored" tour, even if they don't have the guts to come out and openly admit it.

I must say they are in good company with the Nazi's who paraded in Washington with signs: "Mme. Nhu We Like You!"
Student
New York

Mme. Nhu's visit here brought out a picket line, but it wasn't very big. The Barbecue Lady apparently did not much trouble the conscience of Los Angeles. I was on the line for a while, and made sure to distribute News & Letters to everyone there.

Her platform here, as in most other parts of the country, have been the reactionary wing—the right Republicans, and the Young Republicans here—most all of them Birchers. Of course, the Madame being a woman, it was the women's press clubs that did the honors of interviewing her!

Committee Member
Los Angeles

That monotonous "soft on Communism" theme of Mme. Nhu's was never once really exposed by either the universities or the press, who really threw their platforms wide open to her, even though they all professed hatred for what she represents.

It may take quite a while before her sponsors are uncovered, but Mme. Nhu's trip had all the stench of the old China Lobby, and the not-so-old Katanga Lobby of 1962, in which none other

than Mississippi's white supremacist Senator Eastland, and Connecticut's American Firster, Senator Dodd, joined dirty hands with the Belgian agent, Michale Struelens, to champion the notorious Moise Tshome in his secession from the newly independent Congo.

That was the Lobby that embraced the whole lunatic fringe from the retired military brass, Admiral Ben Morell, and the editor of the reactionary National Review, Wm. E. Buckley, Jr. to Richard M. Nixon himself, who came out to defend the "one anti-Communist, Christian Tshome."

This time, as might be expected, it was Senator Goldwater, who performed for Mme. Nhu the type of service Senator Dodd did for Tshome, except that he was a bit more subtle, asking only why we seem to be so much harder on those who fight Communism than we are on those who are Communists?

I'm sure a little digging, and a little time, will reveal her sponsors. And they will be just as unsavory as those of Tshome.

Old Politico
New York

I see the Republicans will be able to use Mme. Nhu in their campaign against Kennedy next year, after all! I thought at first that all the money they've poured into her tour here (to blast Kennedy and anybody else who's to the left of the far-right lunatic fringe) was down the drain when the Diem regime finally fell. But despite all her shrieking that she would "never" (no never) stay in this awful country, she seems to have changed her mind pretty fast. I wonder what sort of deal the Republicans gave her???

Intellectual
California

In their devout anti-Communism, the far-right everywhere has taken over all the tricks of the Communists they oppose. From the Birchers in this country with their "cells" and their infiltrations, to the Diem regime in Vietnam which called its jails "re-education centers" and its concentration camps "strategic hamlets," the face of oppression looks alike whether it calls itself Communist or anti-Communist.

Observer
Boston

Ngo Dinh Nhu depended to a large degree on his secret Con Lao party as a means of control. The key men in the labor movement, in the military, and in the security apparatus were all members of "the party." That kind of anti-Communism sounds so Communist, I don't wonder they suspected that Nhu would make a deal with the Communists in the North if they didn't overthrow him first!

Student
Pennsylvania

All the while Diem was in power, his "strategic hamlets" were touted by the American press as being

proof of his "genius." The minute he was deposed, the press suddenly discovered that they were no more than "concentration camps" (just as all the radicals had been charging all along.)

The very day after the coup, Nov. 2, Robert Trumbull of The New York Times called them "the forcible displacement of peasants from their ancestral homes to strange 'model' villages and the protected artificial rural concentrations called 'strategic hamlets'."

Old Radical
New York

I read in the report of one American observer in South Vietnam that what baffled them the most was that the people didn't "seem to care for either the government or the Communist insurgents."

The experts, from the very beginning, have always been ready to call the Vietnamese peasants backward because they didn't seem to want to fight this war that almost everybody admits now, can't be won.

I can't see that it takes much genius to be able to see that the only ones who aren't "backward" are the ordinary people.

Working Woman
Detroit

The Birchite "lady" (some lady!) who hit Adlai Stevenson over the head down in Texas after his United Nations speech, not only admitted hitting him, but told him he ought to know why she had done it. Then later, when some news reporter interviewed her she had the gall to say she hadn't meant to hit him, at all — some Negroes standing behind her must have pushed her!

That was just too much for any sane person to take — so the reporter showed the film of the whole affair, and simply asked: "Does anyone see one Negro anywhere in that crowd?"

Negro Worker
Detroit

It is so in keeping with this Hallowe'en season that I must ask you whether you knew that the CIA agents in Vietnam are universally referred to there as "spooks." As if Nhu's 10,000 Secret Police weren't enough — the CIA apparently had no less than 600 agents who had penetrated every branch of the American community in Saigon.

One Scripps-Howard dispatch I read called the CIA story "a dismal chronicle of bureaucratic arrogance, obstinate disregard of orders, and unrestrained thirst for power." That almost sounded like a U.S. description of the Diem regime instead.

Reader
Michigan

PEACE DIRECTORY
I believe your readers would find the "International Peace-Disarmament Directory" of interest. The third edition contains 1750 organizational and periodical addresses, and sells for \$1 a copy. It can be ordered from 711 South Duke Street, York, Penna.

I. P.D. Directory
York, Penna.

Views

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

I read some of the material my husband brought home from an FEPC meeting at the mill, and it just burned me up to read it and think about all the years our men have worked under these conditions. There are many wives, like me, who know a little about what they go through — but there is plenty we never find out. I just can't understand why the men haven't got together to do something before now.

It brought to mind another article I had read in a Negro paper here in which the writer had said the real question is: Do We Think the Negro Is A Man or Do We Not? He said that if the Negro is a fulfilled human being he must have all his civil, legal and human rights. If he isn't, then he ought to be made a ward of the state. That is what I think it is coming down to when I think of how many Negroes have been thrown out of work, and are forced on Welfare and Mothers' Assistance today.

If the Negro cannot live anywhere, work anywhere, eat anywhere, go anywhere, get schooling anywhere — then why ask him to pay taxes, fight for his country, or give his labor-power for a society that isn't even his? The Negro may have put up with this abuse for centuries, but he isn't putting up with it any longer.

Steelworker's Wife
Pittsburgh

* * *

The workers in our shop talked for one entire day about the Open Occupancy bill that the Common Council in our city saw fit to vote down. The thing that they talked about most was the vote of Ed Carey, the chairman of the Council, who had been a labor "leader" in the Hudson local here. He voted against.

Disgusted Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

I would like to recommend to you a Negro paper that I have found excellent, both in its depth and its breadth of coverage. It is the *Atlanta Inquirer* (953 Hunter Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia). They carried an article in their issue of Saturday, Nov. 2, called "Will Mississippi Have A Negro Governor?" which was very fine, and has plenty of facts I think you would be especially interested in reading about.

Journalist
Chicago

* * *

(Editor's Note: We read the *Atlanta Inquirer* regularly and agree with Journalist, Chicago. It is a fine paper.)

* * *

We by-pass Dearborn when we're on the road. Going through Dearborn is like going behind the Iron Curtain. I broke an axel once and had to stop there, so I went into W. T. Grant's to get a cup of coffee. They wouldn't SAY they wouldn't serve colored, they just didn't serve me. I sat there for 45 minutes and couldn't get anybody to even look in my direction.

In White Plains, New York, it was more like East Georgia. I stopped at a place there

once and the waitress told me when I walked in the door, "We don't serve colored." I had to drive 100 miles before I could get something to eat and drink.

I carry half a gallon of hot water with me on my truck now. And a jar of instant coffee. I'm ready to fight this thing, but I figure I can't fight it alone. That's what is so tremendous about the movement now. We're not fighting it alone any longer.

Truck driver
Detroit

* * *

LORD HOME AND THE LABOUR PARTY

The row over making Lord Home Prime Minister is quite unreal. If the Labour Party was sincere about its attitude to Home it would stop letting its members go to the House of Lords and demand the abolition of that expensive and useless institution. If it came out against the hereditary principle it would require to say something about the Queen, who, Wilson hopes, will send for him and tell him to form a government.

Wm. Marshall, secretary of the Labour Party in Scotland said that he would have Home barred from being the candidate at Perth and Kinross on technical grounds. No one except himself knew what the grounds were. That is what he said, but now he has dropped it and everyone is laughing at him. The truth is that the points of difference between Labour and Tory are so slight that personalities must play a big part.

Home claims that while ill with TB, he made a study of Marxism. What he means is that he studied the Soviet Union and mistook what comes from that source for Marxism. He is a reactionary who may find it necessary to look progressive. We still have our job to do no matter what the maneuvers result in.

H.M.
Scotland

* * *

NEW FRIENDS AND OLD

I have been able to organize a small reading group here who are interested and impressed with your new socialist ideas involving a rediscovery of the humanism of Marx and Lenin. They would like to read about the Negro's freedom in Alabama and would like to have copies of NEWS & LETTERS regularly. When I get more reading material I am sure our group will increase rapidly in size.

African Friend
West Africa

* * *

Shalom, which means Peace. Thank you for the copy of your really unique publication. I can truthfully say that I did not have so much pleasure reading anything for a very long time. Please be informed that I am not a Marxist, yet I agree with most of what I read. You can call me an ethical socialist. My ideas are derived from the ancient Hebrew Prophets and the Talmud. You will find the teaching of justice in them . . .

I am enclosing several poems for your kind con-

sideration. I hope you can use them. I see that you practice freedom of expression that you don't find in any other publication in this country.

I hope to hear from you soon. In the meantime, keep well to continue the fight for freedom.

New Reader
New York

* * *

Congratulations on a good issue of N&L, and thanks for the good coverage of Milwaukee's civil rights activities. CORE is booming here. James Farmer spoke recently, and described Plaquemine, La., which sounds like the inner sanctum of hell. He was almost lynched there BY STATE TROOPERS. He says the Negroes of that town are the greatest.

Committee Member
Milwaukee

* * *

Mother enjoyed reading *American Civilization on Trial* and said it opened her eyes to many facts she didn't know about. I am ashamed to say I have not read it anywhere nearly as thoroughly as she did. I intend to study it carefully in the next few days. Meanwhile the enclosed check (\$5) is for NEWS & LETTERS work. It is indeed a very small contribution, but I guess every little amount helps the cause.

New Reader
West Virginia

(Ed. Note: It certainly does. In fact, without the contributions of our readers, NEWS & LETTERS could not continue. Many Thanks.)

* * *

I would have written sooner to order copies of all your literature, but I have been extremely busy lately with my studies, preparing for mid-term exams. It seems that the speed-up has come to the mass-production university just as it has to industry. The emphasis today is on a lot of studying and little time for reflection. One is to absorb the prescribed course materials and little else.

Student
Philadelphia

* * *

There was a meeting here to hear one of the students returned from Cuba. Before the meeting we sold copies of the last issue of N&L and *American Civilization on Trial*, and one man bought a sub. There was also a picket line protesting the meeting. They were definitely not Batista-ites. They were young people, Cuban, about 40 or 50 strong, who were concerned about their loved ones. A broadcast later of an interview with some of them verified my general feeling about them. In fact, they interested me far more than the people who went inside to hear the student. Most of them were quite old — and old-time radicals besides. It was very poorly attended.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

* * *

More and more people — especially in our shop — are seeking information they don't get out of the daily papers. They are reading N&L with that in mind, I am sure.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

The Standstill of Nehru's India

A recent study by Osmania University of Hyderabad has illuminated the shocking state of education, or rather lack of it, in the average Indian village, after 16 years of independence. Though the survey was a limited one, the village studied was a typical one since four-fifths of India's 450 million people still live in rural areas. This village, furthermore, is only 16 miles from Hyderabad, the fourth largest city of India. Yet in the village of 1,049 there was only one privately owned radio, only a single regular newspaper reader, no village library. Fully 89 per cent of those interviewed gave as "source of information" visits to Hyderabad, and 56 per cent of these said their information came from "gossip."

Although the villagers knew Gandhi had brought independence to India, one thought Nizam was still king of Hyderabad! As the study put it: "The common belief that the names of Gandhi and Nehru are household words even in far and remote parts of the country has been proved to be a myth by the present investigation." (1)

As against the myth of Gandhi and Nehru as household words, the average villager did know of Communist China's invasion of India last fall, but one villager referred to this invasion by Communist China as follows: "Some kings are fighting against us." It is all too easy to laugh uproariously at this and dismiss the remark as sheer ignorance. We would come closer to the truth, however, if we coupled this remark with another villager's identification of Nehru as "some Brahmin" and were thereby compelled to take a second look at Nehru's India.

INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

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

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

India continued to be the land of villages, with an out-moded agriculture, overlaid with an entrenched landlord class, and a halting, partial industrialization that was grafted on top of the semi-feudal relations. It was further both overburdened and undermined by the Hindu caste system that has remained changeless through the millenia. Back in the 19th century, Hegel designated it as "the philosophy of unfreedom."

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

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

TWO OPPOSING IDEOLOGIES?

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

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

But if his imperialist ambitions are all too clear, do Nehru's lesser ambitions constitute a different class phenomenon? The

(Continued on Page 7)

Student Paper

'Marxist-Humanist' Creates Discussion at UCLA

The Marxist-Humanist, a new publication written by students on the UCLA (University of California, at Los Angeles) campus made its maiden appearance on Oct. 4, 1963.

News & Letters Youth Page was pleased to reprint in full one of the articles, "On Working With People In An LA Ghetto" by Betty Kramer in the October issue. The editorial "Why The Marxist-Humanist?" by Eugene Walker is excerpted in this issue. Because we consider a

youth publication which chooses the banner of Marxist-Humanism as its philosophic foundation to be an entirely unique kind of a journal; and also because it has, in only its first two issues created a new dialogue among some of the students on the campus, we feel it merits the widest circulation. It is for these reasons that the Youth Page of News & Letters breaks with its usual form in order to introduce its readers to this new paper.

Editor, Youth Page

From "The Marxist-Humanist"—Vol. 1 No. 1

Excerpts From the Editorial,

By Eugene Walker

"Every new idea arising has its historical roots. The historical roots of the ideas which will be put forth in this journal are inherent in its title The Marxist Humanist. We call ourselves this to associate ourselves with Karl Marx and at the same time to stress the Humanism which is so much the essence of Marxism. This is particularly necessary in today's society, because Russia and China have usurped the banner of Marxism and tried to make it synonymous with their systems which in reality are totalitarian regimes of state capitalism.

"At the same time there is not much that is different either in the condition of labor, freedom of thought, or freedom,

Bystander

"A new publication stressing the 'humanism which is so much the essence of Marxism' appeared on the campus Thursday. The paper is a one-page mimeographed sheet entitled The Marxist-Humanist.

"Eugene Walker in an editorial 'Why the Marxist-Humanist?' said Russia and China have usurped Marxism in 'totalitarian regimes of state capitalism.' Walker urged a return to Marx's original 'individualistic element.'

Review in The Daily Bruin (UCLA Campus Paper)

* * *

Friend

"... Your ideas are sound, they must be, or they wouldn't be so old. It is your methods, apparently, that are not working. The first humanist-revolutionist of the Western world who spoke out for freedom despite the state was promptly crucified. Marx, too, has been crucified, less spectacularly, but just as surely. Dear Marxist-Humanist, you have only two cheeks to turn and so have I, and all four of them are bleeding profusely ...

"Your will must become an idea, your idea must become a word, and your word must become an action before it will be understood. And what sort of actions do they understand? Peace Marches? You can walk for Peace from San Francisco to Moscow (it has been done) and you will not have your revolution, you will have callouses. Dear Marxist-Humanist, aren't you calloused enough already?"

"Existing society" is unmoved by your demonstrations. They do not understand slogans and placards. But if those in the Los Angeles Ghettos stopped paying their rent for one month then they would understand ...

"Instead of talking about freedom, do something. Time

true freedom for minority groups in our country. This is exactly why Marx, in his era, 100 years ago, criticized both capitalism and vulgar communism. This is why he envisioned an entirely new world. For that purpose he worked out a Humanist philosophy which holds for our day.

"We want first, to show how the youth, on their own, in our country, are motivated by such a spirit of freedom in their actions; and how, secondly, Marx worked out his philosophy."

"... If the ideas presented here find a response in you, by all means write. Friend or bystander or even foe, let us hear from you."

* * *

Here, then, are reprinted some of the responses to The Marxist-Humanist. (Ed.)

is on your side, history is on your side, youth is on your side, and humanity is on your side — the whole sum of it. You have all this and Marx too. Would you wait for more?"

Letter from a Student Excerpted From The Marxist-Humanist, Vol. I No. 2

* * *

Foe

"A new publication, The Marxist Humanist, came out on campus a few weeks ago. As President of the Bruin Humanist Forum, I would like to clarify the forum's position on this new publication.

"The Marxist-Humanist is in no way connected with the Bruin Humanist Forum or its publication 'Humanitas': with the North American Humanist organization, The American Humanist Association; or with the world-wide Humanist organization, The International Humanist and Ethical Union.

"As a Humanist, I do not understand how the authors of this publication can link Marxism with Humanism, as they are quite antagonistic ideologies. While some of Marx's ideas are the same as those found in Christianity, Humanism, Judaism and many other systems, his theories as to the causes of society's problems, the means by which they should be solved and the type of society desired as a goal are greatly different.

"Humanism supports the rights of every human being to believe as he feels is best suited to further his growth as a human being. ... But, by the very nature of humanism, they are unalterably opposed to the spreading of any system by force.

"Although I disagree with most of the theories and methods of the Marxist-Leninist system, I believe that a person who does accept these theories

should have the same rights and protections enjoyed by a person advocating the most popular system in any particular society. Freedom of speech is one of our most valuable treasures — and the lack of it in totalitarian states is one of their greatest weaknesses.

"If the authors of the Marxist-Humanist wish to express Marxist-Leninist theory on social problems, I believe that they have every right to do so. They should however, be honest with their readers and not claim to be something which they are not. Any human being can be a Marxist; and any human being can be a Humanist—but no human being can be both."

Laurence A. Moore, Jr. Published in The Daily Bruin

* * *

Rebuttal

"The one thing we of The Marxist-Humanist agree with in the October 14th letter of Laurence A. Moore, President of the Bruin Humanist Forum, is that we have nothing whatsoever to do with each other.

"Mr. Moore says that we are not intellectually honest in associating Marxism and Humanism. Yet in the very first paragraph of the first article it is stated most precisely why we call ourselves The Marxist-Humanist. This was the original name of the philosophy of Karl Marx. He called his philosophy humanism when he broke with capitalism to distinguish himself from both the exploiters of the working-class — the capitalists—and the vulgar communists of his day, and other rebels who opposed the system without opposing that which was most degrading to human beings under capitalism: alienated labor, or the division between mental and manual labor. This applies to the Communists of today who are in reality state capitalists. It also applies to those who use the word 'humanism' abstractly.

"What about Mr. Moore's intellectual honesty? Instead of taking issue with what we stand for, which is his right, Mr. Moore chooses instead to attribute to us what he, with or without malice aforethought, defines as 'the theories and methods of the Marxist-Leninist system' (a volume could be written on that word, 'system,' as contradictory to both what Marx and Lenin fought for), gratuitously including in this 'the spreading of any system by force.'

"Where did Mr. Moore get that idea? Surely not in The Marxist-Humanist. We have a philosophy with which to elicit from workers and student youth their natural and acquired talents suppressed by existing society as well as make explicit our own view of life, and ideas, and struggles for freedom.

"We resent very much the fact that one organization thinks they somehow have a monopoly on the word Humanism. Humanism is a great deal older than the Bruin Humanist Forum or the North American Humanist Organization, and precisely to distinguish ourselves from great Humanist ideas of Greece or the Renaissance, or present-day abstractions, we placed ourselves historically with Marx, understanding history, however, not only as something past but present, daily-in-the-making, as with the Freedom Movement.

"The only human being who cannot be both a Humanist and a Marxist is one who thinks without a sense of history and a sense of the future's pull on the present."

Editorial Board, The Marxist-Humanist Published in The Daily Bruin

For those who:

Wish to enter into the fray, and/or read The Marxist-Humanist

Write to: The Marxist-Humanist News & Letters, Youth Desk
P.O. Box 27652 8751 Grand River
Los Angeles 27, California Detroit 4, Michigan

All Night Sit-Ins Protest L.A. deFacto School Segregation

(Continued from Page 1)
cation meeting place.

Over 300 students from all over the city attended the first demonstration. About half were college students, and the other half were high school students. About 15 per cent were Negro. At the second study-in there were close to 400 students, and more from high-school than college.

They have a wonderful spirit. They gather at 3:45 p.m. after school ends to sing freedom songs, and about 4:30 p.m. they march to the Board of Education building to sit in the hall studying until 6:15 p.m., when the Board meeting breaks up.

HARASS STUDENTS

Several students at John Marshall High School were sent home for distributing CORE notices of the study-in on the campus. They were told their action was "in violation of state laws" and that they would not be readmitted to classes until they brought their parents to school with them. One of the Mexican-American students sent home was a star on the football team. Without him, Marshall lost the game that week.

The school Board was also trying hard to work up something with the fire department to put an end to the demonstrations. The fire captain, Robert Landgraf, met the demonstrators at their second study-in with the information that they would be violating the law if they sat or stood in the corridor, because "to do so would constitute a fire hazard." The 300 assembled students went in anyway, without one turning back.

CHARGES ARE REJECTED

After the fourth study-in, and the all-night vigil that followed it, the Board of Education alleged that a burglar broke into the medical offices, stealing a transistor radio, five hypodermic needles and 60 cents in

stamps. The security agent (guard) for the Board also charged that the demonstrators roamed the grounds and were guilty of "promiscuous behavior."

Jerry Farber, an English lecturer at the Los Angeles State College who is head of CORE's education action committee, said he thought it strange that school board member J. C. Chambers earlier in the week had said it would be difficult to tell whether all members of a demonstration such as this would be CORE members.

"What puzzles me," Farber said, "is that Mr. Chambers said 'perhaps thieves might be among the demonstrators.' And then this happens." Farber also readily confirmed that some students fell asleep in the building during the night, but refuted the insinuations of any wrong doing. "I saw no one in a compromising position," he declared.

DETERMINATION MADE CLEAR

CORE's education chairman, Kenneth B. Fry, appeared before the Board just before the latest vigil was to begin in order to make the position of CORE perfectly clear. He wanted to expose the board members' pretense that CORE is asking for the impossible in school desegregation, as well as the false publicity about CORE which the Board has been giving on TV and radio, and in the press.

The Board, however, obviously intended to keep on creating incidents to discredit CORE, and even used the false burglary allegations to justify their provocative attempt to lock the building during the most recent sit-in.

Following Fry's appearance, board member J. C. Chambers had righteously summed up the Board's position: "You can stay in the corridors for 10 years and it won't make a particle of difference to the way I think."

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Two Worlds

The Standstill of Nehru's India

(Continued from Page 5)

moment of independence was the moment also of the fratricidal war with Pakistan. (That unresolved conflict was another element in the temptation of Mao to attack.)

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

Despite its "period of glory"—the 1947-48 Kashmir war, Nehru had not allowed the Army any decisive role in the Indian pattern of life. (4) Despite the fact that he allowed the ultra-conservative Sandhurst-educated officer class to have the Army under its command and play some old imperialistic roles—in Korea and in the Congo, Nehru's concept of the role of the army made it subordinate to the civil authorities. In this he fundamentally differs from Mao, who, even in the Communist (read: state-capitalist) orbit, holds to a special militaristic position. The Chinese Constitution is the only one where not only the "Party" but the Army is made synonymous with the state authority.

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

INDIAN MASSES ARE PIVOTAL

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

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

* * *

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Quoted in The New York Times (Oct. 27, 1963) summation of this survey.
- (2) Gandhism means both much more and much less, than passive non-violent mass resistance. From Gandhi's first introduction of santaghara and the resulting British massacre at Amritsar in 1919, which coincided in world affairs with the Russian Revolution and the attempts in India to start a Marxist movement which he fought, to Gandhi's role in the post-World War II movement he finally led to victory and thus became the prototype of the new nationalistic revolutionary in Africa—there lies a quarter of a century in need of analysis. This is not the place to attempt it.
- (3) Barbara Ward, "The Rich Nations, the Poor Nations."
- (4) See Takasi Oka, "The Paradox of the Himalayas," The Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 26, 1962. One role for which Gandhi will go into history is hardly ever mentioned, and yet it will endear him more to future generations than the role he is famous for. This "hidden" role is his recognition that "the Party" in power is corruptible. Though he passed on his mantle of leadership to Nehru, he himself refused to take a position in power, and urged that others too must stay out of power and look at the ruling Congress Party, their own, with "outside" eyes.

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With The Committees

The Detroit Committee and the Los Angeles Committee both have special events coming up for November, which should interest new friends and readers and those of long-standing alike.

In LOS ANGELES, a theatre party will be held on Saturday, Nov. 23, at 9 p.m., at the Ethical Culture Center, 837 S. Parkview Ave., which will feature actress Pauline Myers in dramatic readings.

In DETROIT, a public meeting will be held on Sunday, Nov. 17, at 7 p.m., at 2020 Witherell (the central YMCA), at which Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman of the National Editorial Board of News & Letters and author of Marxism and Freedom, will speak on "Jean-Paul Sartre, Philosopher of Existence or Communist Fellow-Traveler?"

A new series of classes in Marxism and Freedom, From 1776 Until Today will begin in Detroit on Friday evening, Nov. 22. The book will be printed in a paper-back edition with a new Introduction and a new Chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" early next year, and is about to appear in a Japanese edition very shortly, with an added Appendix on Mao Tse-tung. A Spanish edition to be published in South America early next year further attests to its impact upon the ideological battle-field over the past five years, as well as to the growing interest in and the importance of the Marxist-Humanist ideas which it was the first and only book to seriously set forth.

The classes, which will be held at the offices of News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave., will begin promptly at 8 p.m. and run two hours, with the first hour devoted to the lecture, and the second hour to questions and discussion from the class. The lectures will be conducted by the staff of News & Letters.

The first and the last classes will be led by the author, Raya Dunayevskaya, who will begin the series on Nov. 22 when the class will take up the new Introduction written for a forthcoming paper-back edition of the book, as well as the structure and form of the work. The schedule for the classes follows:

History Is Distorted In Detroit's Schools

In school we are taught to think only one way, what is supposedly called the "Democratic Way." Our American History classes are so darned one-sided that it is really sickening.

I can remember very well that shameful feeling I had all through school, when we reached the part about the Civil War, and slavery. They pictured the Civil War as a war fought because the South wanted "independence," but the root of the Civil War was slavery, and the force of the run-away slaves.

They pictured the Negro slave as something so stupid, that he wouldn't know how to act if he were free. They never said that this country was built from the Negro's sweat and back, from his cheaply paid labor.

In the urban areas, 80% of the South African families earn less than £20 a month, i.e. under the breadline, whilst the average income for a European is £34.34. per head.

Nov. 22, 1963 — Significance of the New Paperback Edition of Marxism and Freedom.

Nov. 29, 1963 — Marx's Early Humanist Essays.

Dec. 6, 1963 — The Sino-Soviet Orbit: Unity and Rift.

Dec. 13, 1963 — Automation and the New Humanism.

Dec. 20, 1963 — Role of Worker and Intellectual.

Dec. 27, 1963 — The Humanism and the Dialectic of Marx's "Capital."

Jan. 3, 1964 — The Rise and Fall of The Second Workingmen's International.

Jan. 10, 1964 — What Happens After: Can Man Be Free in This Age of State Capitalism?

Jan. 17, 1964 — Workers as Molders of History.

Jan. 24, 1964 — Philosophy and Revolution.

Alabama

There is a jungle
Of a unique kind
More vicious animals
Nowhere, will you find.
You need not travel
To African jungles at all
You will meet those in Dixie
Who ever heed the beastful call.

If hunting, you must go
So, take my advice
You need not travel far
For, the South would suffice.
I should ask forgiveness
Of the tiger, lion and such
Those beasts of the jungle
We do not fear as much.
May Jehovah protect
Those four legged creatures
From the Alabama beasts
Of the identical features.

—M. E. Ben-Ami

* * *

We Have Overcome

America, America, the land of the free
Why don't those whites leave us Negroes be?
Their prodders and hoses, the tear gas and hounds
Can go to blazes, 'cause we are freedom bound.

Mr. Lincoln freed the slaves, like you and me,
So why can't this . . . be satisfactory
To see the heart, and not the color
And dissolve the hate, and love one another.

They say that sweet freedom is for everyone.
But for the Negro race, it's rather SAID than DONE.
My granny said, "It seems all hope is lost
'Cause the big bad white man, will forever be our boss."

The hangman and the Klansman, have been on the run
We've been tarred and feathered, and even been burned.
We've been beaten and bruised, and driven like mules,
Even sent to the fields, to work without shoes.

We have hung our heads in sorrow and shame
'Cause without our freedom, our lives will be the same.
So we are marching and singing, We Shall Overcome
Because the fight for our freedom, has just begun.

The white man is fighting, to keep us in despair
They are killing our children, and that's so hard to bear.
I've heard this little saying, It's later than you think,
So come on down to NEWS & LETTERS, you may be the missing link.

With death and destruction, we can never win
But courage, unity, kindness and good will,
So come all you high schoolers, other students as well,
We're shouting for freedom, let's ring it like a bell.

So don't just sit and idle the time away
Come join NEWS & LETTERS and have your say.
Then when in the end, the fighting is done
We shall sing a true song: WE HAVE OVERCOME.

—E. Douglass.

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CITY STATE

Diem Regime Is Overthrown; What Now For Vietnamese?

(Continued from Page 1)

French imperialists before, during and after the Second World War—Ho Chi Minh had wide popular support.

With power, however, Ho Chi Minh, like all Communists, showed that he meant for the State and not the people to make all the decisions. Long before anyone began to give lectures on anti-Communism, the masses recognized that the state-capitalist bureaucratic administrators in the North were not really a new social order at all. And they fled.

What the peasants who fled to the South found, however, was another brand of despotism as soon as Diem consolidated his power in the South. The long-promised agricultural reforms that Diem finally instituted in 1956, for example, were quickly halted, and the hated landlord rule imposed again, with the old landlord now the new administrator.

LABOR RIGHTS DESTROYED

Civil liberties which had been repressed under Japanese occupation and French imperialism alike reappeared only to be buried again, this time by the "republican" regime of the Diem ruling family clique. Instead of the "trade union freedom" that Diem had promised in 1954, trade unions were banned and the most militant unionists were arrested. In July, 1955, workers demonstrating in Saigon were fired upon, and by 1957 the right to organize and the right to strike did not even exist.

By the time that President Kennedy made the decision two years ago to go all the way and send troops to "help" South Vietnam, the so-called democratic regime of Diem had moved so far to the right that it could scarcely be distinguished from Bao Dai's. In fact, the Diem regime had become so oppressive by 1961 that the opposition Vietcong guerrillas had no difficulty holding their own against Diem's government forces that outnumbered them almost 20 to 1.

In the Mekong Delta, the economic heart of the country, where over half of the 14 million South Vietnamese live, and where the Vietcong is the strongest, the government could get not one "government-oriented" peasant to inform on the movements of the Vietcong.

Each year the government claimed to have wiped out about half the hard-core Vietcong estimated to exist at the beginning of the year, only to find at the end of the year that there were more Vietcong than ever before. Last year, for example, there were some 20,000 to 25,000 and now there are estimated to be over 31,000. They were, moreover, holding at bay the government army of over half a million, which was being "advised" by some 17,000 American soldiers, and supplied with some 700 million American dollars annually.

'STRATEGIC HAMLETS'

It was not uncommon for Vietnamese peasants to escape from their "strategic hamlets" and join the Vietcong. The "strategic hamlets" were in reality, not only concentration camps into which peasants from the country-side were herded in order to separate them from the Vietcong (supposedly for their protection, but admittedly also to cut off the Vietcong from its source of food, recruits, and money); they were also "strategically" placed right on the line of fire.

As of September almost

10,000 of these villages had been built, and over 70% of the people were interred in them. Small wonder that youths and able-bodied men are constantly escaping from them to go off and join the guerrillas!

This inability to conduct a successful war against the Communists, in fact, was the only thing that really worried the New Frontier. The final straw was the suspicion that Ngo Dinh Nhu had even tried to make a deal with Communist North Vietnam. It is not so much that Kennedy thought Nhu could bring it off, as that he thought De Gaulle might.

The General—whom nobody had asked—had loftily declared his sympathy with "the tribulation of the Vietnamese people," and pledged "cordial cooperation" with "all Vietnam" in rooting out "foreign influence." DeGaulle is, of course, just the proper "non-foreign influence" to bring peace and independence to Vietnam. After all, it was the 40 years of French imperialist rule which succeeded in ruining Vietnam to begin with.

Nobody—not the present American imperialists, not the old French imperialists, not the deposed Diem regime, not the new "liberator" General Minh—is asking the people what they want. All are dominated by the concept of the backwardness of the masses.

Far from being "backward," however, the Vietnamese people have exhibited the most complex and advanced of political and cultural histories. Throughout the long colonial rule of the French, there was constant strong Vietnamese resistance. Vietnam has also seen a variety of political parties that the so-called "advanced" United States has yet to imagine. Moreover, the radicals have not been isolated from the masses. Even the Trotskyists had so strong a movement that they were victorious in a Saigon municipal election as far back as 1936.

MASSES WILL BE HEARD

It was, moreover, during the years of Japanese occupation, from 1940 to 1945, when all political freedoms were suppressed, that the most crucial political struggle took place among Communists and non-Communists for leadership of the national revolution. To this day, despite all the repression by every single regime under which the Vietnamese have suffered, the Buddhists are by no means the only opposition—or, to use a favorite phrase of the daily press, "the only alternative."

The masses themselves are the only true alternative. Paris is full of Vietnamese intellectuals who had to escape from their home-land, and yearn to return to help build a new, free world. More important, the masses have shown in their whole attitude to the war—which they did not ask for and do not wish to fight—that they want once and for all to do away with ALL regimes whether propped up by one variety of imperialism or the other, and whether representative of one orbit or the other.

It is clear that the masses have not yet had their say. It is nevertheless the people alone who will be able to find the way to true freedom for Vietnam.

Parliament in South Africa represents only 3,000,000 of the country's 14,500,000 people.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

AFL-CIO, Southern Racist Style

The Political Action Committee of the AFL-CIO of Mississippi has not only dared to endorse the Republican candidate for Governor, Rubel Phillips, but to pretend as well that that would be any improvement on Ross Barnett and his Lt. Governor, Paul Johnson, who is now running for Governor. They manage to make a distinction between these two reactionaries by "exposing" the Barnett Administration.

What they fail to say is that their choice, Republican Rubel Phillips, is not only not one whit better, but is, on a national scale as well, equally reactionary, for he is a Goldwater Republican. The Democratic and Republican candidates vie with each other in only one respect: who can be more racist, more anti-labor, more "anti-Kennedy." Nor do they reveal how well-financed is the Republican candidate.

What we want to know is:

why is the AFL-CIO national office keeping quiet about this disgraceful action of its Mississippi local?

Mum seems to be the word on this, and mum also on the fact that a real opportunity for breaking with Democrats and Republicans is being given the Mississippi electorate by the "Freedom Vote" campaign. The NAACP, SNCC and CORE are waging a write-in campaign for Dr. Aaron Henry, NAACP state head, a Negro druggist, for Governor, and Tougaloo College Dean, Rev. Edward King, white chaplain, for Lieutenant Governor. Dr. Henry is making a speech-a-night tour of the state, fighting against racism, for jobs and freedom, for voting rights for Negroes and for better education.

Since Barnett's Mississippi does not recognize write-in votes and since only 6.1 percent of Mississippi's eligible

Negroes are registered, this campaign is also aimed at showing the Negroes' true strength (Negroes comprise 36.1% of the state population) by setting up mock polling booths at churches and other places.

To return to the AFL-CIO: we want further to know why none of the money the AFL-CIO members are giving toward political action nationally is being used to further this great campaign by those who stand for civil rights in the south? Since Meany and Reuther have such a holier-than-thou attitude on civil rights, why are they not doing anything to counteract the actions of the local reactionary racist position of their Mississippi local? Better still, why not expel the Mississippi local? Or does their bravery stop with the expulsion of those the Administration wants expelled, such as the teamsters? (See Editorial on Civil Rights Bill p. 4)

Nehru's 'Socialism'

The ruling Congress Party of India is meeting this year in Jaipur. In preparation for this meeting the right wing, supported by Nehru, has drawn up a draft "statement of principles" which rejects Marxism as "outdated."

Under the guise of separating himself from Communism, Nehru says that, because Communism achieves its aims through "quarreling and class war," therefore he stands for "democratic socialism" — as if that could possibly mean the perpetuation of his capitalist class position!

* * *

Latin America

Last year the Kennedy Administration gave \$75 million for military aid to various Latin American countries. Since no obvious threat of a military nature exists in these countries, the arms provided by the U.S. are used primarily to keep the workers and peasants from overthrowing the corrupt regimes, or used by the military to overthrow the civilian regimes.

Each year several thousand officers from these countries are trained in the United States by the Army, Navy and Air Force. They go home, not to spread the ideas of "democracy," but to establish totalitarian regimes with the aid of their American training and the military equipment so generously furnished to them by the U.S. Government.

A case in point was Peru in July 1962 when Col. Briceño parked his Sherman tank outside the Presidential Palace and shouted, "We demand immediate surrender, avoid unnecessary bloodshed. We have enough armaments here to blow down the entire palace." President Prado surrendered and the military clique took over.

In the Dominican Republic and in Honduras similar military coups have over-

thrown the civilian governments within the last year. In Guatemala there are rumors of U.S. troops training with Cubans for a repeat invasion of Cuba.

It will do little good to deny the military dictators "U.S. recognition" for a few weeks since they feel confident, from past experience, that they will get the recognition plus more millions in aid if they only bide their time. Indeed, they know that "secretly," the State as well as the Defense Departments of the U.S. Government do not really differ from the C.I.A., which considers these military cliques as the more "reliable" rulers. No wonder the entrenched semi-feudal landlord class never bothers to follow even the Alliance for Progress "reforms," much less give way to an agricultural revolution.

* * *

Benson Rides Again

Ezra Taft Benson, former Secretary of Agriculture under Eisenhower, appeared as a feature speaker in honor of Robert Welch, founder of the reactionary Birch Society. This is the Welch who impugned the patriotism of President Eisenhower, who was alleged to be the "dupe of party-card carrying Communists." Far from this stopping Benson, he said he felt as honored to be the featured speaker as to have been appointed head of the European Mission of the Mormon Church.

The Mormon Church, of which Benson is fourth-ranking senior member of the ruling council, has recently been in trouble because of its attitude toward Negroes. None are admitted to the priesthood, although most white boys reach that status at the age of 12.

When Michigan Governor Romney, who is a Bishop of the Mormon Church, was asked about this, all he could say was that he was elected

Governor, not as a Mormon, but because of his "record."

* * *

Birds of a Feather

The murderer of Medgar Evers, Byron De La Beckwith, was visited in his jail cell by retired Major General Edwin C. Walker, who said later that he "extended best wishes to Beckwith." Walker further said that Evers' "activities were not in the best interests of the nation."

Walker's activities include inciting the white riot at Oxford, Miss., active membership in the John Birch Society, and his latest stunts directed at smashing the U.N.

* * *

Nigeria A Republic

On Oct. 1 the Federation of Nigeria became a republic. Dr. Nnamde Azikiwe, who was one of the earliest African independence leaders, became the first President. However, this is far from his original dreams of independence and African socialism.

For one thing, though he is President and will serve in that capacity for five years, actual power is maintained in the hands of Prime Minister Balewa who is far to the right, symbolic of the semi-feudal northern region still ruled by emirs. Secondly, the Republic starts the era of republicanism by having conducted a most noxious trial in which Chief Awolowo, head of the Action Group Party, was sentenced to 10 years in prison along with 21 others of his party charged with a "plot to overthrow the government." Many more oppositionists to the left are either under indictment or otherwise limited in their activity.

The Nigerian masses are waiting to see whether there will be any fundamental changes in their daily lives; there have thus far been very few ever since they achieved political independence.