# Inhumanity of Occupation of Dominica — Page 4



VOL. 10-NO. 5

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

JUNE-JULY, 1965

**On Returning to Selma** 

& LETTE

10c A Copy 6d in Great Britain

### WORKER'S JOURNAL By Charles Denby, Editor Justice Had Her Blindfold on

NEWS

# When Mayor Hubbard Faced Her

Many workers in our shop were amazed and shocked at the recent jury decision to acquit the mayor of Dearborn, Orville Hubbard, of the federal charges against him for allowing a white mob to stone the house of another white man because they mistakenly thought he was selling it to a Negro. Some of the white workers said it showed all of us that if you know the right people, no matter how guilty you are, you can go free. This is apparently as true in federal courts as in state courts. There is a catch in the line about a person being innocent until he is proven guilty. The catch is that it is entirely up to the judge and jury—who can send an innocent person to prison, or set a guilty one free, as they did in this case.

#### JUDGE PRACTICALLY ORDERED ACQUITTAL

A Negro worker said it should teach everyone who didn't already know it, never to put his confidence in a politician. "I was glad when Wade McCree was made a federal judge, because he is a Negro," he said. "But it is plain to me now that when he told the jury not to consider the question of prejudice in this case that he was asking them for a verdict of not guilty. He made it worse after the jury brought in the decision when he asked the one Negro Uncle Tom on the jury whether that was his decision too — as if the jury could have brought in the decision without the entire 12 being in agreement." When these politicians want your vote, they will tell you how different it will be if we get Negroes into this or that office. But as soon as they are in office they forget their color, and who put them into office. This case was nothing but a hoax, and a slap in the face of every Negro and white who opposes Hubbard.

Another worker said he had never before heard of a defendant throwing a party for a jury because they acquitted him. When Hubbard said, "Thank God for American justice" what he meant was "Thank God for American injustice." It was reported that at the special party for the jury Hubbard put his arms around the Negro Uncle Tom and told him that if the Negro people gave him any trouble, he would move him to Dearborn and give him protection there.

Instead of offering thanks for the American jury system, this segregationist should be offering thanks to American Negroes who were willing to give him a better deal than they would have received if the tables were turned. The prosecuting attorney read out some of his racist statements in court, including one in which he said it is 7000 miles to Africa, and only seven to Belle Isle, but what decent white person would want to go to either place? Then one listens to the President of the U.S. pleading for a solution to the world crisis, especially Vietnam — and asking for an end of the hatred among races and peoples. And one has to wonder what kind of insane world we live in, where the brutality against Negroes and their white supporters in Mississippi — the same kind that Hitler practiced 25 years ago — continues, and a government as powerful as that of the U.S. cannot prevent it, or convict a single lyncher; where public execution of war prisoners in South Vietnam is called justice, and the same atrocity in North Vietnam is called brutal.

SHAM OF U.S. DEMOCRACY EXPOSED DAILY

Whether it is in Vietnam or Santo Domingo or right here; whether it is by a man like Hubbard in the North, or one like Wallace in the South, American democracy is exposed as a sham to the world every day we live.

A Negro who visited me recently from a rural area of Alabama said Gov. Wallace would be glad to read about the Hubbard case because it would give him ammunition for his theme that what goes on in Alabama goes on all over the country, and that only when it happens in Alabama does it become world news. This Southern Negro went on, however, to show how the Negroes, especially in Lowndes County, are changing the whole picture down there.

County, are changing the whole picture down there. "We have gone to the point of no return," he said. "Before the March to Montgomery, there was not a single Negro registered voter. Now we have 27, and more than a thousand others have tried and been rejected. Some of them have been college graduates, and a suit is pending on it already. They are now being sent notices that they can try to register again in six months. We are hunting out the Uncle Toms, because some of them have registration cards, but nobody can find out when they went to register. We know they are dangerous and can sometimes hurt the Movement more than the KKK."

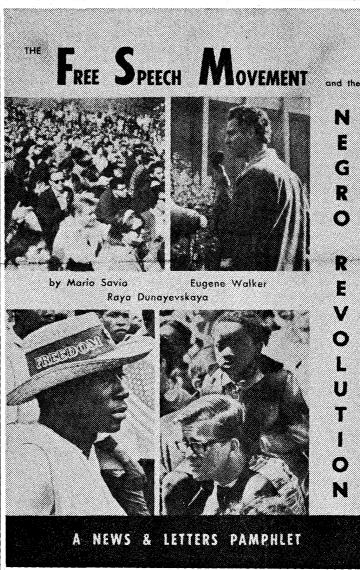
He said that just before the March, an Uncle Tom Negro and a Negro high-school principal told the whites that their minister was not preaching religion in church, but equal rights. The KKK went to the deacon's home and told him to tell the preacher that if he was still there by nighttime they would kill him. The deacon reported it to the members of the church and they all went home with the preacher. Then they formed a committee to go to some of the leading white businessmen in the village, and demanded to know why they could not be free to worship in their own church since they were not permitted to worship in the white man's church.

The white businessmen then went to the preacher's home with the KKK head, and said they were sorry they had listened to the principal and the other Negro who had come to them. They asked the preacher if he wanted them to take care of these two Negroes. The preacher said that once the Uncle Toms were known, the Negroes would know how to handle the situation very well.

It seems to be the Uncle Toms, North or South, that help to hold back progress. But as my Southern friend said, nothing can hold us back forever. "We have gone to the point of no return."

# **'It Makes You Feel Like You Can Stand on Their Strength'**

Everyone—especially every Negro who was born in the South and has not gone back there for years—should have the chance to go there now and see first-hand the progress toward freedom that the Southern Negro and his white allies have made. In the three weeks I just spent there, the first thing every Negro I met told me about was the March from Selma to Montgomery and the whole transformation it made in them. They spoke of how they had lost their fears and were willing to sacrifice everything they had for freedom, especially for the younger Negroes.



### JUST OFF THE PRESS

This exciting new pamphlet also includes:

- ★ "Education in the South" by Robert Moses of SNCC.
- ★ "Inside Sproul Hall" by Joel Pimsleurthe only eyewitness account of the police brutality during the Dec. 3 arrests of sit-inners at Berkeley.
- ★ The freedom philosophy underlying The Movements, including the anti-war teach-ins.

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW—ONLY 50c (plus 10c for postage) News & Letters 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48204 Enclosed find plus 10c for postage for .....

copies of "The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution." (Bundles of 5: \$2.00)

Name	Address	
City	State	Zip
		-

Their determination and activity is so great that it makes you feel like you can stand on their strength, and you lose whatever fear you have within yourself. THE MOVEMENT'S GAINS

In Birmingham, where ten years ago many felt it was impossible for Negroes to make any progress along humanist lines, there are now Negro bus drivers, Negro clerks in some of the stores, Negroes in many other jobs that were considered impossible before. One Negro driver laughingly said that many whites will sit wherever they see an empty seat, but there are still some who will neither sit with a Negro, nor go to the back or the center of the bus to stand. They will simply crowd around the Negro driver in the front, falling on him every time the bus lurches.

One Negro woman who does day work for a white family said that one day she was sitting on a bus next to a white woman who began to tell her how much she hated Rev. King, and how sick he made her. The Negro woman said, "He makes me sick, too—when he tells me not to fight back."

Many of the Negroes say the same thing. They say that they doubt they could have ever made the gains they have if they had not taken Rev. King's approach, but many say they did not march themselves because if a white man had hit them they would have fought back. But they give everything they can to the Movement. They make donations, and send food, and support the civil rights workers down there.

Some whites ask how long the Negroes have felt this way, and are amazed when the answer is "All our lives." They wonder how it was possible for Negroes to conceal their feelings all their lives and go along as if they were completely happy. It was possible because we did not see a future in those days. Many times we expressed it in our singing, like in a blues song that says "You don't know, you don't know my mind. When you see me laughing, sometimes I am laughing just to keep from crying."

COUNTER-REVOLUTION ACTS This does not mean that the Negroes of Selma are not facing retaliation. They are being fired from jobs, cut off welfare and relief, evicted from their homes -sometimes merely because a relative was seen in the March, or with a SNCC worker. When reporters come down and write that Selma is back to normal since the March, nothing could be further from the truth. Governor Wallace could pay every newspaper editor in the country to write about the "image of Alabama"-but nothing will change (Continued on page 8)

### **Discussion Articles**

# International Opposition to Vietnam War

the grounds that he had given

support to American policy. He

said that he was not going as

Prime Minister but as the Chair-

man of the Commonwealth con-

ference. Of course, he was Chair-

man because he was Britain's

Prime Minister, but who was

It seems it has come off. He

will now be able to say that he

tried and that the circumstances

of the failure to secure peace

show that he was right in sup-

porting the policy of America.

He will follow the line of Stew-

art at the recent "teach-in" and

attack China and North Vietnam.

He will certainly cause some of

As if to assist Harold Wilson,

a delegation from the British

Communist Party turns up at

Hanoi, where John Gollan told

a meeting that there was a growing movement in Britain in

support of the Vietnam "struggle

for peace and national reunifica-

The "Daily Worker" is calling

on everyone to support the lobby

of Parliament which takes place

next week. This will only be a

demonstration of the faithful,

ing on other issues in the past.

The campaign against Wilson's

policy has been confined to the

converted and has not reached

the masses. Its main support

Nothing is said about the fact

that Wilson wants America to

remain in Asia to safeguard Brit-

ish spheres of influence in that part of the world. Without

America, Britain's "east of Suez" policy would fizzle out. And, of

course, nothing is said by the Communist Party about the fact

that China shows little concern

about self-determination for the

It is not surprising in these

circumstances that very little is

said about Santo Domingo. No-

body knows what is happening

in Latin America. There is al

is going on in Vietnam.

sion profiteers, no!"

Milan, Italy --- "With the

The international situation

is grave, but is not yet char-

acterized by a general war.

It is still controlled by the

major imperialist powers as

they emerged from the divi-

pressure in each bloc to ex-

pand its sphere of influence.

This can be seen in the in-

soluble problems that have their

nerve centers in Europe (the

division of Germany), and in the

Afro-Asian and South American

spheres with the chaotic explo-sion of localized wars-unack-

nowledged, but obvious preludes

to the coming historical crisis

which must result in a new re-

The cost of this state of affairs

is being borne by the underde-

division of the world.

15

inai

what we have

struggling Vietcong workers, Si! With the Chinese or Rus-

ITALY

comes from the haters of every

thing American.

nations of Asia.

most of whom have been lobby

likely to notice that?

his critics to waver.

tion.

### JAPAN

Page 2

Tokyo, Japan — The situa-tion in Vietnam has been terribly aggravated by the continued air raids in North, Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists.

The resistance of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and its puppet government in South Vietnam has almost driven the oppressors into collapse.

The American rulers, however, ignoring their forced retreat, have been carrying out brutal massacres with poison gas and napalm bombs, which is condemned even by the West German government. Moreover, added to the continued bombing on North Vietnam, they now intend to move one million U.S. soldiers beyond the 17 degree line and even launch bombings in China. Use of nuclear weapons is also reported to be in discussion. THREATS DEEPEN CRISIS

The Russian government, on the other hand, has already disposed missiles to North Veitnam, while the Chinese government has repeatedly been issuing statements accusing the U.S. government and threatening to dispatch volunteer corps. As history has taught us, however, the introduction of missiles and threats by statements, which give the aggressors their pretext to continue the massacre, only result in expanding the Vietnamese war and deepening the threat of world war instead of preventing it.

The only solution lies in the combined struggle of the workers and people in Vietnam and in the advanced countries . .

MASSES PROTEST WAR

On April 26, the first mass protest here was achieved through the cooperation of the anti-Stalinrevolutionary organizations ist and the militant wing of the Sohyo (General Council of Japan Trade Unions), with 50,000 workers and students sitting down in front of the U.S. embassy in Tokyo despite the suppression of the policemen. 15,000 of the public enterprise workers, 10,000 of the private enterprise workers, 10,000 of Tokyo's municipal workers from the local cities and 5,000 of the Zengakuren students par ticipated in this struggle.

The struggle was backed with a series of strikes in the tele-communication, post office, steel, chemical, electric, machine, and ship-building industries, ranging from the middle of March to the end of April.

The Communist Party, in spite of its insistance on an anti-USA campaign, disappeared before the mass action of the workers and students. It called the sit down protest in front of the U.S. embassy dangerous adventure and provocation. -From Zenshinsha (NC-JRCL)

### SCOTLAND

Glasgow, Scotland — Just few lines about Harold Wil-on's clever maneuver in re-combined with the internal a few lines about Harold Wilson's clever maneuver in regard to the Vietnam war. He knew from the outset that his move would achieve nothing so far as peace was con-cerned. He also knew that whatever the outcome, he had nothing to lose. He aimed at appeasing his critics and winning over the most innocent of them. He also wished to appear before the electors as the one man who, above all others, was prepared to try and stop the bloodshed in ietnam. He ignored those who objected countries whose territory, Excerpted from Ba Vietnam

this strategy of localized war. It

is easy to foresee that the history

of the next few years will see a

further unfolding of this simmer-

ing crisis which will take place.

above all, in the "third world"

where imperialism will test out

the means and objective possibili-

ties of its military preparedness

Is it true, however, that the

appearance, on the historic stage,

of the new forces arising from

the armed struggle against col-

onialism has brought imperialism

to a stage of crisis? Absolutely

not. It would be an unpardonable

error-one that would gravely en-

danger the class struggle and the

very future of the workers' cause

-if the revolutionary vanguard

were to sow illusions about im-

perialism being pushed into total

crisis by the anti-colonialist move-

ment in general, or even, in par-

ticular, by the tenacious and

heroic resistance of the combat-

ants in Vietnam. Such an error

war and is, ironically enough

called "peaceful co-existence".

On the one hand, we see the

imperialist devil which tends to

pull everything under its own

domination. On the other hand,

we have Russia, China and their

spheres of influence-the so-call-

ed "progressive" world-which

aims to achieve, with new

methods more capable of hyp-

notising and dominating the great

masses, but aimed nevertheless,

to the same ends of imperialist

domination in the name of-

**PULL OF POWER BLOCS** 

**IMPERIALISM IN CRISIS?** 

for a final collision.

to him leading the mission on | are being made a guinea pig in

### SO MANY PUSH WORK

# What About Having the **Right Just to Be Lazy?**

I'm poor, I'm proud, But I'm particular, I don't like work, And never did. All the young fellows, Can do it all for me, Do it all the time, Prince Philip wears the same size hat as I do. He don't work so why should I.

(With apologies to an old time music hall song.)

GLASGOW, Scotland Down under, in Melbourne, Australia, they held a con-ference on "Human Rela-tions." One of the speakers was Prof. J. K. Galbraith, well-known American the economist-and boy, he sure said a mouthful. Here it is:

"People should be thinking of a future with more play and less work. We have a large number of people who want to work like hell all the time. We possibly have quite a few people who would like to have a longer paid

wish to meet our needs with a minimum of well distributed effort. This would require a drastic alteration in our attitudes. Toil would no longer be an end in itself. It would become instead a means to the end of pro-

viding for our needs." WORK, WORK, WORK You can say that again, Mr. Galbraith. It's like sweet music in our ears. Day in, and day out over here, in this demi-paradise, all we get is a mournful dirge

Army years ago, "Work for the night is coming." The Sal V has now more sense. It has gone over to "Pop." Politicians, trade union misleaders, and clergymen vie with one another to keep us at work.

The B.B.C. early morning programme, "Lift Up Your Hearts" is going off, and a good thing too. Insufferable little men with their collars turned the other way took a microphone in their hands and tried to make us see the industrial jungle as the "Garden of Nineveh"; the factory hooter a blast from Gabriel's trumpet.

Another work maniac is that 20th century Vicar of Bray, George Middleton, former Communist and secretary of the Scottish T.U.C. He is dead keen on the export drive. He is keen about work for Scotland. He is also keen about himself. What work did he ever do? Apart from work in the kitchen of a big hotel when he was a young man, and another time when he pushed an ice cream barrow, he did little else in the way of work.

PARASITE NO. 1

Undoubtedly, Prince Philip is parasite No. 1. His life is one long holiday. After two weeks of luxury and sailing on the Rhine, he comes back to England for nothing more than a game of polo.

Meantime, the trumpets are sounding and the pageantry is in full spate to let us know that 700 years have passed since the signing of the Magna Carta. To hell with it! We have been smothered in "Rights." What smothered in "Rights." What about the "Right to be Lazy." We should have that inscribed on our banner.

(From the Marxist Humanist,

Communists Oppose Anti-War Rally

Milan, Italy - The Italian | nately and carrying people off to Communists haven't changed much since the days of Stalin. Recently there was a demonstration here against the war in Vietnam. Those marching expected to arrive at the Pi-azza of the Duoma, but the

The police waited about five minutes (it is clear that a crowd of 2,000 can't disperse in this time, even if they wanted to), and then they descended with clubs in hand, beating indiscrimi- struggle.

the station. They held 14 of them for a week in prison, evidently to assure the U.S. government that Italy is really with it in its war. The Communists decided to

make political hay of this situation, saying that the Communists are good disciplined people, while the pro-Chinese and other leftist groups outside of the official Communist Party are undisciplined, bad people. Thus they hope to use this to elimi-nate every Marxist group that criticizes them. The group was diversified, making the very Communists' accusations all the more absurd. There were workers, students, two artists, a university professor, two young girls about 20 years old.

The incident has made a lot of people see that the Communist Party here is more interested in power than in any real

# For Our Detroit Readers and Friends

### Hear CBC Taped TV Interview of **RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA**

on "The Life and Thought of Leon Trotsky"

Date: Friday, July 23

Time: 7:30 p.m.

Place: News & Letters 8751 Grand River **Admission Free** 

ways the campaign of the Com The choice for Vietnam should munist Party, but that is suspect. not be a policy which would throw Among the best articles I have militant workers into the arms ready anywhere is the one by either of the Americans, or the Peter Mallory in the last issue Chinese, or the Russians. Only of News & Letters. One thing a clear declaration, and the presstands out clearly: the entry of ervation of, fundamental political American armed forces cannot be principles of class struggle will justified. That has been clear guarantee the continuation of a from the start, but the situation struggle that would be free of here has been dwarfed by what contamination either by statecapitalism or imperialism . . -Harry McShane

'anti-imperialism'' . .

In the actualities of imperialism there are no such things as good wars and bad wars; they are all wars of capitalism against which the international working class must raise its own class banner . .

For Marxists, the struggle against imperialism must mean the struggle against all imperialisms. It is of course clear that what is going on in Southeast Asia is a cruel, ferocious and arrogant imperialist act, which illuminates the larger conflict. sions following World War The United States does not wish to lose political-military innuence over this sector which has been in flux ever since the defeat of France. Southeast Asia represents a market for its products as well as a bridgehead to the heart of Asia. Naturally it doesn't want to lose this to the Chinese, who, in open concurrence with the Russians, claim this is rightfully theirs, both geographically and historically . . .

> of solidarity with the international proletarian revolution. This, actually, is only a prospect. But it is the only valid class view.

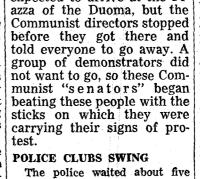
Excerpted from Battaglia Com-

test.

Instead, nationalism must be broken and submerged by a surge

can only be the result of an underestimation of the real role of imvacation, conceivably have a perialism, its continuity, and its sabbatical year, a year in which alternate course of conflict which they could go to England or try divides the world into further something else. centers of power within the re "Maybe we should consider spective spheres of influence, as whether we must always continue well as an underestimation of the to keep abreast of the technologireality that we already are in cal dynamic with an expansion a permanent state of war, even though it is not always a "hot" of output. Instead, we might

that was sung by the Salvation Scotland, June 1965 issue).



#### **JUNE-JULY**, 1965

In Mississippi Delta

#### NEWS & LETTERS

#### N & L Makes Stir **On The Line** at Chrysler Plant Chrysler's New 'Young Turk'

# **Field Hands Organize Union**

the most significant recent developments is the formation of the Mississippi Free-dom Labor Union, centered in the Delta town of Shaw. This union called a strike of farm workers in several Delta counties this spring ... where cotton is still the mainstay of the economy.

Nearly all the Negroes in the community work in the fields or in the homes of the whites.

Laborers have received about \$3 a day for chopping or picking cotton from sunrise to sundown. This year cotton growers decided to lower wages to \$1.75 a day.

In April, 60 people from Shaw and surrounding communities went to Greenville to picket an invitational meeting sponsored by the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture. The conference was scheduled to discuss the Delta labor surplus, wages, transfer of workers, and other matters affecting hundreds of Delta farm workers. No Ne-groes were invited. PICKETS WIN

Pickets demanding admissison to the conference confronted participants at the Downtowner Motor Inn the first day of the conference. When they returned the second day, directors of the conference at first offered to admit seven; when this offer was

Jackson, Miss. — One of rejected, the entire group was ne most significant recent allowed to come in.

Encouraged by the results of this first encounter with the "powers-that-be," union people began active canvassing in Shaw, Greenville, Rosedale and other places. People were asked to sign pledges indicating that they would support the union and a strike effort. A few signers promised to strike whether or not their action was seconded by others.

A BROAD UNION FOR ALL

Strike demands include payment of the federal minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour, adequate support for those who cannot find jobs, and end to use of workers under 16 and over 60. So far, the MFLU is very broad in its concept. It is intended to be a union for all kinds of workers who are underpaid — field hands, tractor drivers, maids and others.

Pledges have been obtained in large numbers wherever canvassers have been, and in very little time.

The implications of a broadly inclusive union, militant enough to influence working conditions, pay scales, and welfare programs are important for poor people throughout the state, white as well as Negro.

-From The Southern Patriot, May, 1965

Detroit, Mich. — I work at Chrysler Highland Park and I'd like to tell you about the recent election we had and the impact that your paper, News & Letters, had on the union bureaucrats and the men there. It may be a small paper, but it's the only one I've read in this country that is not afraid to tell the truth about conditions in the shop, and will print what ordinary workers feel about

things that are important to them. It so happened that the last issue of your paper was dis-tributed at our plant just before the election of union officers was held. Apparently, when the Reutherite bureaucrats who are in office read the article about our plant in the paper, they knew it was so damning to them that they scurried around like rats trying to round up all of the copies of the paper. They tried to dispose of them before the workers could get a chance to read the paper. When the workers heard about this, they were determined to see the article. As a result there was a real demand for that issue.

CLOSE VOTE

There is no question that the workers were fed up with the Reutherites, because, according to the reported tally, the opposition slate to the Reutherites lost the positions of president, vice president, secretary and committeeman by only plant about 100 votes or less out of some 2500 votes. This is the first time that there has been this close a vote for as long as I can remember-and that goes a long way back.

I'm convinced that if more workers in the plant had read the paper, the Reutherites would have been defeated.

As it is, the defeated candidates are challenging the tally and are demanding a recount. And a big hassle has developed, with charges and counter-charges flying all over the place.

There's one other thing about this election that will give you another idea about the company and Reutherites. Several years ago a rank-and-file worker was running for a committeeman office and was campaigning in the plant.

#### COMPANY BREAKS **OWN RULE**

When plant guards tried to evict him from the plant, he just lay down on the floor and this created quite an incident. As a result, the company put in its rule book that no condidate for office would ever be permitted in the plant to campaign for union office.

But during this last campaign, the president and his other cronies in office were in the plant campaigning during every shift — and the company didn't do a thing about it. To me, this just proves that the company gets along real good with the present officers and are just as invious for them to in office as the officers are.

It also shows that the company makes and breaks its own rules any time it feels like it, and there's nobody to penalize them. But just let a worker break a company rule, and you'll see just how quick the company will be to penalize him.

arrogant young "conquer the world" supervisors are leading the company down a blind allev. HIRE-FIRE MERRY-GO-ROUND The auto company is retiring older workers and hiring young workers to bring the work force

There is a new provision in the

contract that provides for a hear-1

ing between the union and com-

pany when any disciplinary ac-

tion is being contemplated. Plant

management has decided to ig-

nore this provision and take the

short route and shoot first. These

**Bosses Are Shooting First** 

By JOHN ALLISON

direct its work force. The workers are saying these inexperi-enced "Young Turks" shoot first and talk later. This dangerous practice has caused workers to protest in a sharp

manner to the union and the company. This supervision

disregard for proper consideration of the workers and their

problems will lead to even more trouble at Chrysler.

Chrysler has added a number of young supervisors to

up to their needs. From Plant in Highland Park, they are transferring workers to Plants 4, 5 and 6. At the same time, the company keeps on hiring and

# **Overtime Toll** in Steel Rises

Pittsburgh, Pa. — The 14 months of overtime is beginning to take its toll on the men at Homestead Steel Mill, and on the rigid safety pro-gram. Most of the work done in our machine shop is done by hand and we have the highest accident rate. It is because the men are trying to beat the clock, although the jobs they are on are new to them, and consist mostly of scrap jobs and those that other plants and mills can not handle themselves. Some jobs that come in are not even in blueprint.

A safety lecture is given to every shift, to alert the men about the dangers of their jobs. But what is happening is that the safety lecture is turning into harassment for the men. Every time an accident of any sort occurs, they have an inquest to see how the accident could have been avoided. The jury at the inquest consists of the boss, the master mechanic. There is a form of about 50 questions, with the injured worker's statement. About nine times out of 10, the worker is held to be at fault.

GOES TO OUTSIDE HOSPITAL One of the workers hurt his finger during the last hours of work. He required stitches, but he bandaged his hand and went to the hospital outside the mill for treatment instead of going to the hospital in the mill, where he would have been subjected to the usual harassment and inquest.

We have had two heart attacks, plus a casualty list of eight. ther rectly or indirect. ly related to the mill work. One worker lost his mind in the shop. One died after work. Three switched jobs because they couldn't make the necessary time on the machines.

In most cases, the company does not allow enough time for the jobs. You have all your bosses, and sometimes as many as six outsiders, walking around, looking over your shoulder as you work. The shop makes the men act like crooks. Before a man makes a move, he looks over his shoulder to see who is watching him. The good workers are afraid to work, because they might do the wrong thing. I wonder when the company will wise up.

firing workers. The young workers are beginning to see capitalists for what they are.

If a new worker is hired into Materials, the Glass Plant, Plant 6-or any place except Plant 3he will probably get his 90 days and his seniority. But if a new worker goes into Plant No. 3, you can be sure that he'll be laid off before his 90 days are up. There was one particularly brutal instance of company disregard for a probationary employee. This guy had a parent who died in the South, and nat-urally took off from work to attend the funeral.

WORKER FIRED When he returned, he was given the news that he was fired. The worker objected, saying that the company had no right to penalize him just because he had to take off work to attend the funeral of his parent. But since a probationary worker has no protection whatsoever, and is at the complete unmercy of the company, he was fired. This was bad enough, but

when the super was asked what the reason was for firing the man, he said: "Because we don't have to pay this man unemployment compensation."

There is another edge to this sword of hiring and firing, and it is especially hard on the older workers. The new workers are given a brainwash job by management, which jacks them up to produce as much as they can. USH PRODUCTION

These new workers naturally get the message that they will have to do more than hustle to keep their jobs. Because they have neither protection or experienece, they work like hell, raising production sky high.

The older workers, with both experience and more protection, know what the grind on the line is like. They have been there a long time, and are thinking in terms of pacing themselves to be able to work for years and still stay alive under the pres-sure. The irony of it is that the young workers who are letting that line beat them to death for the period of time they are there are fired anyway.

And it's an education for the young workers, too. They are fired not because of any physical defect-they're strong as bulls; not because they don't workthey work at a mankilling pace; but because their 90 days will soon be up. RETIREES ESCAPE

PRESSURE

Another result of the "shoot from the hip" supervisors is that the older workers eligible for retirement are leaving the shop in droves

Nearly 90% of the workers in Plant 3 who are eligible for retirement have already retired.

One recent retiree summed up his reason for leaving this way: 'I've worked in this plant for 35 years, and I've had bosses push, pull and twist at me until I thought I'd have to explode to keep my self respect. Now I'm getting too old to put up with these young punks who think they're going to set the world on fire by using me for kindling wood. I'm burned out already, and I'd better get out while I can retire, before that explosion I've been holding back all these years can't be held back any longer."

### Way of the World By Ethel Dunbar Southern Negroes Show Way Where can you find a better | In Chattanooga, Tennessee, it way for the colored people to gain their freedom than in the

South? Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the workers of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have members all over the deep South, helping the colored people get out of their bondage, and stop being slaves for the white man or acting as an Uncle Tom for him by telling lies on other Negroes.

That is how the whites kept the Negroes as far back as they could. They kept Negroes working for nothing. The white man took all the money that was coming to the Negroes and put it in his own pocket, because he thought he was better than the black man. The black man was supposed to honor him just because he was white.

But I was always told that the blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice, and the blacker the the richer it was. The whiter the soil, the poorer it was. Yet the white man keeps on worrying about the Negroes being black. He worries about it far more than the Negroes do.

The Negroes know that there has been a black race as long as there has been a white one, give and trea Negroes as they would like to be treated.

THE CHANGED SOUTH

The white man doesn't know what to do any longer to get the Negro back under his control, because there are so many young white people now who are marching with the Negro people.

In Anniston, Ala., a lot of Negroes went from the farm to work in a factory where they could make something for themselves and live more like human beings. They owned their own homes, and they would curse if anyone asked them whether they wouldn't like to go back to the farm to live.

looks almost as if the whites are afraid the Negroes will start fighting if they don't start letting the Negroes vote. So they sit down and talk with the Negroes about discrimination. Down in Atlanta, Ga., where

the Negro people are now starting to live like human beings at last, they call the city a "young New York," because colored people are going into public places there, and many of the whites don't seem to think anything about it.

#### HUBBARD ----**ANOTHER WALLACE**

Yet it seems to me that some of the Northern white people are taking up the old dirty habits just at the point when the white Southerners are trying to get rid of them, and win the Negro's friendship. Many of the white Northerners are just as bad as Gov. Wallace of Alabama, and his police. Just take a look at Mayor Hubbard of Dearborn who keeps getting elected by the white people in Dearborn just because he keeps promising them that he will keep the Negroes out of their heavenly city.

I sometimes wonder what would white people like those do and we wonder why the white if there were no colored people in the world for them to look down upon? They act as if this world was made for white people only - white Gentile people, that is—and no Negroes or Jews belonged on earth.

> Something is very wrong with a person who cannot think of anything but his white color.

Read Raya Dunayevskaya's Critical Review of

Jean Paul Sartre's "The Words" in the Special

Literary Issue, March, 1965, of "The Activist."

See Ad, Page 6.

#### NEWS & LETTERS

### **Editorial Article**

Page 4

# The Inhumanity of the U.S. Occupation of Dominica

By Raya Dunayevskaya

first, inspired Gen. Wessin y Wessin to unloose a counterrevolution against the very nearly bloodless and very nearly successful April 24 revolution, via the strafing of the capital and the loss of 1,000 lives on the ground, President Johnson took to the air waves and spoke unctuously of "a popular democratic revolution committed to democracy and social justice." This was but prelude to announcing that it had overnight turned into a near "Communist takeover" and "therefore" required overnight dispatch of U.S. marines.

#### THE OAS PARROTS WHAT US DICTATES

The next stage of this cynically directed counter-revolution called for acquiring an OAS figleaf irrespective of the U.S. violation of its charter, not to mention the violation of the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic. Our wily President got approval for an "inter-American peace force" by the votes of such sterling democracies as Haiti and the CIA's military brainchild, Guatemala.

Presently the OAS figleaf of U.S. occupation of Dominica has fallen off as "its peace force" - mainly American paratroopers now that the marines have been sent home --- shot its way deep into rebel territory, killing 75 mostly non-combatants, wounding 200, taking 500 prisoners, hacking its way into private homes, and then declaring, as "its," 50 blocks of the rebel zone.

This was followed by the OAS going into the countryside where they found uncounted grisly murders in shallow graves exactly at the spot where the Dominican people, who had bitterly and persistently complained of its miliatry junta's atrocities, said they would be located. Despite this proof of the Nazi demeanor of the U.S.-supported Imbert junta, the OAS has thus far dared declare that there was "no proof" as to who committed the massacre of all who stood in the junta's way - including a two-year-old child and one man who was so badly mutilated that no identification of any sort was possible.

The U.S. government remains silent about the brutalities of the Imbert men, even when this concerns an American citizen. If it happened in North Vietnam, we would have an unending atrocity story about it. And yet, in Santo Domingo, on May 31, an American citizen, Andres Gilbert Garcia, of Hato Bey, Puerto Rico, found his way back to the American lines only after he had been kept for 15 days in a cell about 6 by 8 feet in which 12 people were crowded against and even on top of each other. They were beaten, made to sleep on concrete floors, and one man was wounded so badly that he died. Their crime was that they were accused of being Communists; most of them were as Communist as Garcia, whose protestation that he was an American citizen merely got the reply: "You dirty Communist."

In all, said Garcia, more than 5000 prisoners were being held under "bestial conditions." He himself had received injuries on the head and the body. Yet no action was taken on this, and the reporter from LA-Times, Washington Post News Service who wired the story had to add: "It was not immediately known if the United States will protest to the Imbert regime."

#### THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Outside of the lie that it was "only after" President Johnson had "proof" of "Communist domination" of the popular revolt

The whole history of Mao proves him to have been a fighter, not against "revisionism," but against "dogmatism," the present revolutionary-sounding statements that thunder out from Communist China notwithstanding. Mao's accusation of Khrushchev as a coward who moved over from "fear of revolution," and Khrushchev's expression of "sadness" that the "Chinese comrades" could join the reactionary "atom mongers and madmen," are no more than tools forged to serve the narrow purpose of power politics. This is not to say that the ideological battle is without influence on the power struggle, and, moreover, has a logic of its own. But we must not let the fact that both contestants call themselves Communist hide their class nature: both are capitalistic to the marrow of their bones. State-capitalism changes the form, not the content, of these totalitarian regimes . .

- Except from Chapter 17.

### "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" **Marxism and Freedom** by Raya Dunayevskaya Paperback Edition — \$1.98

This dramatic and penetrating book probes the developments, deviations and divisions from Marx to Mao.

Address all orders to: News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Avenue, Detroit 4, Michigan.

Enclosed is ( ) Check ( ) money order for ( ) copies of the new paperback edition of Marxism and Freedom. Hardcover edition \$6 ( ).

Name Address

s j

The new stage of degeneracy of U.S. imperialism's occupation that U.S. marines were dispatched to the Dominican Republic, of Santo Domingo is its total disregard of human life. Having, U.S. imperialism's return to gunboat diplomacy can be seen from the fact that the President vetoed his own aide's proposals for a coalition government with representatives of the "popular democratic revolution committed to democracy and social justice."

Obviously, if even so rightwing and trustworthy an insider as McGeorge Bundy can be so infected with the democratic air in Santo Domingo as to believe the President's hypocritical speeches and follow the thesis through to its logical conclusion, then the only sure place to set U.S. policy, in its occupation as well as in its invasion phases, is in the inner recesses of the Pentagon. The tragedy is that the modern Uriah Heep, armed to the teeth not merely with ambition, but with the most destructive weapons in the world is our Commander-in-Chief.

To those who followed developments it was clear, from the start, that the very day of the near-success of the people's revolt-April 25-was the day of U.S. Imperialisms' decision that it should not succeed, no matter what it took either to cover up U.S intervention or, if this did not work, not to be ashamed to stand before the world stark naked. The oily hyprocritical speeches of President Johnson cannot hide the fact that his true aim in Dominica is to carry on a war of attrition against the people, to "finish off" their discontent with U.S.-supported Trujilloism without Trujillo. And Johnson cares little for the means he uses to achieve this unholy goal. (Those wishing to read the Administration's precise maneuvers for coverup should read "The Roots of the Dominican Crisis" by Theodore Draper-no wild radical he-in the May 24th issue of The New Leader, which is not exactly a Communist publication. In its June 21st issue it also carried Juan Bosch's story, "A Tale of Two Nations.")

Far from being discomfited by the wild corruption of the military juntas that have transformed the highest echelons into millionaires overnight, but kept the people in abject and permanent poverty, President Johnson has been all too happy to use them for his own ends, and insists on foisting them on the Dominican people. Not having succeeded with Wessin y Wessin, he next installed Trujillo's assassin, Imbert, who was the architect of Trujilloism without Trujillo.

Washington is setting up a new balloon -- Ballanguer for president, the same Ballanguer who was president both under Trujillo and for his assassins. President Johnson will try anything, anything at all, except that which the Dominican people want-a return to Constitutional government and the only Dominican president (Juan Bosch) who was ever duly elected there-elected against overwhelming odds of the combined forces of the military junta then in power, the landowning oligarchy that is equally rich and equally corrupt, Pentagon support, and a vicious slander cam-paign charging "Communism" — elected by the peasants, the urban poor, the lower middle class; elected overwhelmingly.

Neither the fact that Juan Bosch, in his seven months of power, did nothing to unseat the miiltary and thus paved the way for his own downfall, nor the fact that he is but the palest of liberals, will square him in the eyes of either the Dominican military junta who resented both his mild reforms and his own integrity, or in the eyes of the U.S. Commander-in-Chief, who likes to bet only on true-blue reactionary militarists.

In the U.S., as in Dominica, nothing scares a ruling class more than arms in the hands of civilians, and these the people now have, something they didn't have under Bosch. It is not that the arms are any match for U.S. might. It is that they are a symbol of a people relying only on their own mass strength. Destiny in the hands of the masses themselves in any Latin American coun-try—how that could electrify all of Latin America! Rather than risk such an eventuality, our Commander-in-Chief prefers closing all avenues for a genuine social revolution, carrying on a war of attrition in Dominica, even if thereby he becomes a greater breeder of Communism in this hemisphere than Castro ever was.

#### "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND PROTEST MOVEMENTS"

Washington is also banking on the fact that other Big Powers will let it get away with the counter-revolutionary act in Dominica even as it let Russia get away with it in Hungary, and China in Tibet. Because each Big Power has its recognized "sphere of influence," a power grab in that sphere is protested by the other in words only, and no action follows the words. Unless the point of contention is either an integral element of its national interests or becomes pivotal to the global struggle for power, as Viet Nam has become, the merely nominal protest unfortunately affects also the protest movements within the "aggressor country." Thus, where the demonstrations, marches, teach-ins against the war in Viet Nam are numerous, powerful, vocal, that is to say, loud and effective, whether voiced or written, those against the war in the Dominican Republic, which is totally unjustified but not pivotal to global power, are hardly more than whispered postscripts. Yet it is by this, just this, protest which would thereby become an act of inter-American class solidarity that history will make its judgement on American revolutionaries.

Outside of direct struggles, such as strikes for different conditions of labor and Negro struggles for full equality, no struggles for freedom are more challenging to the American ruling class than the struggles in Latin America. For it is by its imperialist adventures and not just by "the expandnig frontier" that American capitalism was enabled to deprive the workers of the industrial unionism they had won in Europe at the turn of the century, but had not won here until Depression hit the United States itself. America's plunge into imperialism at the end of the 19th century marked also its victory over Populism. Above all, its imperialist adventures, as that of all the West, was brilliantly white, and thus fastened on the Negro an inferior status North as well as South. (See American Civilization on Trial, pp. 14-16). By now Latin America, to U.S. imperialism, has become the proving ground

(Continued on page 7)

THE GREAT SOCIETY Everyone should know how the people here are being

treated, and what the strip mining is doing to us. There is one home I saw which the family had been forced to leave with their furniture still inside. They can't get it out. The dirt, trees and rocks as large as the house itself have it all covered over.

#### Miner's Wife Kentucky

It is something when a slick magazine like Newsweek gives the excellent reportage it does to the viciousness of the assembly line. I just stumbled over an old copy (Aug. 10, '64) of that magazine and found a report about one of the workers, aged 32, who was quoted as saying that the hope to escape was the only thing that kept him going. He was asked what he thought about while he worked. "I think while he worked. about getting out of here," he said. "You become a machine on this job. You feel trapped because the older you get, the less chance you have of getting away."

He was asked the name of the man at the next station and he didn't know what it was. He said, "we don't get to talk much." They have worked together in the pit, five feet apart, for 11 months!

It seems this man should be contacted and urged to get together with his fellow-workers. The union bosses have to be ignored and regarded for what they are - stumps in the road, just like the auto-mobile officials.

#### Reader Nebraska

### SOUTHERN HOSPITALITY

I was born in Lowndes County, between Montgomery and Selma, and I grew up in those two places. I always resented the phrase, "Southern Hospitality," because to me it meant that the Southern whites were inviting the Northern whites down to show them how nice they would be treated.

Recently, however, on a trip back home, for the first time in my life I got an inkling of what Southern Hospitality is. Most white stores we went into knew we were from the North, and they could certainly not help knowing we were Negroes. Yet it was "Good morning, can I help you?" and "Please come in and look around" everywhere we went. One store in Selma had a big sign hanging inside the door saying that the employees had been instructed to treat all customers alike, and to please report any complaints to the manager. We could scarcely believe our eyes.

#### Auto Worker Detroit

### RAČISM

I consider it a disgrace that the murders of Rev. Reeb and Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, both of whom were white Northerners were immediately considered national issues, while the death of Jimmie Lee Jackson, who was a Southern Negro, got hardly and attention at all. It is absolutely right that funds were immediately raised for the families of Rev. Reeb and Mrs. Liuzzo, but how many thought about helping the family of the Alabama laborer Jimmie Lee Jackson? How

# **Readers'** Views

many even knew he was the sole support of a widowed mother and a 15 year-old sister?

Your readers may be interested to know that there is a Jimmie Lee Jackson Fund, c/o SCLC, 334 Auburn Ave. to which they can send contributions if they so desire. Reader

Georgia \* \* \*

The 5000 armed cops who picketed City Hall here to protest the proposals to establish an independent civilian review board to investigate complaints of police brutality certainly did prove the pointof their opponents. They not only seized the police radio network for unauthorized messages, to urge all cops to converge on City Hall for the picketing and send their bigotted messages over the airwaves, but screamed racist insults at the 50 or so civil rights counter-pickets across the street for all to hear. They shouted things like: "Send them to Vietnam, that's where they belong!" and "Wave a bar of soap at them and they'll all run!" among other choice epithets.

Their champion was the man who had just announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination for Mayor, who had assured them he was "100% against" the idea of any review board. Fittingly enough, his name is Battista. The Negro fraternal organ-ization, called the Guardians, supports the review board proposal. The president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association which is leading the fight against the proposal really took the cake when he said of the Negro cops: "It's unfortunate they put color before their oath of office.' Reader

### New York.

\* \* \*

Michael Hannon, a L.A. policeman who has participated, in his off-work-hours, both in CORE activities and in peace demonstrations, has been put on trial by the police department for these activities. The civil rights groups are therefore renewing their long-standing demands that Police Chief Parker be ousted instead.

It goes without saying, that whereas Parker is trying to get rid of Hannon for civil rights affiliations, he has not raised a single criticism of any officer for participating in the John Birch Society or other rightwing groups. Activist

### Los Angeles

### NEW SUPPORTER

I commend your coverage of the striving of people throughout τne world for freedom from the restrictions imposed by capitalist society. I also commend your criticism of other organizations considering themselves socialist, communist, or leftist, but who, in effect, stand only for some modification of capitalism. The final goal I look to is the condition described by Marx as that based upon the principle "to each according to his ability, from each according to his needs." A wage-less, money-less, state-less, international, cooperative society would be the goal of all socialists. Reader

New England

WAR AND PEACE - VIETNAM AND DOMINICA

I liked the article from Scotland last issue "We Are Not Against America" — but you don't have to apologize to anyone. There is still, I know, the lingering of McCarthyism, which wasn't really started by McCarthy, and they should find the real sources. The article on peace in America was also very interesting . . . I like your paper. We must admit we are at fault if we are, look critically at ourselves, if we are to ever make a better world . . . Reader

California \* \* \*

There is so much more agitation and so much more discussion and demonstration about Vietnam, than the action of the U.S. in the Dominican Republic, and yet, to me, what is going on in Santo Domingo is the most ruthless crushing of a genuine working people's revolt that I have ever seen. It truly is America's counterpart to Russia's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution.

I cannot help but conclude that those radicals who incline towards Russia and China are dominating the anti-war demonstrations, because they would most certainly be the ones more involved and concerned with Vietnam than with Dominica. That is where Russia and China both have their stakes, not in Dominica. What do they care how many revolutions are crushed if they cannot make propaganda out of it? Student

> Chicago \* \* \*

I recently wrote a letter to the columnist, Stewart Alsop, because his article "The Intellectuals and Vietnam" really incensed me. What I told him was this:

"As we both know, the Communist smear has been effectively used against those favoring equality of opportunity, peace and all other values for which a free society should strive.

"The Vietnam situation has produced a long-awaited phenomenon. Our long-time dormant intellectual community has spoken out. But we are told by the mass media that our most brilliant and erudite professors are 'immature' and that maturity lies in the person of a president of prosaic intellect. Further, we are told that we kill for peace, while the communists kill to prevent freedom.

"One might expect the naive to accept this. However, when intellectuals, who have forgotten more about Southeast Asia than LBJ may ever know, are discredited, and when virtually all free nations object to our action in Vietnam, responsible citizens have an obligation to

"Fools may be satisfied with a 'good guy-bad guy' philosophy. But when a reporter of the intelligence and sophistication of Stewart Alsop becomes so intellectually torpid that he is taken in by the Administration's 'snow-job' on Vietnam, one begins to wonder whether or not 1980 is here 15 years early."

#### Reader

Norman Thomas was in town the other day, so the Socialist Party sponsored a meeting at 11 a.m. at the Federal Building concerning the Santo Domingo crisis. It was a very

poor turnout, but it was good to hear this 80-year-old man--who marched in the line, too.

He wanted to know why the U.S. wasn't concerned about the Communist Party people when they helped kick out Bosch in the first place? I was also surprised to hear him say that Bosch should have gone to Santo Domingo right away instead of staying away somewhere in Puerto Rico. He admitted that it was easy to give directives from the nice safe steps of the Federal Building in L.A., but that he felt as he did because it was so obvious that what had happened in Santo Domingo was a real spontaneous uprising.

#### **Committee Member** Los Angeles

\* \* \* Who on earth does Johnson think he is fooling? Among all the shameful things that U.S. imperialism has done all over the world, what is going on in Santo Domingo is so openly criminal, that I do not remember ever seeing anything like it.

#### Mother Detroit

I'm not so naive as to think that the savagery of war means that Vietcong or North Vietnamese treat the American or South Vietnamese prisoners with kid gloves. Nevertheless I was shocked by the pictures of South Vietnamese atrocities against their prisoners, released by American photographers.

\* \*

Reader New York \* \* \*

The struggle going on in the U.S. is important not only to the American Negroes, nor even to all the American people. Its success is important to all the people of the world, even if it is a minor success, so that the racists don't take power, creating worse disasters than even those we have already seen in the Congo, in Vietnam and in Santo Domingo.

Correspondent Italy

\* \* \* There was a demonstration at the British Polaris base on Saturday. The police were quite brutal. They arrested 38 persons. Heavy fines were imposed on 28 and the others will be tried on August 3.

Correspondent Scotland

NIGERIA

I have been reading News & Letters regularly, and have enjoyed them very much. I was surprised to read so much about Africa in the paper. I was not in Nigeria during the big strike there last year, and did not know much about what happened.

Though the strike involved all the workers, workers represent a very small percentage of the total population. My work here brings me close to the people, but I am seldom contact with organized in union members. More often I meet farmers and students.

I have observed that the young intellectuals of the East are dissatisfied with the federal government. As things stand the Igbo will never get in because the North has such a large population and people always vote along tribal lines. Next federal election, these young intellectuals promise to

make the Congo look like child's play, as Zik predicted. I think hell will break loose.

It is unfortunate that people hold on so dearly to tribal traditions. But there is a reason. The Nigerian wants to hold on to his tradition, his African personality. He doesn't want to be a black white man. And in fact, he is very critical of the American Negroes for this reason

But the concrete things they can hold on to, as African, will not fit into a modern industrialized society - except the language. So they hold on to that, and hold on dearly. The languages are even taught in the secondary schools. And are the languages in which the classes in primary schools are conducted.

Here is the basis of the trouble. As long as one man speaks Igbo, another Hausa and another Yoruba, one will think of himself as an Igbo man, the other as a Hausa, etc., instead of as a Nigerian. Apparently no one sees this yet, including the intellectuals. It is tragic.

American Nigeria \* \* \*

#### ANTI-SEMITISM

I don't know what is more obscene, the latest displays of anti-semitism in West Germany, or the attempts to dismiss them by the West German authorities. One Bonn police spokesman had the gall to say that the Nazi-swastika smearing was the work of "one or two drunks." There must be an awful lot of drunks in West Germany when you consider that in a single week there were no less than six anti-semitic acts in Bamberg at the memorial to the Jewish victims of Nazism.

Not only that. Besides the Nazi symbols, there was a whole diatribe: "Six million Jews are not enough." Nor was it only in Bamberg. These signs have now appeared in the capital itself, Bonn.

The West German government, which has never bothered to tell the true story of Hitlerism in its textbooks, or in its histories, and is itself full of Nazis in high places, is fully as guilty as the miserable neo-Nazi youth who have perpetrated the latest barbarous acts.

#### Journalist, New York. \* \* \*

The disgust I felt at the

sight of Jewish graves smeared with swatiskas - 20 years after the Nazis were supposed to have been defeated in the "war against - was mixed with fascism" the hope that maybe it has boomeranged, when I saw that at least some of the German youth from the town, had come to lay wreaths on the desecrated graves and

show that they wanted no parts of such depravity.

The West German government has tried very hard to "protect" the youth from knowing their true past - but the Nazis have taught them not only that Nazism did exist, but that it still does.

Office Worker Philadelphia

\* \* \* In all this wide world can't princesses, who have a throne as their dowry, find anyone to accept them as mates other than fascists, either of the Spanish or the German variety? Obviously not, judging by the princesses of Holland. To top it off, the Queen is asking the Dutch people to accept this latest insult to their deep anti-fascism.

Observer Boston

#### LABOR SOLIDARITY

On July 1, Dominion Day in Canada, the Sarnia local of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union devoted their day off to help out an American local of the Union. They arrived by bus and a motorcade with their wives and children to picket the Wyandotte Chemical Corp., where a strike has been in progress since May 1.

Over 500 Canadian chemical workers arrived in a gay mood and set up a mass picket line around the Wyandotte plant during the noon hour. After the picketing was concluded, they took off and held a joint picnic with their fellow Amer-

ican Unionists. This is the first time in recent Detroit labor history that such a demonstration of international solidarity has been held. Let's hope it will serve as an example for other unions.

#### Supporter Detroit

### SKEPTIC

A lady called me on the phone and told me she would like to come to my home and explain the Morman religion to me. She asked me if I had ever heard of it, and I told her yes, but the impression I had was they were prejudiced.

She explained their religion and then asked where I first heard of them. I told her that it was during the Presidential election campaign when the Republicans were talking about running Romney, and some said he was a Mormon and they were prejudiced. She told me they weren't any longer.

Before they left, they said that if Romney decides to run again, he just might win. I wondered if this was the reason they were trying so hard to get Negroes to join their church?

**Negro Housewife** Pittsburgh

News & Letters	
VOL. 10, No. 5 June - July, 1965	
News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters. 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.	-
Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board	- 
Charles Denby	
Second Class Postage Paid at Detroit, Michigan.	
	1

Detroit \* \* \*

#### NEWS & LETTERS

### JUNE-JULY, 1965



A recent series of articles and commentary have been centering on the new generation of students. In describing the new radicals, whether they be the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the South, the Students for a Democratic Society in the North, or the Berkeley students, it is stressed that the students have no blueprint to follow, no ideology to lead them. It is claimed that they are in fact anti-ideology. This latter claim seems to me a mis-representation of their views.

**ROOTS IN NEGRO** 

REVOLUTION

The roots of the student activities are within the Civil Rights movement. SNCC work is with Negroes in the South. The SDS activity is directed toward working in Northern slums which are often minority areas. The Berkeley students began their protest as a result of attempted restriction of their political activities which involved civil rights work to a large extent. Some of the Free Speech Movement leaders had just returned from work in the Mississippi Summer project.

Thus the ideas which would tend to shape ideology for these students are those which would come out of the Negro Revolution. The ideas coming out of the Negro Revolution flow from the cry "Let the people decide." This represents not an end to ideology but the development of an ideology.

Here are how the activists speak of it:

ROBERT MOSES, leader of the Mississippi Summer Project: 'We're building a society. We're getting people who are educated to do what needs to be done in our society, which is to work and change society . . . In the pro-cess of this we begin to understand what it means to relate to people to at least be able to break down all these things that happen in our society."

**PAUL POTTER**, President of SDS: "What kind of system is it that disfranchises people in the South, leaves millions impoverished and excluded from the mainstream . . . that consistently puts material values before human values . . . What place is there for ordinary men in that system and how are they to control it, make it bend itself to their wills . . We must name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it and change it."

MARIO SAVIO, leader of the FSM: "That is the issue. Arbitrary power, alientation, the managers and the managed after a while the people get tired of being treat of being treated, you know, by managers, as managed. They want to be treated as human beings should be treated . . Human beings are not things to be used . . ."

#### **IDEOLOGY EVOLVING**

Every new movement has to re-evaluate theory for its own time and not haphazardly superimpose on today what may have been true yesterday. In this sense the students are not using a blueprint. But to say that they reject all ideology, all history, all thought about evolving a philosophy of freedom, is to mis-read their actions.

"What they are saying is that whatever ideology does emerge, whatever philosophy of freedom is raised, must be based on the self development of the human being involved and not dictated from above.

In trying to work out a philosophy for his time, Lenin wrote: "Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world but creates it." The student activists are in the process of that creation.

### **Berkeley Students** to Appeal Judge's **Guilty Verdict**

Berkeley, Cal. - A total of 773 students who had been arrested in the Dec. 3 sit-in at Sproul Hall were handed their verdicts by Municipal Judge Rupert Crittenden over a period of three days here. It took three days because Judge Crittenden wanted the defendants to pass before him one by one to personally hear their verdict.

The judge found 632 of the defendants guilty and referred eighty to juvenile court (91 pleaded nolo contendere). Of the 632 found guilty, 520 were convicted of trespassing and resisting arrest, and the remaining 112 were found guilty only of

trespassing. The verdicts carry the possibility of 18 month jail sentences and \$1500 fines for the majority of the students, who are appeal-

ing the verdict to a higher court. The good judge found it in his heart to dismiss a third, misdemeanor charge, failure to disperse from an unlawful assembly. The temper of the times and the importance of the Berkeley protest, however, is seen in the difference in the way these defendants have been handled, compared to the mild "lectures" students have generally received for protest demonstrations — at least in the North - before this.

The sentencing will begin in mid-July. The "personal" touch of the judge will be somewhat modified at that time. Those who have been found guilty will be sentenced in groups of 100.

### Demonstration Hits U. of Ariz.

TUSCON, Ariz. - In May the University of Arizona saw protest demonstrations very similar to the University of California demonstrations last winter. The dean of men and the vice-president of the university were right there with large numbers of local policemen, arresting 16 students and picking up 150 identification cards. Fifteen students were suspended immediately and lost their course credits. Over 40 others are being threatened with suspension.

As at Berkeley, the "off-campus" interests were very much in evidence-not among hose pro testing, but among those dictating to the students what they thought the students should think, and study, and what they should NOT think or study. FARM BUREAU PRESSURES

There was the Orange County Farm Bureau that made public statements and pressured public and university officials. At the time of the Berkeley events they had made their stand quite clear: "Our universities are offering tremendous educational opportunities to students at practically no cost . . . the taxpayers have a right to expect some appreciation from these students and the staffs for the privileges they enjoy."

Translated further, they spelled enterprise."



There are many schools like this for Negroes in Alabama. This one is in Lowndes County.

LOWNDES CO. SCHOOLS

### Separate—and Not So Equal

after the 1954 Supreme Court decision on the integration of schools and facilities, Southerners were yelling that they were for equal but

### **Lowndes County Detroiters Meet** to Plan Support

Detroit, Mich.—I recently at-tended a meeting in which peo-ple originally from Lowndes County, Ala., got together to listen to some speakers from back home, and see what they could do about helping the movement there. There were two main speakers: one a preacher in his 90's who was so physically agile an mentally alert that he put most of the audience to shame: and the other a very young man, who seemed to know everyone still in the county, and where everyone in the room had come from.

These two men represented the two big age groups that are the backbone of the movement in the South. The young man gave it to the audience straight:

"Some of the strongest people in the South are the little kids who are fighting for a new life, and the old people who have found something to live for. They don't talk about dying anymore, he said. He said that what was missing in the movement was the age group from the late 20's to the 50's or so-who had come North, and many of whom had forgotten the folks back home. After listening to these two speakers, not many in that room will be able to forget them again. The preacher said that he had somehow managed to stay out of trouble most of his life, by stay-ing up on "Behave Street." "If the white people stayed there, there never would be any trouble," he said.

Then he summed up the whole situation by telling the audience: "Carry a cook some lard, some flour, milk, and baking powder. Let her mix it all up, and bake it until he comes out nice and brown and good-smelling. Then show me the man who refuses to eat it unless it's all separated this.

this out to mean that any discussions on campus which advocate "illegal" activities on or off campus (like civil rights demonstrations, etc.) should be barred; any attendance by Communists or "members of any other anti-American group" should be prevented; and that since the demand for college education is so great, they could afford to be particular about whom they would bestow it upon. Naturally, they preferred those who energetically believe in "Americanism, consti-tutional government and free

Selma, Ala. - Before and separate facilities. Many of the Negro elementary schools in Lowndes County are today the same and worse than they were when I attended them 50 years ago. Some have had no repairs since those days, and there is not one white school in this country that is as dilapidated as those shacks.

Most do not have a window pane in a single window. The holes are covered with cardboard. The ceiling is tied up with more cardboard. CORRUPTION ABOUNDS

We asked people what happened to the money the Federal Government appropriates for the schools, and what has happened about the state support for Negro schools. One teacher said that the Negro who is principal of the high school and the white woman who is superintendent of the county schools get the money for the upkeep of the schools and keep it. Nobody can question them wthout risking being thrown out of a job if he does.

Some of the teachers have to pay \$6 a month from their salaries to them. All the children who graduate from high school have to pay \$20 to \$25 for one day's rental of a cap and gown. The white students pay \$3 for a cap and gown. ONE EXCEPTION

The one elementary school that looked fit for children had been built by the Negroes themselves. They hire their own teacher, and keep the school in repair. It is a modern block building.

Since SNCC has entered the county and publicised the school conditions, the white supervisor has threatened the teachers in those schools that they will not have a job next year, because any new school they may build will be more centralized. She has begun to tear down some of the shacks. But most feel that she will rebuild them because she wants the money that is appropriated for them.

This is what they call separate, but equal. Most feel that the Federal Government could have stopped this long ago. They all say that when they get the right to vote they plan to elin

Aid Lowndes County

Food, clothing and financial support for the movement in Lowndes County, can be sent directly to Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights, c/o William J. Cosby, Rt. 1, Box 144, Tyler, Alabama.

# Harlem, 1964

Crime's the final bastion of the soul. In twilight time when hope has

frayed And desperation's crush nears

suffocation The blunted soul calls out her last reserve;

In a single, well lit act, She seeks not only recompense

her I.

(in ratio to her wounds) But voice with which to speak

-Dan Georgakas

# a Mad Eagle

A mad eagle, its feathers preened, its beak and talons honed

Flew forth from its American rookery, a spotless, stainless steel crag.

Off it soared to ravage the earth, The ultimate corruption of the Spirit of Seventy-six.

The mad bird, more like a beast of the land,

An enraged elephant, or a rhino, The billion dollar thud of his mighty hooves charges the

lesser beasts of Vietnam. The armored bird seizes the new-

ly laid eggs of freedom on the Isle of Hispaniola;

He steals them from a brave and hardworking hen, the people of Santo Domingo

The last perversion of the Spirit of Seventy-six.

Across the earth, the eagle moves, His chain-mailed wing cruelly clanking

He ambles into every fray on earth

Rising from life unto death A phoenix thrashing in blood.

The Phoenix bird betrays The Battle Hymn of the Republic

Nagasaki to Korea to Vietnam And the bloody beast goes on his

way. Not just a bird of prey

But a carrion-bird:

Fighting men, marines Bombed villages

Widows and orphans

Teenage guerrilla warriors Not the Gettysburg Address in his beak

But a big stick permeated with some noxious drug

To charm the eagle to madness The reckless force of Frankenstein's monster.

Sumping its wings at attacking shadows

Flailing away at imaginary adversaries

Like some crazed carrion-bird Feasting on dead men's blood. The rational, positivistic madness of the bourgeoisie and the

presidency

A.M.

# THE ACTIVIST

The student journal of political affairs A provocative journal of controversy, scholarship, inquiry and dissent-for those who are still attracted to the creative and cantankerous, the imaginative and radical.

One year's subscription—\$2 5 issues, occasional pamphlets Send orders to The Activist, 271/2 W. College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074

#### **JUNE-JULY**, 1965

### **Philly Teamsters** Strike Against Work Conditions

Philadelphia, Pa.,-The Teamsters strike here showed that the men don't want to take any more from either the union bosses or the company bosses. Unfortunately, it collapsed, but I don't know how it could succeed when Hoffa and the IBT locals were scabbing on them.

More than 2,000 of the 12,000 Local 107 drivers attended the meeting where they voted overwhelmingly to go on the "holiday" and vowed to resist all efforts of Hoffa to put the big local under trusteeship, after four platform men at one of the terminals in Frankford were fired.

The strikers were protesting not only the firing of the men, but the working of the Teamster's complex grievance machinery. The five-step grievance procedure in the Local 107 contract was negotiated by Hoffa in 1963 and is standard in Hoffa contracts. The men consider it his key means of controlling the network of locals across the country.

The firings came after the four men refused to lift cartons over, rather than around, a pile of sheet aluminum in a trailer, and is a reflection of the unrest over working conditions in general that has been mounting for many years. Local 107 members said that it's the complexity of the contract which makes it possible for the trucking companies to ignore the everyday problems the men face on the job.

In this case, the platform men insisted that the company's method of loading the trailer was unsafe, and refused to do it that way. Three other workers were then asked to do the job, and likewise refused. All four were promptly fired, and the walkout was on when supervisors loaded the trailer themselves. In Memoriam

We mourn the death of Earl Lloyd Walter, freedom fighter, Los Angeles vice-chairman of the United Civil Rights Committee. As chairman of the Los Angeles chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, from 1951 to 1963, he was instrumental in its growth from the time when it was hardly more than an idea to the present, when the civil rights movement affects every facet of life in the country.

His personal warmth as well as his work helped in no small measure to make Los Angeles one of the first localities in the North to participate in every struggle in the South -from the Freedom Rides to Mississippi to the Selma-to-Montgomery march in Alabama.

Our hearts go out to his wife, Mildred Walter. Earl was only 50 years old at the time of his death from cancer. The Movement feels the loss of Earl Walter, and yet, precisely because he had devoted his life to civil rights, we all feel that he is still in our midst as we carry forward that struggle for full freedom.

#### Chain Selves in Protest African Views A **To Slum Housing** 'No-Party' State

Detroit, Mich .--- CORE'S antislum campaign here was dramatized recently when six members of the group chained themselves across each of three entrances to a site where a luxury hotel is being constructed by one of the largest slum landlords, Goodman Brothers Real Estate.

Goodman has refused to negotiate with CORE on tenant grievances, and evicted those tenants suspected of activity in the Tenant Councils which have been supported by CORE. Tenants in about 25 buildings in the ghetto area have been protesting the high rents, and the lack of repairs in their dwellings.

One of the tenants described the building in which she lives: "There are still roaches, but the exterminator doesn't come around anymore. In the second and third floor hallways the floorit's falling in.

"It was some time ago that the Health Department was out and told Goodman to fix up the building or they would take action. He painted some mailboxes and put carpeting on the stairway. That was nice, but we would like our apartments furnished with different furniture instead of lousy coverings and the springs falling out, because we don't live in the hallways."

For a long time I have thought a great deal about the practicality of a "no-party" system of government for a democracy and I used to speak about it back home in Africa. There would be no concentration of power in the hands of a group with identical policies — a fact that sometimes forced poli-icians to not private the ticians to act against their convictions in order to show their loyalty to the party. I saw this state of affairs was too corrupt to be a real democracy.

I thought of a democratic government as a discuss-and-decide one-in which a citizen could participate with the least difficulty. I thought the parties had become barriers to the wellmeaning individual who had the public interest at heart and would freely serve his country. INDIVIDUAL CONTESTS

Then I showed that at election time, candidates could contest the seats on a individual basis. Those elected would meet and receive the names of those of their numbers who want to run for President. They would vote to reduce this number of prospective Presidential candidates to two or three, and these would then turn to the country with no party backing.

The people would once more decide on who should be President by their votes. The President-elect would then return to the house and pick his cabinet from the number of elected members present. The one snag seemed to be that without a political party, who would pay the costs of campaigning?

Some thoughts like this just come to you and you want to tell people about it. That was how I felt at the time, for I thought the problems involved in its implementation, not only in its physical entity, but also in conditioning the mentality of the people to such a state of affairs, were tremendous. However, in a recent issue of West Africa, a Nigerian student suggested this same idea for his country, to the editor. Since then, I have resumed my thinking on the "no-party system" of government and am looking forward to the time when I can write a longer article about it.

#### African Student

**The Shoes Came Off** They hired a young highschool kid to work in the open hearth recently. They had him working in the flutes, but he got tired of it after less than two hours, and said, "This job is not for me." He told the boss he was quitting.

The boss told him he couldnot quit because he hadn't worked long enough to pay for his safety shoes. The kid just pulled the shoes off and left them, and went home.

### The Inhumanity of the U.S. **Occupation of Dominica** (Continued from page 4)

against any and all freedom struggles, East or West, North or South, in fact and in thought. Therefore, we must turn back to some aspects of the history of the Latin American continent. LATIN AMERICA, PAST AND PRESENT

Latin America has been the plundered continent that gives the lie to Western imperialism's claim that only because Africa was "backward" was it submitted to the "civilizing mission" of Europe. The Andean was one of the highest world civilizations when it was first plundered by the conquistadores. The Spanish and Portuguese laid waste to a continent that had in abundance both natural resources and a high agricultural civilization. In Peru alone the Inca empire had supported 30 million people in fair abundance as against both the despoliation of land and of people that now characterize that desolate landscape. The first plundering by the conquistadores was followed by the second plundering by America and Great Britain, and later became wholly American (with the acquiescence of Great Britain.) The Monroe Doctrine that protected Latin America from Spanish invasion and colonization could not, however, protect it from United States dollar imperialism, one commodity crop economy, gunboat diplomacy, and calculated nonindustrialization. For it was for this, and not for liberation, that the Monroe Doctrine was designed.

The tragedy of Latin America is that its "heroes" freeing the countries from Spanish and Portuguese rule subjected the native populations to the native ruling classes and didn't even exclude receiving British gold in the process. Not even Castro has had the courage to expose the true Bolivar, San Martin, etc. who led those first 1820 revolutions for liberation from Spain and Portugal. While these are in a class separate from the two-by-four military dictators that later became vest-pocket presidents of American imperialism, the truth is that none of the famous leaders led a genuine social revolution until the 20th century. (Cuba did not get its freedom from Spain until the end of the 19th century.)

Liberated from Spain and Portugal the Latin American masses were only to be exploited as ruthlessly by a native ruling class. Indeed, the native ruling classes were and are themselves foreigners. The land owning class is generally Spanish. In any case, it has managed to be to the right of even such mild reforms as the Alliance for Progress "recommends." This is not to say that United States imperialism is not the main reason for its economic backwardness. After a century of exploitation, including the so-called Good Neighbor Policy of 1933 which was supposed to have promised the end of gunboat diplomacy that Johnson has once again violated, and after the "New Frontier's" Alliance for Progress, Latin America today is at almost total economic stagnation, with its economic "growth" being at a slower pace than even Africa, Asia or the Middle East; its per capita food allotment is less than it was in 1960, with more than 50 percent of the families in rural areas living below bare subsistence level; and the housing shortage is so staggering that fully 45 million Latin Americans have no place to live at all. (See the 1964 study made by the Economic Commission for Latin America of the UN.)

What we did mean to stress in pointing to the ruthlessness of the native ruling class is that now that President Johnson is relying totally on it and the military to put down people's revolutions, any millions that the Administration will pour into Latin America will all go to line the pockets of the rulers, who may even indulge at odd moments, in some anti-Americanism on their own. All the more important, therefore, are the acts of inter-American class solidarity from this end of the continent.

#### INTER-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY **MUST BEGIN WITH THE WORKING PEOPLE**

From Guatemala to Panama, from Brazil to Bolivia, and from

Peru to Dominica we seem to be witnessing the reversal of the trend to popular revolutions in the post-World War II period which got rid of military juntas and bloated oligarchies and began the road to independence. At the same time, a dynamism of socialist ideas energized life itself, while thought in the United States plummetted downward into McCarthyite reaction. In a word, it became crystal clear that while Latin America may be economically underdeveloped, it was the United States that had a monopoly of underdeveloped intellectuals.

Today, on the other hand, the United States is once again asserting its domination. By forcing the O.A.S,. which had always been its puppet, into a new stage of outright armed intervention, it has not only violated the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic, but undermined the very foundation of any Latin American country's independence. All this must be stopped right here and now!

True inter-American solidarity must begin with the working people. Moreover, Dominica is, essentially, a Negro republic, and we draw a parallel between the freedom struggles in South USA, and in Dominica. In both instances the need is clear: destiny must be in the hands of the people themselves. In Dominica there must be an immediate withdrawal of all American troops, and not just the U.S. marines, but all the armed forces, whether wearing U.S. or ( )AS andst

#### THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

**CANNOT FIGHT "COMMUNISM"** 

Unfolding the banner of the Humanism of Marxism as the theory of liberation that it is, is the only way to fight Communism, which is but a euphemism for state-capitalism. Capitalist tyranny, private or state, cannot eliminate either the native semi-feudal landholding oligarchy or U.S. imperialism; only the self-activity of the masses in Latin America, supported by the American working people, can achieve genuine independence that would not leave the American exploitative orbit only to fall into the Sino-Soviet orbit. It is high time that the plundered continent regained its natural resources along with the destiny in the hands of the people. Let it begin with the Dominican people deciding their own fate.

Since true freedom cannot be assured in any other way either in Dominica or Latin America or the United States, so long as any U.S. troops remain, what is of the essence at the moment is that fraternal relations be established between the American troops and the rebels.

### **NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS**

1-Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism	and
the Afro-Asian Revolutions-	Dat
By Raya Dunayevskaya. African Revolutions and Western Ideologies	Copy
2-Workers Battle Automation-	COPJ
By Charles Denby, Editor of NEWS & LETTERS. Worke	rs in
auto, steel, coal and other industries	Per
auto, steel, coal and other industries 25 tell their stories directly from the line	Сору
3—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—	
By Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram, and others. An accou	nt_by
participants in the Freedom 25 Rides to Mississippi	Per
	Copy
4—Indignant Heart— By Matthew Ward. The autobiography of a Negro w	
	orker : Per
in the South and in the North	Copy
5-Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Mars	
A critical analysis of Existentialism by Raya Dunayevskaya	: Per
by Raya Dunayevskaya	Сору
6—The Young Marxist-Humanist—	
A search by today's youth to find a philosophy equal to	the
challenges facing America 25 and the world.	c rer Conv
7—American Civilization on Trial—	çopy
Statement of the National Editorial Board that traces the	roots
of Marxist-Humanism from the Civil War 50°	Per
to the modern day Abolitionists	Сору
8News & Letters	
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, edite	d by
Charles Denby, Negro production worker, and published	Per
times a year. National Editorial Board Chairman, \$ Raya Dunayevskaya, is author of Marxism and Freedom	Sub
ORDER BLANK	_
Please enter my subscription to NEWS & LETTER! 12 issues for \$1 []	5,
Enclosed please find S for the following:	
Enclosed please find \$ for the following: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired as listed above)	
NAME	

ADDRESS

CITY ...... STATE .....

### 'It Makes You Feel Like You **Can Stand on Their Strength'**

(Continued from page 1) the fact that a social revolution is taking place there, and no place on earth is the same after a revolution. The revolution that is taking place is in the minds of the people, both black and white.

It is as a reaction to this that the counter-revolution is mobilizing its forces. The KKK and the White Citizens Councils are as active and strong as they ever have been. Some try to make them a laughing matter. But they are not only organizing in Alabama and the rest of the Deep South, they are spreading as far North as Indiana and Ohio. It has now been revealed that they are also organizing in Europe, especially in England.

#### BUS BOYCOTT THE START

Ten years ago, the Montgomery bus boycott was the focal point in the minds of many peole throughout this country, and throughout the world. All wondered what would be the result of the Negroes there fighting for the right to sit anywhere they wanted to. Some said the white Southerners would never give in. Others said that if the Negroes were successful, that would be all there was to it, and the movement would then disappear.

Alabama, whether it was the city of Montgomery or the town of Selma, was as viciously segregated at that time as any place in the world. When I visited there at the beginning of 1956, the Montgomery bus company had just agreed to accept the Negroes' demands for integration of the buses, and the reaction of the white segregationists was the formation of the White Citizens Councils and the renewed activities of the KKK. But the Negroes of Montgomery had put their historical mark in the cement of time.

Many intellectuals were blind to the fact that this was truly the beginning of the Negro struggle for total freedom-not just in Alabama, but throughout the South, and eventually the North as well. Some were convinced that if it were not for Northern Negro and white agitators, the Southern Negroes would be content with their way of life. The Negroes they interviewed told the reporters what they thought they wanted to hear, but they did not tell them one word that expressed their true thoughts and feelings.

Many of those same Negroes have by today become active leaders and supporters of the Negro revolution that is taking place, and that has gained so much momentum since Bull Conner unleashed his police dogs against human beings, the KKK bombed innocent children in their church, Jim Clark unleashed his storm troopers to trample Negro marchers with their horses, and the murders of Negro and white civil rights workers have continued to pile up.

#### WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

First in the mind of every Negro there today is: Where do you stand in relation to the Movement? If they are convinced you are in full support of it, they will speak freely and frankly. Frequently the first thing they tell you is who the Uncle Toms are-and the Uncle Toms who have small businesses are being boycotted as severely as the white segregationists. They also tell you which white businesses they will patronize, because they have not been against the Movement.

Selma stores have been boyand many of the store-keepers distant future.

are as angry at Sheriff Clark as at Rev. King for it. The boycott is so effective that the town looks almost dead in many ways.

The bus company claims it cannot operate much longer, but still refuses to accept the Negroes' demands for Negro bus drivers and an end to segregated seating. The stores have also so far refused the demands for Negro cashiers, clerks, and office workers at the same pay as the whites. The Negroes are very active in keeping a regular check on these stores, and should any Negro go into a boycotted store, he runs the risk of having his packages taken from him when he comes out.

On the other side, the Negro woman who gave the Selma to Montgomery marchers a place to camp on her property said that the white delivery men boycotted her store-for a week. Then a young Negro who is active in the Movement in Lowndes County, and also owns a store, told the delivery men not to deliver goods to any Negro stores in the county so long as this woman did not get delivery. The next day when she opened her store, the trucks were parked in front waiting to make her deliveries.

#### WHO IS TO BLAME?

In discussing with some of the whites, you get the feeling that they are searching for some sort of solution that will bridge the gap between their old way of life and the Negro's determination for total freedom. One white business man I have known for many years was concerned about all the publicity Alabama has received. He blamed "extremists on both sides" for ruining Selma. He felt that Rev. King was just fooling the Negroes and getting wealthy at their expense; that the college students who have come South to help the Movement are all Communists who come to demonstrate with the Negroes in order to get the Negroes to demonstrate with them for North Vietnam. But he had to admit, he said, that the KKK was "just as much to blame for the situation" as Rev. King.

I told him he would do better to stop looking for somebody to blame for the situation and begin to look at what was needed to solve the problems that have caused it: What the Negroes want is the right to vote, the chance for a job, the respect and treatment all human beings deserve.

If he really wanted to know what was responsible for the crisis, he didn't have to look any further than the state Capitol and Governor Wallace. Until we drove by there, we had been pleasantly surprised at the attitudes of most of the whites we met. But once we got to the Capitol, we began to wonder if we were still in the United States. Spread out in the breeze atop the flag pole was the state and every state car was flying the same flag. You had to get about four blocks away and look back to see the American flag, for it was so far at the bottom of the flag pole that it seemed to be just folded up, lying on the top of the building. HUMAN JUSTICE THE GOAL

The real question is not finding somebody to blame, it is a question of human justice.

The achievements that have already been gained through the revolutionary struggle in the Deep South will not be diverted or turned back. Freedom will be cotted since before the March, made a reality today, not in the

**Our Life and Times** By Peter Mallory Algeria and National Liberation Movements

Ben Bella has been overthrown dienne that Ben Bella relied. could succeed in making the in the dark of the night by the army under the leadership of Col. Boumedienne, one of Ben the guerrillas who seized Al-Bella's old associates. Until the coup, the political views threw Benkhedra; the desert of both men appeared to be identical and the period since the event has failed to show any marked differences.

will not hold water; it cannot force but, again, not in order al struggle for power between do anything but cast a shadow to establish political active "East" and "West." over the national liberation democracy for the masses, but It is hoped that the move critical questions in the coununderdeveloped economy were solved, or even seriously tackled.

to the actual masses who had start, it was not the Algerian guerrilas within the country but Boumedienne, the exile in Morocco who came in with a

#### WEST GERMANY

A large group of West German student organizations have formed a committee to combat the passage of a series of "Emergency Laws" which could convert the West German Republic into a dictatorship of the executive branch of the government in the event of an "Emergency".

The proposed laws would allow the federal government to take over all state powers, eliminate the legislature, postpone elections, eliminate parliamentary opposition, suppress information agencies and newspapers, ban trade unions and substitute military for civilian rule.

The German Humanist Union has submitted a petition rise against the Germans . . . signed by 1300 university professors, writers, lawyers and arrived for Warsaw". trade union leaders protesting the new laws. The declaration states, "The makers of the Constitution had learned from the dangerous use of ous Moscow Trials, so the casualties among those de-emergency provisions of the present official secrecy of the fending their country with emergency provisions of the Weimer Constitution and from the practices of the Nazi regime. They rejected emergency legislation, but at the same time made provisions for crises . . . We appeal to the Bundestag not to allow a legal transaction from democracy to dictatorship a second time.'

#### **GHOST OF STALIN**

just released papers from King which will be concerned so called rebels would give 1944 — a 1,478 page document with drives to organize unions. up their arms and go home, of events during W.W. II - Dr. King, in announcing the the regular army men servwhich has been withheld from project jointly with Bayard ing with the rebels would re-the world for the last 26 years. Rustin, who will d i r e c t turn to the barracks of the mil-During Hitler's rape of Po-SCOPE, said that the same itary junta to be shot, the nine land and the extermination of forces which prevent full civil the Jews of the Warsaw ghet- rights in the South are those to, we claimed that Stalin also opposed to the unioniza-stood by, for his own political tion of workers in the South. motives, to let these forces The organization is recruit- election would return the mil-be wiped out. We were de- ing college students from itary dictatorship to power. nounced by all sides.

now confirms our facts. It Georgia, South Carolina, states that Roosevelt and North Carolina, Virginia, Al-Churchill appealed to Stalin: "We hope that you will drop issippi the Freedom Demo- one step from his previous immediate supplies and mun- cratic Party will conduct a demands, including a return itions to the patriot Poles in drive along the same lines to the 1963 constitution. Warsaw, or you will agree to in conjunction with the voter

Boumedienne and his 60,000-Bella's enemies in the past: giers when Ben Bella overrevolt of Col. Chaabani; the Berber revolt in 1963; and the 8,000 political prisoners held in the jails of Ben Bella.

It is true that Ben Bella had The accusation that Ben evidently planned to cut some Bella was a "traitor" not only of the power of the armed movements that come to in order for the single party power. Here are two men who state to have power over the have fought a long, bitter war army. Nevertheless, he was a against French imperialism national revolutionary and the for eight years. Yet once they Afro-Asian Conference, schedreached power, none of the uled as the second Bandung conference, was to show the try - from employment to independent force of the third world of Africa, Asia and Latin lowed to devour their children. America.

Moreover, the falling out in rushing to recognize the Bella, whom only yesterday won freedom from France it had hailed as the great revand yet were denied running olutionary of this world, extrained army, that had the in this conference. Neither

> help our plans in doing it very registration drive. quickly. We hope you will apdays later Stalin refused to permit American bombers to fly arms to the Polish underground fighting in Warsaw and then to land on Soviet soil. The underground perished under Hitler's extermination campaign.

U.S. Ambassador Harriman, then in the Soviet Union, reported, "The refusal is based not on operational difficulties or denial that resistance exists. but on ruthless political considerations.'

The uprising came after the Soviet Radio urged the Poles to: "Throw caution aside and the hour of action has already

Just as U.S. Ambassador -Stalin by endorsing the infam- workers' quarters, with heavy State Department has served plain rifles. Stalin's war-time interests by 26 years of silence.

#### DR. KING AND LABOR

rights movement and the eforganize the South have been ment of economic affairs has period. The U.S. State Dept., has been established by Rev. southern universities to work The State Dept. document on a 10-week program in abama and Florida. In Miss-

The government of Ahmed real power. It is on Boume- Mao nor Boumedienne himself world forget Ben Bella once man army have crushed Ben the student youth of Algeria decided to demonstrate for him.

The postponement of the conference tells more than the story of turmoil in Algiers. It points to a turning point in the national liberation movements that had raised the hopes of the whole world that a new way to freedom would be found, away from the glob-

backward to military rule in Algeria does not signify such retrogression that we will witness an enactment, on Algerian soil, of a variation of Moscow Frame-Up Trials of 1936-37. The national liberation movements must not be al-

These questions remain: The cynicism of Mao's China Where is Ben Bella? Is the underground now operating between them is not related regime that overthrew Ben against Boumedienne strong enough to compel a return of power to the masses themselves? Will the lesson finally their own lives. From the posed all too clearly that Mao be learned that the creativity was a great deal less interest- of the masses that make reved in the self-determination of olutions is strong enough to any people than he was in reconstruct society, without fighting Russian participation which society moves back ward, not forward?

Nothing is more needed now prove. The time element is of for the forward movement of extreme importance." Two the struggle for freedom than the unity of the white and black labor. If the civil rights workers can achieve this now, the success of the freedom movement would be assured.

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The situation in Dominica still remains in an unsettled condition, with the U.S. troops now wearing O.A.S. armbands. and with the assistance of a handful of troops from Latin American countries, trying to be other than what they are: a military force intervening in the domestic affairs of the Dominican Republic.

The troops, under the nominal command of Brazilian General Alvim, have used Mission to Moscow"-Davies heavy 106mm recoilless rifles whitewashed the reputation of to blast their way into the

The so-called plan to end the fighting consits of 1.) disarming all civilians, 2.) return of all army regulars to The ties between the civil the armed forces 3.) formation of a neutral provisional forts of the labor movement to government, and 4.) elections organize the South have been to be held in six to nine strengthed by Dr. Martin months, with the O.A.S. hold-Luther King. A new depart- ing the power during that

Translated, this means the months would be used to sap the strength of the revolution, and the U.S. dominated O.A.S. would insure that a rigged election would return the mil-Rebel leader Caamano stepped out of his office after the O.A.S. had presented their plan, and told a cheering crowd that he would not yield (See Edtorial, p. 4)