'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

In the May, 1960 issue of the Feather Merchant, newspaper of Los Angeles local 230, was an article by the local president, Bob Thimmes. The headline to the article was "Biggest Car Inventory in History.." Mr. Thimmes says that in spite of there being over one milliion new cars on inventory, reports indicate early model changes, July and August, with the plants being shut down for only short periods of time. In his opinion production will boom in all industries in August and September and October until after the elections, in November then anything can happen. He takes up the steel strike somewhat, talking about the short work week and days that workers were confronted with at that time but says nothing of the ever lowering production capacity of the steel mills which means one thing to the steelworkers - lay offs.

MR. THIMMES' ATTACK

Any production worker will tell you that if there is to be any boom now or in August and September it will be a boom by the company putting in more automation machines and speeding up those workers that are left in the plant. It seemed to me that Mr. Thimmes conclusions should have ended his articles on car inventories but for his own particular reason he tacked on the following paragraph: "There is a so-called newspaper that goes by the name of "News and Letters," distributed at the plant gates from time to time. Many of the articles in this rag are signed in various ways such as "production worker," "auto worker," "steel worker," etc. It is pretty evident to me that the articles from a "production worker" at the Los Angeles plant are written by the same person or persons each time and that this person specializes in bad reporting, twisting the truth, malicious gossip and plain out and out lies. My answer to this article in the April, 1960 edition, is simply this: I sign my name to anything I write and I do not hide my affiliation behind the occupation of a decent and respectable citizen."

I am the editor of News & Letters and I have twenty years of experience with management and union leaders. I know as well as every worker that writes for News & Letters that when they tell their stories of what is happening to them in the shop that the reason for getting their names is to get them fired. Sure they are hiding from something, they are hiding from you union leaders going to the company and getting them paid off. If you want names, take mine. My articles are always signed. If there is anything you want to know write to me, but don't expect to get names of workers that are writing from the plant.

L.A. PRODUCTION WORKER SPEAKS

Let's take a look at the article in the April issue that disturbs you so much. The worker writes, "This week our union had one of its largest meetings in a long time . . . Since the beginning of this model there has been a constant speed-up, firings, and intimida-tions . . . There was talk of a strike in September, but the union said it would be playing into the company's hands to strike during the steel strike. After the steel strike they said nothing . . . With conditions going from bad to worse some people decided to go to the union meeting . . . The feeling . . . was to strike wildcat or legally, to do something about the conditions . . . the union president said he was opposed to any form of strike, wildcat or legal. He wanted to work out any differences we might have directly with the company. This is an ambitious man. He is willing to negotiate all season with the company over anything, as long as we keep working and don't strike. After all, a strike that disrupts production isn't a very good reference for a president who may be desiring a position in an International which frowns on strikes . . ."

I have spoken to production workers where I work and they all know this article to be true. They have (Continued on Page 2)

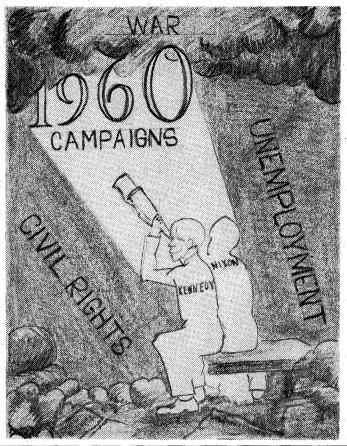
Be Sure to Read

Student Leader Reports L.A. Picketing Page 6

> Latest Report on the Congo Page 8

War, Recession, Civil Rights **Overshadow Election Promises**

As the cynical delegates to the Democratic convention concluded their three-ring circus by nominating Kennedy for president, a white worker from the South told NEWS & LETTERS: "On e thing that makes me sick is these damn Dixiecrates. They should have been thrown out of the party years ago because they don't mean a thing. But these dam n Northerners don't seem to mean anything either the way they play along."



Our Life And Times JAPAN OPPOSES WAR PACT

dreds of thousands of Japa- Dept. Under its terms the nese youth, middle aged, labor, professors and housewives in a solid demonstration against the Kishi government and its so-called Security Treaty with the United States has inspired lovers of freedom throughout the world. From the moment when Kishi, who signed the declaration of war against the United States, pushed the Security Treaty through the Diet after he had called in the police and ejected every opposition member of that body, to the present time, the majority of the Japanese people have opposed him and the treaty.

The active opposition to Kishi, initiated by the students involved hundreds of thousands and sympathy strikes by over a million Japanese workers. The slanderous charges in the American press that it was Communist-led and that the demonstrators were paid, is an outright lie. The American press called the students 'mad terrorists," but newsreels showing young teenage Japanese girls doing the now famous snake dance proves the bourgeois press to be lying as usual.

The basic issue before the Japanese youth was the imcurity Treaty," sponsored by

The outpouring of hun- Kishi and the U.S. State American armed forces are permitted to use the islands of Japan as military bases against Russia and the youth of Japan are committed to fight a war on the say-so of the U.S. without being able to vote on the question. The people of Japan have seen at first hand what an atomic bomb can do and they want no part of it.

> What about the charge that the students were Communists? The demonstrations were led by Zengakuren, the main organization of Japanese) students over 300,000 strong. Their attitude toward the Communist Party was given in this column in January when the tive board said, "Khrushchev who shook hands with Eisenhower, is in interna-tional scab and strikebreaker."

The American press cannot get away with their slanders on the Japanese youth. Basically the youth want and are fighting for their own democracy. The undemocratic measures adopted by Kishi and the U.S. State Dept. to push through this unpopular treaty are part of the usual pattern where neither the American people plications of the unpopular or the Japanese get the op-"Japanese American Se. portunity to vote on treaties. (Continued on Page 8)

THE DEADLY GAME

"The Negro leaders are also playing along," a Negro worker added. "You know it's only a game to them when a leader of the NAACP like Roy Wilkens begs the Democrats' platform committee to do something about civil rights by saying: Do right, or do as right as you can."

"It's just like the ball game," a third worker said. You can't tell the players without a score card. I wouldn't miss those convention shows on TV for anything-watching those politicians get up and holler at each other, and then make jackasses of themselves by rushing for the bandwagon."

Thus, a labor-hating Nixon pretends to be a champion for civil rights in order to win the Negro vote. Thus, too, Kennedy, who inspired the Landrum-Griffin Law, the most vi-cious anti-labor law on the books, pretends to be a champion for civil rights To reassure the labor and Negrohating Dixiecrats on both counts, he picks white south-ener Lyndon Johnson as his running mate.

While Northern Republicans team up with Southern Democrats in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat a miserly \$1.25 national minimum wage law, arrogant white politicians mobilize to defeat any strong planks on civil rights—the Democrats in order not to lose the Southern white vote, and the Republicans to win the Southern white vote.

THE CONVENTION MONTH • This convention month of July opened with a sharp rise in unemployment and cost of living. At the same time, as a minimum of 5 million were reported unemployed, Big Business threatened the workers that worse is yet to come when Ford handed disciplinary layoffs to 1,000 workers for alleged slow-down at the automated stamping plant in Walton Hills, Ohio.

The Ford workers went out on strike against the layoffs, and the inhuman speedup and safety hazard of Automation. But all Walter Reuther could say was to complain that big industry is going to create an artificial boom to help the Republicans win the November election.

Reuther repeated what every worker knows in order to justify his feverish campaigning behind the scenes, along with Meany and McDonald, for that same Kennedy who fathered the strike-breaking Landrum-Griffin Law.

• At the same time as Negro youth in Knoxville staged a new sit-in that forced the huge Miller's Department store of that Tennessee city to discontinue its lunch counter rather than integrate, the arrogant politicians of (Continued on Page 8)

Page Two

NEWS & LETTERS

Unemployed Auto Worker Scores Changes in Shop and Union

Detroit, Mich.-There isn't a worker who has worked in auto plants who doesn't know that there has been a tremendous change in the union if he has worked there for any time at all.

All of the changes that have taken place-the fact that you that it would all be fixed up find shop stewards and committeemen being buddy-buddy with management; that work is speeded up to the point where the men working on the line are worse off than slaves; that you can't get grievances processed and they just keep piling up until the men just give up because the union just doesn't do anything about them; that men are walking the streets who have years and years of seniority and have no hope of ever being called back to work; that more and more automation keeps coming in and the union doesn't do a thing about it except say you can't stop "progress"-I could go on and on and could fill a book from the experiences I've had in the shops.

The thing is that at one time this just wasn't so-and would never have been permitted. Not only would no union representative dare to let things like this happen, he wouldn't be there very long if he did. The men would see to that right away. "A DIME IN ONE HAND;

LOST CONDITIONS IN THE **OTHER**"

It has been a slow process, but Reuther has really done a job on the men. Every time contract negotiations came around, he'd show you in one hand where you were going to get a couple of dimes because of the contract that he had negotiated. He didn't show you what was in the other hand-that for every dime you got in a pay you'd lose in working raise conditions on a scale that can't be judged by nickels or dimes, only in terms of the workers who would have to keep on putting out more and more. And always with less men working than were working the year before.

6

The contract was a terrific thing when we first got it in the '30's-it was something we held the company to. But it has been twisted around now to the point that it is so much against the men that the company now says they are going to hold the men to it. And when the company is for something, you can just about figure on how much good it is going to do for the men. They know if the company is for it, it is no good for them.

I know when I was a shop steward, the company was always telling me to take a break,

smaller working force.

ANSWER TO THE "FEATHER MERCHANT"

and still are experiencing exactly the same thing here.

What really bothers these leaders is that workers have

and opinions for local union papers and still maintain

their jobs. What worker would say he or she is looking

for a boom in September when they have seen from

the beginning of the introduction of Automation thou-

sands of their fellow workers thrown into the streets.

Yet every three months or so the auto companies boast

that production is higher than ever before and with a

conditions and the do nothing attitude of labor leaders,

that have been framed and fired. Sure you will sign

your name as long as you feel protected. I am working

with some who were fired for their union activities

during the organizing of the union. To get back into

the shop they had to use a pseudonym. Most of the

workers in those days had to be careful as to what and

how they signed their names. Maybe you were not

around then. Let some old timers tell you about it.

I know many workers that have fought against these

It is impossible for workers to write their thoughts

a mind of their own and they can think.

LET "OLD TIMERS" EDUCATE YOU

(Continued from Page 1)

"WORSE OFF THAN SLAVES" | to take it easy, that if I wanted to take some time off from work and I wouldn't lose a minute of pay.

But I knew what they were trying to do. And every worker in the shop knows what they try to do when they try this. At one time, though, they wouldn't dare even try this. Now they do it all the time. TO LIVE LIKE MEN

Anyway, I just couldn't see how I, as a union representative, could do anything like this and still consider myself a man. The company was just looking to find some weak spot in the representatives, and once you took that first favor they offered you, they expected a payment a hundred times back. Only the payment they wanted back was in terms of the blood and sweat of other workers. No man can ever do this.

You can say that this is bad, and it sure is in many respects. But there is another side. The men know they won't be able to make things better without organization. They know the union as it now is just can't do the job they know has to be done. In fighting both the union and the companies, they'll find and make the kind of organization they know will do what has to be done to change conditions so they can live like men.

-Unemployed Worker

Automation's Speed-Up

Los Angeles---1 don,t work in an Automated factory, but that doesn't mean that I'm not in Automation. That's the reason behind our speed-up. What good is an automated machine making nuts and bolts if there isn't anyplace to put those nuts and bolts?

When I was transferred into auto they were making something like 26 to 28 cars an hour. They had a set production of so many cars a day. They went on strike for that. And they had about 38,000 men. That's before the foreman came in and the GM system was instituted, at Chrysler.

Since then the pace has been steadily increasing. I was off a year. When I was laid off they were making about 38 cars an hour. They were doing 40 before the last strike and when they came back they were doing about

COAL AND IT'S PEOPLE

Miners Angry As Unemployed Bear Brunt Of Slash in Health & Welfare Fund

Morgantown, W. Va.-The Health and Welfare Fund of the United Mine Workers Union has made another slash in the benefits given to miners, this time hitting those who have been or will be laid off.

The latest move announced by Josephine Roche, one of the members of the fund's Board of Trustees, cuts off medical and death payments for any miner and his dependents who has been laid off for more than a year, dating from July 1, 1960. The change, she said, was to assure "sound administration" of the fund.

immediate and angry responses not have a job next month. from miners everywhere. In this highly concentrated coal region, miners both young and old viewed the move with disillusion, dismay and frustration. HARDSHIP SEEN

One miner, who is 57 years old and was laid off at the end of June, said: "This cut has me and others in my same position in a real tough position. I have to keep paying my dues of \$1.25 a month for the next three years to keep in good standing to get my pension when I reach 60. But in a year, my Welfare Fund benefits get cut off along with my wife's and kids. We just don't have a chance if anything serious happens to any of us after the year is up.

"Here I've put in 37 years in the mines, lost my home and a lot of other things during long strikes to try to get the Welfare Fund, and now it's going to be cut off. It may be 'sound administration' to Josephine Roche, but it sure plays hell with guys in my position.' FUTURE OUTLOOK DIM

A younger miner, who only has put in 15 years in the mines, had this to say: "This sure is a dirty trick in more ways than one. Sure, it doesn't affect me right now because I'm still working. But there are those who are laid off, and the way they are closing down mines

48. This year they're doing between 50 and 55 an hour. I'm doing twice as much work this year as last year.

A couple of weeks ago they took me off my job for one hour, and put me over where there was a shortage of man power. They put me on a job that was easier than the one I had-actually less work physically-but in that hour when I came back I was soaking wet. To be shoved into something where you don't have the technique can do that to you. I had to reach over my head for air guns and I had to get down underneath the cars to grease them. In one hour I guess I bumped my head at least a dozen times.

My own job I don't think 9 out of 10 people could do it. I'm the only person on the line who has fought the time-study and beat them. I'm the only person who ever had any work taken off of him. Actually they didn't lose anything, because what they took off me they put on somebody else. That's why these fights are kind of hollow. You raise cain, but they tools you use are the simplest just give it to somebody else, hand tools and when you ask and actually you don't have a victory at all.

That was a three month's

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News of the change brought and laying off men now I may Why the Delay

"But I remember back in the '40's when we were fighting for these benefits. We all thought it was great, but the way they're chopping off benefits, we can't be sure of anything.

"So far as the \$100 a month pension after you reach 60 is concerned, there might have been a time when I thought I might be able to see that day. There's no question in my mind now that there won't be such a thing as a welfare fund by the time I get to be that age, if I live that long." RETIREES ALARMED

Retired miners who are now getting their pension also viewed the cut with alarm, seeing the policy change as a preview of what they may be expecting in the near future.

"The anthracite miners on pension get \$50 a month because there isn't enough money in the hard coal Welfare Fund," said one retired miner. "Those of us in soft coal have been lucky compared to them, though the Lord knows that \$100 a month is little enough to try to keep body and soul together with prices what they are today. But now I look for us to be cut Maybe it won't be for a while yet, but it's sure coming. A lot of years of mining are just going down the drain."

In Pension **Payment?**

SCOTTS RUN, W. Va. -- I've been retired for the past few months, after working 42 years in the mines. I had heard about the red tape that a lot of other guys who had retired had to go through before they started getting their pension checks, and I was going to make sure this didn't happen to me.

I checked over all the different proofs and records that are required, got all the information together and filled out my form. I was all set when the day of my retirement came. I sent in all the information to the Welfare Fund.

This was over two months ago, and I still haven't heard a thing from them. I know I've already lost one month's payment, and I don't know how much more I'm going to lose.

What I'd like to know is this: just what does it take for a man to get what's coming to him? Lord knows that the \$100 is little enough for a family to live on for a month, but when even that isn't coming in, it works a real hardship on that family. I know!

The Working Day By Angela Terrano

so long ago that the skilled machinist felt that Automation could not possibly touch his "trade," after all they were makiing precision tools. Recently I got a job in a small electrical shop whose precise specialty is making automatic turret lathes, milling machines and many other machines. The point is that now there are two most important functions of Automation that the bosses are looking for, one, to replace workers in general and two, to replace the 'highly" paid worker.

The thing that always strikes me very funny about these electrical shop(now everyone calls it electronics) is the fact that they are set up in such a way that in a moments notice they could close up shop and not have too great a loss on their equipment. Even though you are there making huge complicated automation machines, the them to buy something that would make your work much easier and less nerve wracking they start to worry about the pennies they have to spend on it. One worker asked the foreman to buy one little tool that we have to put together every

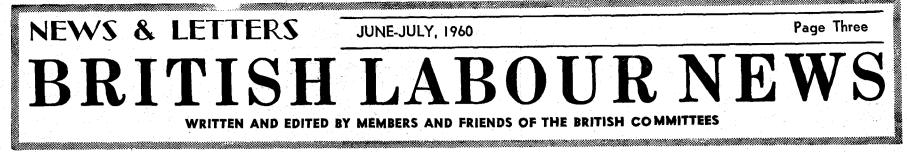
fight, and every day for three months we went in the hole and every day they pulled us out. And the climax of it came when I was off work a week and they had to have 2 people do my job. When I came back I went right back in the hole, and they came and took some work off of me after that first day back.

There used to be a time not time we need one and they would need about 10, one for each girl, the foreman said, "Don't you know they cost 50c a piece." The machines we build cost anywhere from 40 to 75 thousand dollars. WORKING CONDITIONS

Another thing that always struck me about Detroit electrical shops compared to the ones I have worked in in New York have been the working conditions. A few years ago, they might have changed by now, but I doubt it, the New York electrical shops were just about the dirtiest places you could work in an dthe speed-up was second only to the amuont of dirt in the wash rooms. The I am sure that the conditions here are the result of the union struggles that were carried on in this city. These small shops that spring up, determined to keep the union out have in many instances surpassed the conditions that are found in union shops. UNIONS

Those horrible New York shops practically all have one kind of union or another. I have worked in I.U.E. shops, a U.M.W. shop, another had some carpenters union and I know of one that had the U.A.W. and I must add that was the lowest paid shop in the city. These

These shops in Detroit that are so patronizing have one thing in common - no union. They feed you a little extra here and there but the biggest thing is that you just about have to take what ever they say to you. When they fire you, they do so by sending you a telegram. You know that if you tell them off you're out on the street and somebody else can -AUTO WORKER. fill your shoes immediately.



Ford Workers Protest Against Lowest Pay Scale in Industry

DAGENHAM—To back their pay claim, Ford stewards have been in touch with stewards at the British Motor Corporation, the only car firm bigger than Fords in Britain.

They point out that most auto workers are on a form of piecework, sometimes individual, but mostly department or gang, whichever suits the job. Though Fords and Vauxhalls use the task system, this can perhaps best be described as piecework done at time rate.

The following are a few comparisons of auto workers' average wage for a 42-hour week, at day rate:

AUSTINS (Foundry):

7.6 1	0 10 10 04
Machine moulder	
Coremaker	18-11-0d
Fettlers	18- 5-0d
Medium Press	
Operators	21- 0-0d

MORRIS MOTORS (Wellingborough):

Fettling Shop

£17-12-0d. to 18-14-0d. Machine

Operators 290-18-9d.

FORD GRADE 2 RATES cover any of the above jobs, and for $41\frac{1}{4}$ hours daywork, the pay is £13-8-1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., plus Merit money.

Austins millwrights earn £20; toolmakers, and electricians earn £20-14-5d. These roughly equal FORD Grade 1 (top) rates, which for $41\frac{1}{4}$ hours daywork (plus Merit Money) are £14-15-7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

The Ford workers provided the bosses with a gross profit of £34,000,000, and in return are given posters which say "Ford Means Quality" (in gratitude?).

Back in 1956, Ford workers fought for a £3 per week ABOUT ITS WORKERS?

rise because that was the amount their wages lagged behind the major auto firms. Today they again claim a rise of 1s.6d an hour (\pounds 3 per week) to bridge that gap.

The Shop Stewards Committee of Massey-Ferguson, Ltd. have sent details of their rates based on the 42½ hour week — they have just won the 40hour week — which were:

Toolmakers & Machine Tool Fitters £21-2-7d Cutter Grinders 19-17-9½d Machine Operators (Production):

nearly 20 up to 21-2-61/2d Assembly Workers 21-11-33/2d Female Machinists 15-7-4d These figures prove the gap is still there and growing! They prove that Fords' fantastic profits are made by getting the workers to turn out more cars for less money than other motor workers.

Ford stewards are urging all the members of the 22 unions in the Ford plants to demand that the Unions meet the bosses immediately. The delaying tactics of the company are well known. It only takes one meeting of the N.J.N. Committee for them to refuse demands, but when they have to meet claims they always need 6 to 8 weeks to reply—which means a handy sum in the bosses' pockets when they make £ 34 million a year.

They add: the company has taken 70 million pounds for new plant since 1955. Its profits grow each year. Its shareholders find that the value of their shares have gone up 4 times since they took over Briggs Motor Bodies. The company has never had it so good. WHAT ABOUT ITS WORKERS?

Shipbuilding Slump Here Is Part of World-Wide Crisis

CLYDESIDE, SCOTLAND— The increase in our capacity to build ships has brought about a new problem. One shipbuilding employer put it this way: "The basic problem is the world-wide lack of demand for ships combined with a very great excess of world shipbuilding capacity."

Output is going down. Every week, at some yard or another, workers are being paid off. A considerable number were paid off at several Clydeside shipyards recently. Some yards have a backlog of orders that will keep them going for about two years. Some are working on their

We recently held a meet-

ing at a factory here. This

broke into the C.P. mon-

opoly. We dealt with the

prospects in shipbuilding,

and the general situation

which included some

swipes at Khrushchev and

Dunayevskaya's point of

view as time goes on. She

I come nearer to Raya

the summit conference.

last order, while some can keep going for a while with a smaller labor force.

It is estimated that world output increased fourfold between 1948 and 1958, which was a peak year. Last year's decline in shipbuilding was the first drop since 1957.

It is estimated that 30 million pounds have been spent on the Clyde alone in the past 3 years. So great has been the increase in capacity that every ship on the seas of the world could be replaced within 12 years. But on the other hand, while liners provide more work than any other class of ship, such orders are on the decline. A slump is

developing and plans to build liners are being dropped all over the world.

In view of the great shipbuilding capacity, a "scrap and build" policy cannot solve the problem. One could take up a lot more space showing what is abundantly obvious: that the shipbuilding industry will employ a considerably smaller labour force in the future.

Some Communist Party spokesmen are pressing for nationalization as a solution. How a nationalized shipbuilding industry would keep building ships when there is a surplus of ships, is not made clear.

At a recent conference on unemployment, one official of the Boilermakers' Society called for more modernization and for joint production committees. Modernization and nationalization will result in a reduction of the number of men required to build a ship. In a situation like this, a demand for joint production committees cannot be given serious consideration.

Socialists don't pretend that problems arising from the present capitalist system can be solved unless that system is abolished.

Under socialism it would be considered madness to ask men to build ships unless there was a need for them. A surplus of ships would not mean hardship for those who had built the ships. On the contrary, in a socialist society there would be reason to rejoice because thousands of workers would be free to devote themselves to other important work while helping to ease the burden of work for the whole population.

In the present situation, we have the duty to fight for adequate unemployment benefits. If those in power cannot provide work, they must be forced to give adequate maintenance allowances to the unemployed and their families.

The fight for lower working hours must be intensified. To achieve this we must fight for a co-ordinated policy in the working class movement. The available work must be shared out. We should make every endeavour to unite the forces of the employed and the unemployed.

-H McS.

British rates are 76. 6d twelve

Rank & File Delegates Set Up S. Africa Action Committee

EAST LONDON — Walthamstow (E. London) Trades Council called a rank-andfile conference of delegates from factories and Trades Union branches to hear Ronald Segal, editor-in-exile of "Africa South," speak on the struggle for freedom in his home country.

Bill Jones, leading busman of the T.G.W.U. moved the resolution which called for action, not just sympathy, on the part of the Trades Union leaderships to Including delegates from the London News & Letters Committee, present were 30 delegates from 21 varied organizations, and 8 visitors. Over \pounds 9 were collected to aid the South African freedom struggle. The chairman welcomed a move from the floor (by a News & Letters Committee delegate) to set up an Action Committee to aid the South African struggle from an enlarged re-call conference.

This was backed by factory and Trades Union delegates, and by Ron Segal, who remarked how shaken he had been by the complacency of the official Labour and Trades Union leaders he had met since arriving in Britain. He had been criticised by well known labour figures for his article in "TRIBUNE." His attitude was that the situation in S. Agrica cried out for action: if the leading circles balked, it was up to has certainly given us something. Committee Member Scotland * * *

Readers' Views

Many of the older men here recall the old days when similar discipline to that imposed on our American brothers was imposed on Ford workers here at the Dagenham plant.

One man was summoned to the supervisor's office for "discipline." It had been reported that he was seen singing and dancing instead of working (he was seen by one of the security staff on the catwalk).

The man protested—and had to get his chargehand to verify his statement that he was not singing and dancing: he was really hopping with pain and agony as a wheel had dropped on his foot!

The general atmosphere at Fords, where most of the men are anticipating having to strike, makes creative or serious thought difficult. I enclose the latest Shop Steward pamphlet being circulated round the plant, and have added notes in the margin. I am looking forward to the next issue of News & Letters, and I will give it as wide a "broadcast" as possible, and will let you know of any interesting happenings.

We called on a new contact who works in Fords last week. He had sent in a sub after being sent the January and February issues, "well read around the shop," and he now takes 6 copies and sells what he can. He sold 4 the other week.

Committee Member England

* * *

We here are astonished at the appreciation for the paper that new readers have, which matches our own. Your paper must be the envy of all others, it wins such an immediate response in the hearts and minds of its readers!

> Committee Member England * * *

I would just like to write

and say how much I enjoyed Doc's article on the Biological Basis of Marxist Humanism and how I look forward to the next part. How often in the past I have wanted correspondents in various Left Wing journals to write of their own mental progress or mental evolution concerning Socialism, in their youth. Doc's present article has already given a brief insight into his mind as a young man.

In a world of distrust, hate and fear, confidence in one's fellow men is difficult to attain. The general tone of the article in question and also News & Letters as a whole, brings this confidence closer when one realizes that there are the same ideas, hopes and aspirations 3 to 4 thousand miles away. I heartily endorse your fight for Social Equality and for a fairer distribution of what are ours by right. I totally reject war as a means of settling differences. There is no "Just War." These last few remarks I merely wish to be placed on record as I am sure they must be the same as many of your readers.

end all trade with the South African bosses.

• Ron Segal told the full story and background of what culminated in the Sharpeville massacre.

• He disclosed the contract whereby Voerward's government sends 45% of all industrial traffic from the Riff through the Port of Lourenzo Marques in Portugese Angola; in return they received 85,000 forced labourers annually to work in South African mines.

• He pointed out, in reply to the discussion, that the key to the struggles of all the emerging African states lies in South Africa. their own campaign.

He welcomed the proposed Action Committee. There was no reason why they should not on their own if need be—contact every Trades Council in the country for parallel action and campaign.

the rank-an-file to initiate

-Committee Member

a Statistica

Ford Worker Dagenham

• Note: This British page is at the disposal of any rank-and-file workers who want to make their struggles known to workers elsewhere. —Editorial Committee.

Electronic Worker Ilford, England issues or 6d. per copy, post free British Editorial Committees LONDON: 148 Wakefield Street, East Ham, London, E6 The London Committee meets every Thursday, 8-10 p.m. sharp, alternately in East Ham and Hackney. SCOTLAND: 31 Balbeg Street, Glasgow, S.W.1. "MARXISM AND FREEDOM" (see advertisement on page 6) can be obtained, price 32s.,

post free from either of the British Editorial Committees.

Editorial

UNEMPLOYMENT AND POLITICS

The antics at the Democratic Convention, as those soon to follow at the Republican convention, will have to come face to face with the crisis not only "over there" where Khrushchev bellows but right here in the growing unemployment, short workweeks, and national recession.

Detroit has now been officially declared to be a distress area. The unemployed knew that when the officials were all busy shouting about how great our "prosperity" is. Statistics compiled in Washington show unemployment reaching the 5 million mark.

Everyone knows that if the official figure is nearing 5 million, that the actual number of jobless workers, and youth who cannot find their way to even the first employment, are over 6 million. With their families this means that there are over 13 million people who are suffering the terrible ravages of unemployment. At that same time the cost of living has mounted to a new high.

Steel production is down to 42% capacity, and Pittsburgh is on its way to joining West Virginia in being turned into a ghost town. In West Virginia reporters were shocked to find what the miners have long since known that "many mothers are turning to prostitution to feed their children."

When West Virginia's Gov. Underwood gave the shockingly cynical denial that "no child has starved to death" in the state, the reporters had to point out, the governor's denial notwithstanding, "We do have a large number of children hungry, children who are beginning to show outward signs of malnutrition, a number of rickets, children who are potential tubercular patients."

Automation's Toll

This did not happen overnight. It has been developing to this terrible peak ever since 1949 when Automation first came to the mine fields. In coal town after coal town, over half the miners are permanently unemployed. In this decade, for West Virginia alone, the number of working miners fell from 117,000 to 40,000! Such is the picture also in the coal towns of Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Alabama.

In Michigan, the big three of auto have lately revealed that their executives, already in 1960 have been given enormous rewards in bonuses and dividends. At the same time there are 200,000 jobless in Michigan, with an absolute drop of over 13% in auto employment.

This did not happen overnight either. It has been happening over the last 5-6 years since Automation was first forced into the auto plants. Daily, auto workers report from these plants that more and more auto workers are dying from over-exhaustion induced by Automation's speedup.

The "Soaring 60's"-Unemployment and Threat of War

What we see is not only the old capitalist pattern of famine in the midst of plenty that claimed its millions of victims during the terrible Depression years of 1929-1940, it is the new face of capitalist plunder intensified by the whip of Automation in our decade of disaster, with Eisenhower and Khrushchev playing at peace and preparing for war.

1544

As the new decade opened in January, when all the pundits of American capitalism were forecasting a continuous boom for the "soaring 60's," News & Letters alone wrote of the stagnation of U. S. economy.

What we will be seeing as the election comes closer is a lot of promises, each emptier than the next one. Democrats say it is the Republicans who have brought on the recession. But the recession began during the Truman years. The move from depression to war and back again does not change with Republican or Democratic Administrations because both are capitalistic parties and capitalism and crises are one and the same thing.

The Reuthers and the Meanys, having forced the workers to submit to the new brutal demands of automated production, are now piteously appealing to industry for a "summit" conference on unemployment. Neither summit conferences, nor government aid to economically distressed areas can reverse capitalism's drive to ruin.

News & Letters			
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C	harles Denby Rogers	Editor Managing Editor	

THE JAPANESE DEMONSTRATION

Considering the fact that the Japanese students who rioted were the children who were victimized by the Abomb, it is no wonder that thev are demonstrating! After all it is Japan who will be among the first nations to be annihilated in event of war. It is wonderful that they, of their own initiative, have come out in the open violently opposed the Japanese-American pact. Reader Los Angeles

Did you see the extremely revealing report on the Japanese students by John D. Rockefeller 4th (John D. 3rd's 23 year old son) in the New York Times Magazine of June 5? He has lived as a student in Tokyo for the past 3 years and among other things had this to tell the world: The students are absolutely and unalterably opposed to militarism in any form, and, as recent events have shown, they have reacted strongly against the security pact with the United States. For this they have been called Communist-inspired . . . They wish fervently for their country to be neutral, betwen the two power blocs . . I believe completely in the younger generation's desire for peace, because it is realistic, not idealistic .They want peace because they knew war the way no other nation ever has. People still die from the two atomic bombs.'

> One More Believer Chicago

* * *

When the marches began in Tokyo, there was much talk about Ike having to go in order to "save-face" in Asia. I see it as the exact opposite. We would have shown our respect for the desires of the Japanese students by submitting to their wishes.

Reader Los Angeles

The thing that strikes me in this Japanese situation is the great disturbance which is taking place here in the U.S. as a result of this rejection of Eisenhower by a determinate group of people in Japan.

unhalanced and on what precarious ground our way of life is here in the United States when the direction of this country and its great industry is in the hands of a group of individuals who are so uncertain and insecure. The reason, I think, is that the world today is reaching a certain moment, a period of crisis, a change in the relationship of great masses of people to the world about them. More and more people are beginning to take things in their own hands. To me, that is the fundamental meaning of this disturbance.

> Supporter Los Angeles

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

It didn't surprise me that a man like Truman, who was capable of giving the goahead for dropping the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, would also be quick to fight the Negro students in their struggles in the South for first-class citizenship.

Young Teacher Los Angeles

One boy on the picket line told me that his group in Junior College didn't seem too enthusiastic about coming down because they didn't think having lines in the North was the answer. He said that he kept on coming down by himself because we have to get started somewhere, and this is the best place he could see. He considered it the sort of "radical activity" that would accomplish first class citizenship for us. I sure agreed with him when he said the Negro youth as a whole was fed up with their traditional leadership and that it was up to the youth to pull us out.

Picketer Detroit * * *

I read in the papers that down South they have allwhite public libraries. Now, I'm not the smartest man on the face of this earth, but that for sure is the dumbest thing I ever read. Can anybody tell me how a library can be all-white and public at the same time?

Negro Worker Detroit

Everyone knows of the struggles Negroes are waging but I wonder how many know how many victories they have already won. In many restaurants and drive-ins in Virginia the Negroes have won their fight for the right to eat a meal in the restaurant of their own choosing, including Woolworths in Arlington. Boycotts elsewhere are continuing in the nation until the policy becomes nationwide.

*

Supporter Washington * * *

The article on the "New Negro" by the Massachusetts Student impressed me highly. It struck me as very rational, logical and effective. Then I read Ethel Dunbar's column on the same page and by contrast, it hit me as much too inflammatory and emotional. I respect her opinion, and I do understand how she feels, but I don't feel ner article was in keeping with the rest of the page. It expressed too much hatred.

Negro Student Detroit

* * * I'll bet there will be a lot of readers who will get goose - bumps from Ethel Dunbar's last column. As for me, I felt it hit the nail on the head quite squarely. She is out to reconstruct a new society, and to do that, there has to be a good deal of hatred for what exists in this one.

Admirer Detroit Southern whites have always said they knew their Negroes. After the Montgomery bus boycott whites were heard saying that they didn't know how to handle it, that the se were "new Negroes." I always felt that the reason they said that was be cause they were doing something brand new, and that they were absolutely right.

Readers'

Auto Worker, Detroit

To me, new Negro means young Negro. This is the generation that is demanding its freedom. Otherwise, why didn't the Supreme Court hand down its decision to desegregate the schools between 1867 and 1954? Why to this generation?

Student, Detroit. * * *

I don't know what you mean by "New Negro" but I sure don't like the expression, and I'll tell you why. The capitalists spend over half their time trying to keep the Negro and white man both from thinking about anything but their jobs and how they'd make a living. They used to say a Negro was "crazy' if they found him speaking his mind to a white man. Then it turned out there were too many doing it and they couldn't call them all crazy, so they switched to calling them "communists." Anything to keep the Negro afraid to speak up. Now they're coming up with the expression "new Negro."

The youth in the South started these recent sit-ins. That's fine, but it isn't all that we have to do. We want discrimination of all kinds stopped, and for that you have to add to the education of the youth the experience of the older ones. I've walked the picket lines with the students and I'll do it again. But I'm not kidding myself about it— I know all the time I'm walking with them that the next fight has to be a total one.

> Negro Woman Worker Detroit

LABOR COUNCIL NEGRO AMERICAN

afraid I made I'm spectacle of myself at the NALC during Reuther's speech. At one point he said that when he was in Africa he was always asked about Little Rock, and when in India he was asked why the labor leadership always stops the revolution in America. He didn't mean this to be taken seriously by the audience, but it was so true that I couldn't help laughing out so loud that everybody turned to stare at me. Chrysler Worker

Detroit

Reuther said at the NALC, like it was something to be real proud of, that he had never and would never be moved from his "principle" never to put somebody on the UAW executive board "just on account of" his race or color. To this day there are no Negroes on his board.

Page Five



It seemed clear to me from remarks I overheard at the Convention from several different delegations that there was strong, even if not publicly announced, opposition to the "piecards" and a feeling that the rank and file had to be heard. As long as there are enough people like that, determined to be heard, I think there is somewhere the NALC can go.

*

Observer Detroit * *

I can't help feeling that integration to the bureaucrats at the NALC Convention means associating with the capitalists. They call their meetings at the fanciest hotels and I just can't feel I have any relationship to them at all. I have no desire to go to the places the Fords and Rockerfellers built for themselves. I get sick when I have to go to those places. I can't feel that I'll ever be anything but a worker. That's not how they feel

Auto Worker Detroit

seat!

When Randolph spoke, he took almost all his time explaining what he was NOT for — such as, he was not in competition with the union, he was not setting up an opposition, etc., etc. but I never once heard him mention what he WAS for,

Then, when they appointed Roy Reuther as chairman of the Political Action Committee I was so disgusted that I felt like walking out myself, right then. The only interest I had was to see if there was any possible way to transform it into something for the rank and file workers to use.

Auto Worker Detroit

I can't help feeling that Randolph has read a lot of Marxism. He certainly knew how to use all the right words in his speeches at the NALC meetings. But when he made a speech on before the convention TV started and said that to his knowledge there was no discrimination in the UAW here in Detroit, it didn't matter what else he said as far as a lot of my friends in the shop were concerned. Sixteen of us who have been wanting to do something about the discrimination in our shop had intended to

POLITICS AND POLITICIANS

The only reason they could not get the Civil Rights Bill signed is because those politicians want to look good for the vote in the South. But they know that sooner or later they'll have to legalize everyone as a human being whether they like it or not. Auto Worker Detroit

* * *

Kennedy and Humphrey made a lot of noise when they were here about the unemployment and the hunger, but nobody I know could see any difference between them. It's certainly true that people are literally starving to death here, they get unemployment compensation for a little while, then when that runs out they starve. The relief you get here is so little it is the same as nothing. But that's been going on for a long, long time and neither Kennedy nor Humphrey made any noise about it un-

til elections got close. There's not even any difference between Republicans and Democrats, let alone K en n e dy and Humphrey. Most people I know feel the way I do, that it's a matter of which will do the most harm, not which will do any good. I sure would hate to see Nixon in the driver's

Miner's Wife West Virginia

putrid Nazi The party which has appeared in the U.S.A. led by a former Commander of the U.S. Navy was denied a permit to hold a meeting in New York City by the Mayor who said that they might be killed if the people of N.Y. got their hands on them. I'd have been glad to. Incidentally, the leader, George L. Rockwell, announced his support of Nixon for President, but Nixon quickly disavowed such support.

*

Reader New York

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WASTE

* *

There are so many people out of work here it is really shameful to see all the man-power going to waste. I know it is the same way there with everybody buying foreign cars. If we get out of work I guess we will have to leave here, because there is nothing for anyone.

You know it is really sad to see boys and girls come out of school and there isn't anything for them to do but sit around and get into trouble or leave town. Steelworker's Wife Pittsburgh

WAR AND PEACE

They called people like us backward when we said that Eisenhower was showing that Khrushchev all over our country, but that he'd never get to set foot inside Russia. Now we see who was the fool!

Miner's Wife West Virginia

* * *

I never felt so close to annihilation in my life as I did in the days right after the summit blow-up. I never felt so "scared" that the world wouldn't make it—the new society, that is-before we were all wiped off the face of the earth. I guess it doesn't do much good to react so physically that you feel it right in the pit of the stomach, but I kept wondering every minute if we even had that half-hour from total destruction that Pickering allotted us.

Technician Detroit * * *

The country I'm afraid of is China. That man Mao Tse Tung is more to be feared than Khrushchev to my point of view. As a matter of fact, the way things are going I look for Russia and China to tangle one day soon. Then look out, the rest of the world!

Businessman West Virginia

As a result of Khrushchev's Rumanian speech where he said he is going to continue co-existence, it now seems to me that Khruschev is going to carry the dove and have Mao rattle the sword whenever Khruschev needs it.

Reader Los Angeles * * *

One thing I would like to see talked about in your paper: it is known (and in a way understandable) that organized labor is in favor of a continuation of the arms race because, no provision having been made for economic reconversion the workers are justifiably afraid that with the end of the arms race will come massive unemployment.

What I can't understand, however, is this: can't the workers see that what we need is not an endorsement of a continuation of the arms race but a massive protest against both arms race and governmental apathy to the problem of reconversion of plants to peace-time uses? Can't they see that to endorse a continuation of the arms race is to agree to the risk of ending up with no world at all? Of course there are a few scattered workers here and there, such as the ones who run and write for your paper, who don't accept the dilemma and want to build a new society, a humanistic society, but how big a percentage of the total working class population do you suppose they constitute? I hope, for all our sakes, a far vaster percentage than is apparent.

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, author of MARXISM AND FREEDOM

SACCO AND VANZETTI SPEAK TO MILLIONS

Following is a letter that I have received from a colleague. -R, D,

The recent T.V. dramatization of the Sacco-Vanzetti story has brought them to a whole **new** generation, many of whom had probably never heard their names before, but will remember them forever more as two of the most eloquent martyrs in the fight for freedom. The program left no doubt that these two Italian immigrants, one a shoemaker and the other a fish peddler, were arrested in 1921 for a hold-up murder they could not possibly have committed, but were really on trial for the "crime" of being active in the organizing efforts of the Massachusetts shoe workers, and for being admitted Anarchists.

PALMER RAIDS, McCARTHYISM?

It was a very real performance, and not only because it was so beautifully acted, but because it was so clearly not past history. Frankly, I wondered at the bravery of the producers in being so faithful to the case and to all the speeches, because every word that Sacco and Vanzetti spoke lashed out at the state of things today as much as in **their** day. Later I wondered if the intention had been to leave the viewer with a feeling that such **a** miscarriage of justice as they were witnessing was confined to the era of the Palmer Raids and the black wave of reaction that swept the country after World War I, and was "history."

If that was the intention, it certainly backfired on me! And I am sure it must have backfired on many other Americans who have not so easily forgotten the Mc-Carthy era of only 5 or 6 years ago, and who certainly do not believe that now that "McCarthyism is dead" we need not fear another rise of McCarthyism under a new name.

"NO REASON TO MOURN"

In fact, I recalled and hunted up a column you had written about Sacco and Vanzetti "way back" in that McCarthy era, in which you described the millions who had rallied to their defense throughout the world and then said: "There are those who look at the attack against civil liberties today and mourn for the solidarity of the 1920's. I believe there is no reason to mourn, that to try to put the 1950's into the mold of the 1920's is wasted work. The mourners see the laws and the lawyers and the decisions of the courts. What they do not see is what is fundamental to the question of civil liberties: the aspirations and the activity of ordinary people . . . Whether the name for it is Communism, as practiced on the other side of the Iron Curtain by the dictators in Moscow, or whether it is called McCarthyism as practiced on this side of the Iron Curtain by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, Senators McCarthy and Humphrey, its object is the same: to take away the right of the people to say what they want to say. What the witch-hunters dread is not free speech 'in general' but the specific freedom of workers using their own initiative, having confidence in their own strength to get what they want. . . ." It was precisely this fact that made the drama so real to me and so much present history and not past.

"THEY PROMISED YOU LIBERTY"

In that respect also, what had the most powerful effect on me were the deeply moving statements against war-particularly Vanzetti's in his long, proud statement of his principles in answer to the court's question of whether he had anything to say before the death sentence was pronounced: "The jury hated us because we were against the war ... We believe more now than ever that the war was wrong, and we are against war more now than ever, and I am glad to be on the doomed scaffold if I can say to mankind, 'look out: you are in a catacomb of the flower of mankind! For what? All that they say to you, all that they have promised you, it was a lie, it was an illusion, it was a cheat, it was a fraud, it was a crime. They promised you liberty. Where is liberty? They promised you prosperity. Where is prosperity? They have promised you elevation. Where is the elevation? Where is the moral good that the war has given to the world? Where is the spiritual progress that we have achieved from the war? Where is the security of life, the security of things that we possess for our necessity? Where is the respect for human life

attend together, but half of them refused to even go after he said that.

Auto Worker Detroit

*

The rank and file have so few chances to get a foothold anywhere that I feel we have to take advantage of every loophole, every chance. I don't care if there were a lot of bureaucrats at the NALC, I think we have to join in and try like hell to make them do something about discrimination. If we don't put the NALC to the test, who will?

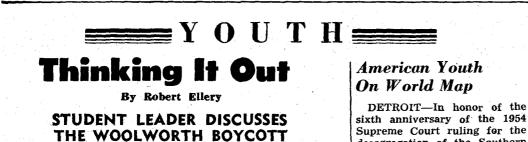
> Negro Worker Detroit

They used to have three shifts at our plant. Then they eliminated one shift, but to get the work out they started giving us so much overtime that they were paying one man almost as much as they had paid 2 men before. Then they speeded-up the line to where they had one man doing 2 men's jobs, but in the same time. The way things are going they'll soon have it down to one shift!

Ford Worker

Detroit

Teacher Connecticut. In this day of U-2, Summit blow-ups and the threat of nuclear destruction hanging over the heads of all men, Vanzetti's voice rang out anew against war. It appeared to me to blend in with so many millions of new fighters for freedom that Sacco and Vanzetti never did die.



This issue I would like to give this space over to a Los

LOS ANGELES - The Woolworth boycott is more

Angeles student leader who help organize the picketing of Woolworth's in that area. — R. E.

than a drive to secure a cup of coffee while sitting down.

end to the day-to-day indignity stores demanding that they

The boycott's primary aims are:

(1) To assist in bringing an®

of Negro life-not only in the

South, but in the entire U.S.-

an indignity which is more de-

moralizing than all the lynch-

ings, cross burnings, and bomb

throwings will ever be. (2) To bring an end to the

belief that Negroes in order to achieve an equal status in

society must engage in policies of "education," "public rela-

tions" and "goodwill" - when

in truth the Negro and those

who assist him in his struggle

will only be successful in ob-

taining a victory over Jim Crow

when they engage in programs

country that the Negro who

now decides his course of ac-

tion no longer has to wait for

the approval of the majority

of whites-but by his action

And now that we are en-

gaged in direct action-picket-

(3) To show to the entire

of action.

wins assistance.

'NOT ACTION

to others:

FOR ACTION'S SAKE'

Supreme Court ruling for the desegregation of the Southern schools, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, a leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, spoke at a rally which was sponsored by the Detroit chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. on May 17. This rally was one of many that took place around the country in commemoration of that decision. About 300 attended.

The meeting was a big disappointment for me because the N.A.A.C.P. distorted its meaning by turning it into a membership campaign. Mr. Abernathy too, talked as if it was the N.A.A.C.P. that brought on the lunch counter sit-ins, rather than the spontaneous actions of the youth.

Abernathy made a few good points, but didn't follow any of them through. He said that the sit-ins wern't simply so a Negro could sit next to a white, but is the move of the Negro people to gain their constitutional rights as American citizens.

Abernathy said that the question asked most often of him by the African people, on his re-cent tour there, was "How long will it take for the American Negro to gain his freedom?" His answer was, "About ten years." I didn't understand this answer. The colored peoples of the world have waited for freedom for so many decades that they won't listen to talk of gradual emancipation any longer. The Negro youth won't let them. The Negro youth won't let themselves be brainwashed by glorious dreams of the future. It is the recent struggle of Negro youth in America that has put American youth on the world map as fighters for freedom.

-High School Student.

Youth Push for Freedom **On Global Scale**

the world today the youth are playing a most important role in a fight for a new society. One has only to look at the events during the past year to see that they are forcing this fight forward.

In 1959 some Panamanian students rioted against the United States. Their complaint was that the Panamanian flag was not allowed to be flown over the Panama Canal Zone. In Japan it was the students who forced the cancellation of President Eisenhower's trip and make probable the early col-lapse of the Kishi government. Although the student activity has been in the headlines for the past few weeks, the fight has been going on much longer. Last November there were demonstrations throughout all of Japan against the security

sands of Negro students are fighting for rights which are supposed to be guaranteed to them under the Constitution.

Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 the struggle seemed to be aimed at school integration. This year the fight has taken a new turn. On February 1, four Negro students from Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a sit-down at the segregated lunch counters of S. H. Kress and Co. Over night thousands of students in over 50 cities began to stage sit-downs at segregated lunch counters. These students faced reprisals in the form of mass arrests, expulsion from schools, as well as personal injury. Throughout the North, thousands of other stu-

L. A. Worker Eyes The N. A. L. C.

LOS ANGELES - The people who attended the convention of the N.A.L.C. in Detroit with the possible exception of the committees like Chicago and Philadelphia, were people by and large who had union positions, who could afford to pay their own way. The Negroes who are closest to the official A.F.L.-C.I.O. policy were not mentioned in the press as being in attendance at the convention.

Most of the men who organized the N.A.L.C. were men on labor payrolls-men who hold and have held for a number of years, labor titles and offices, paid jobs. Randolph contacted the known labor representatives in setting up his organizing committee. The ones who were not necessarily too close to the throne of official A.F.L.-CI.O., policy seem to have responded. They were official labor representatives, not necessarily people who were policy makers for the labor movement. One exception to that of course, was the man elected secretary of the organization. He is the Civil Rights advisor on Meany's staff-he is a Negro fellow from the Sleeping Car Porters Union.

THE L. A. CHAPTER

One thing I noticed in the press that I think is important is that apparently the constitution set up gives top control to the 17 vice presidents and they plan to relinquish some of that control to a "to be elected" executive committee. I don't know how it's to be elected, whether in each chapter or not. There is a possibility that some real action will come out of this. I think it depends pretty much on the leadership in the locals.

It's possible to say that the L. A. group might get somewhere, might build a chapter and might do some effective work.

There is a great deal of criticism being directed toward the formation of any all Negro organization. Randolph has re-

JUNE-JULY, 1960

ceived a great deal of that, in "behind the scenes" fighting between the J. L. C. (Jewish Labor Council) and the N.A.A.-C.P. Labor Committee. In simple terms, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. officials have taken the position that they have already the J.L.C. which is doing the job on minority discrimination.

Only one other thing that interested me was Randolph's white-wash of Meany found in an article in the Pittsburgh Courier. I felt pity, because the article, to any one who thinks, is an indictment against Meany, I felt pity that the giant personality (Randolph) would find himself associated with this kind of article

WHAT WILL

N.A.L.C. BECOME?

I am inclined to believe that if Randolph can work out a clearing up of the battle between the N.A.A.C.P. and the establishment of a proper relationship with the official arm of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., that the NALC will become similar to the J.L.C. and will function at that narrow level. I think that the potential is that his inability to work out this kind of a relationship might mean that the N.A.L.C. will become something that neither Randolph nor almost anyone officially connected to the labor movement would consider as the thing that they really want.

(See Article, page 8.)

SPECIAL OFFER \$450 **MARXISM &** FREEDOM

. . from 1776 Until Today by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

This anti - Communist study of the American roots of Marxism relates man's struggles for freedom from the start of the factory system, nearly 200 years ago, to the sputnik of today.

Order Through News & Letters (For British Rates See Page 3)

Marching Blacks

(Dedicated to the Negro youth and sympathizers of the "Sit-Down Strikes") March on my Brothers with all your heart and strength,

I say March And though a thousand fall, another thousand resume the charge

Never cease, never stop, never turn to left or right March on for democracy; For freedom is in sight.

Oh; Young generation, tired of crawling on hands and knees

Tired of saying: Yes Sir, No Sir, Please Sir, Please, Please, Please

Tired of seeing our women and children abused in every wav. Tired of seeing our parents; suffering every day.

Arise; Onward; March up and down the streets, in every state

ing, using sound trucks, boycotting-we must stress the fact to those who may join our ranks that we are not engaged in action for actions sake, but are sincerely trying to achieve a definite goal. We must relate

(1) That we realize that F. W. Woolworth is not the only national dime store chain that has Southern branches which engage in discriminatory practices-but also Kress, Kresge's, Grant's, and Walgreen's.

(2) That not only are the dime stores guilty of discriminatory practices—so is Sears, Montgomery Ward, Standard Oil, and a host of others.

(3) That we as picketers, in order to coordinate the present movement have, following the lead of the Southern Negro students, concentrated our efforts on one particular aspect of racial discrimination-discriminatory seating practices - and one particular violator of human rights-the F. W. Woolworth chain.

'SIT-UP AND TAKE NOTICE' We feel that F. W. Woolworth stores are, geographically speaking, the most conveniently located, insuring us of a great number of people, nationally speaking, who will be able to participate in achieving a common goal. Because the F. W. Woolworth chain is the largest of the dime store chains, it is felt a change in this store's policy will cause

Los Angeles - Throughout freedom. In the South, thou-

due in part to the fact that they have felt only slight economic impact from our picketing. Locally, we have put a dent in Woolworth's sales. However, there are over 2,000 stores nationally and only when a larger percentage of these stores are covered by picket lines will our picketing be felt by the board of directors. Woolworth's national sales

serve everyone at their lunch counters-sitting down. This is

dropped 8.8% in March over March of last year. This was due in large part to an over all drop in the amount of retail trade in the entire econo my and can not be truly at-

tributed to our picketing. None of this is being said to discourage or demoralize the picketers, but to show the need of maintaining the lines here until other cities are convinced of the importance of directing their attack against Wool-worth's. Only when 10 or 15 of the larger cities are engaged in the picketing of the F. W. Woolworth stores to the extent that the Southern California **Boycot Committee, Congress of** Racial Equality, and the Independent Student Union have and only then will the Woolworth board of directors see the results of our efforts where

it counts-on the balance sheet. J. Morris, Student

DISCUSSION ARTICLES American Muslims

the American Negro, which is led by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, is one of stirring for that matter, in the world) power and dignity. It is not to be considered a flash or passing fancy; it is dedicated to uplifting the Negroes in America.

IT HAS BEEN STATED by the press and television that the Islamic doctrine teaches hate. This statement I have found to be false. Muslims do teach that Christianity is a false religion based on Western philosophy; but as far as racial hatred and violence are concerned, they do not advocate them. What they do advocate is the unity of Negroes throughout America in a common effort to throw off the yoke of racial subjugation. The Honorable Elijah Muhammad believes this can be done only under the banner of Islam.

Islam, he states, gives the black man dignity and erases the stigma of racial inferiority which has been so long connected with him.

The Muslim converts that I come in contact with almost daily show a complete difference in their appearance. They express an internal and external cleanliness with strong determination to succeed in whatever they undertake. They seem to possess a binding kinship for one another. Outwardly they are very mannerly in assisting people of all races.

WHAT THEY base their strength upon is the Islamic faith. Not hate. If converting

The Muslim movement among people to a source of strength is teaching hatred, then every religious sect in America (or teaches hate. What Mr. Muhammad is saying is that Christianity is a shackle to the black race of America and we must break this bond if we are to know true freedom of spirit and a full life. He stresses economic progress by the darker race of America as one of the means of uplift. He believes that integration should be the last thing that the Negro should be striving for, because he should first organize as a race with dignity and strong economic means that will render him free from racial exploitation.

WHAT MR. MUHAMMAD is doing, others like Marcus Garvey have tried. The major difference between these previous movements and Mr. Muhammad's is that his followers are converts from the religious teachings of the Western World and are diverted to Mr. Muhammad as the deliverer of the Black Man of America back to his true religion, Islam. Here Mr. Muhammad has combined both economic and spiritual freedom under one banner

* These opinions are entirely my own and I can sincerely state that I have the deepest respect for the Honorable Elijah Muhammad for the task that he has undertaken. Being a Negro, I know thtis yearning for dignity, complete freedom, and self respect.

-New England Student

Note by the Editor

paper and after conversations I and some fellow workers have had with one of their members in our plant, I knew I had had enough. I not only disagree with the article above, "American Muslims," I disagree completely with Muhammad's teachings.

LET ME TELL you some of what has been said in the shop about the Muslims. When this worker first started to distribute their paper quite a few Negro workers, including myself, took it and read it. In a very short period of time everyone began to say the paper didn't mean a thing to them, maybe they could bear to read one or two editorials. They wondered why Elijah Muhammad's picture was all over its pages. After a while the Muslim worker couldn't give his papers away. He never gave one nor attempted to sell one to a white worker.

*

In one discussion he was asked by one of the workers if they taught hate of the White man. He replied that they do not but that every Negro knows what the white man has done to him. That the white

After reading the Muslim | whites. I hate the K.K.K. and the White Citizens Councils and when I hear of a lynching I am ready to fight. I hate those whites in South Africa that are shooting down and murdering Africans, but I also hate the Negro police that are there. carrying out the dictates of those whites."

At one point the Muslim said that they were against integration, every Negro worker yelled and said that was enough. But one went on to ask him how could he work in a factory and belong to the union? He asked him if he was the one who once marked on the walls in the rest room, "The black man will rule the white man by 1965" and went on to tell him, "It's not a question of rule but a question of all mankind being free, totally free. I'm not interested in going back to some heritage of some ten thousand years to where the black man was in power only from a religious point of view. I want to be free and let every living human being be free. I want to get rid of one group being used against the other for whatever purposes these leaders have in mind. The white man and the black man are both men and

M. D. ANSWERS WORKER ON SHOP CONDITIONS

"How much exhaust can a man stand?" a Detroit auto worker asked (See April issue of News & Letters.) Physical fatigue and exhaustion from a driving belt line will decrease the reservoir of vital energy and, consequently make one more susceptible to the stress of poisonous chemicals. So will the stress of nervous tension, anger, and frustration. High temperatures require greater stores of body energy for maintaining a state of balance, excessive sweating loses large amounts of fluid and salt. The increased heart rate and respiration in overheated atmospheres make for more rapid absorption of chemicals through the hundreds f square meters of absorbable surface present in the lungs in direct contact with the blood.

When welding is done at high temperatures in the adjacent area the effect of release of gases irritant to the lungs, as the oxides of nitrogen or metal fumes, will tend to make the victim even more responsive to the damage of poisonous chemicals. The nitrogen dioxide gas which is frequently liberated when metal is heated at this high temperature is not only irritating to the lungs but can have harmful effects possibly to the liver and blood.

Welders or those working near welders sometimes get what is called "a flash" from the welding arc. What is irritating to the eyes is ultraviolet light. It can and does burn the eye surface, giving an inflamation that is acute with red eyes congested, discharging and a feeling as though grit or foreign material were present in the eye.

How much of this can a man take—I don't know. But one thing I am certain, that all of the gas from the combustion of petroleum is deadly to life. A small amount can sicken, and a lot can kill. Excessive speed of work, high levels of heat, and the action of other chemical irritants or poisonous sub-stances in the work area will influence susceptibility.

With carbon monoxide inhaled into the lungs in large amounts, acute poisoning and rapid asphyxia and coma follow. However, I have often wondered, as I pass through garages filled with dense clouds of auto exhaust, about the slow, chronic, insidious damage taking place over months and years, as carbon monoxide, lead, arsenic and other products of oil and gasoline breakdown reach the lungs, the blood and bloodforming organs, and the sensitive spinal cord and brain centers.

I am sure that often symptoms as headaches, weakness,

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

The Biological Basis of Marxist Humanism Part III

Karl Marx's concept of our existence. It is his beginning and end, the essential basis of his philosophy, method, movement and direction. It took me a long time to understand this -years during which I observed the rise and decline of groups calling themselves Marxist and dedicated to the abolition of private property, "education" of the working class and the leadership (Leadership with a capital L) of this move ment.

'THE WHOLENESS OF MAN'

The humanism of Marx is not the substance of the humanities -- culture based on the classics; nor is it a consideration of philanthropy, piety, or benevolence. Neither was Marx concerned with every man becoming a co-owner of the means of production. His fight for the elimination of classes and divisions in our society was the fight for the abolition of barriers and divisions within each man. His subject was the wholeness of man.

It is this concern with the totally functioning human being that keeps Marxism alive today. For through science we have now before us material and problems that only man existing in wholeness can digest. The neurosis that presently constitutes normal life is but a reflection of the indigestion we are experiencing through the part-life we lead wherein we have come to look at an object, rather than coordinating ourselves with it.

It is necessary to differentiate between the organic whole and the collective whole. The collective whole means the entire sum of the parts composing a substance. The organic whole refers to the organic unity of function. A man can be organically whole even after he has lost a leg. Organic wholeness is a behavior pattern that is complete, physiological and homeostatic. It is the essential ingredient of the humanism that is the axis of the life of Karl Marx. He knew that being a member of a collectivist society does not automatically lead to living in

Humanism is the heart of | wholeness. He would have been repelled by today's Communists.

'HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS'

The principle of homeostasis or the maintenance of a balanced tension is universally active in all living things. It operates in a single cell, in each organ, in the combination of organs that make up the individual and in the group of individuals that constitute the species. Without this balanced consistency there is no integrity of function and no health. Instinctive behavior in lower animals is wholly automatic and consistent with its physiological needs. The brain of man has a function that is different from the brain of any other animal .It is the only organ in the evolutionary process that has the ability to establish communication with other similar organs in its species. In man the brain of one individual can make contact with another through the use of agreed signs or symbols that we know as speech or language. This has brought about an enormous expansion of the brain's function; and is the basis of human consciousness, and the experiencing of self which differentiates us from other animals.

With the acquisition of language there was opened to man an enormously enlarged and enriched horizon. He was able to relate himself to his surroundings through a process of re-flection and judgment. Our civilization owes its existence to this development.

However, whereas the instinctive response of the animal to its environment is whole and total, the introduction of language or the symbol by man has brought a substitution or part replacement of the organism's whole relation to the actual objects and conditions of the external world. A short circuiting process has taken place which through the systematic use of the conditioned reflex has remarkably transformed our relations to one another.

(To be continued)

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

How much worse can times get in this upset world?No one knows just what to do to quiet the people. The people will not be quiet because in most of the world they are dissatisfied with their leaders and with their lives.

I have been watching T. V. and I saw the demonstrations in another war when he sent that

nothing to anybody, I was just a child but I was shot at. I don't wan't to go to war ever." It seemed to me he was right. No other country had the A-bomb dropped on them like Japan did.

The people here don't want war. Was Ike trying to start

man is our enemy and if you are fool enough to love your enemy then that is up to you. One worker told him that that was why he disagreed with t em. He said, "I cannot con- demn every white face in this	dizzy spells, nausea and in- digestion, chest pains and other vague complaints are the result of such repeated exposure.	again in Japan, and in the southern part of these U.S. The Japanese students were massing and protesting against Ike's coming there to sign a	fight for something good, why
world for what some have done.	For Our Italian and French Readers		killing the Africans? They were
I know from experience that all are not the same. There are many instances where the Negro people have been sold out by their own people. You say your doctrine doesn't teach hate. This has been said in the past several years after the	PROMETEO March, 1960 Issue "La Crise Mondiale et le Vide Theorique" and	is it . I thought that the U. S. and Japan signed a peace treaty at the end of World War II. It appears to me that when hun- dreds of thousands of people are against something, that they can't be wrong. Why can't Ike	killed for nothing, for just demonstrating against carrying passes in their own country. I can't see how the United States can't think that they can be wrong sometimes when every- one else thinks they are wrong
vicious attack by government officials along with the aelp of some Negro leadership who	"Leone Trotzski Come Teorico" By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA	running around the whole world and trying to fool the Japanese to sign a treaty they don't want.	Why can't these leaders
were attacking Muhammad for their own political purposes. I have hate in me against some	Order through News & Letters	I heard one young Japanese say on TV: I was just a child during World War II. I did	Why can't lke stop down South and do something there? Or he could give all

NEWS & LETTERS

WAR, RECESSION, CIVIL RIGHTS OVERSHADOW ELECTION PROMISES

(Continued from Page 1)

both conventions were plotting a new sell-out on civil rights.

• The Eisenhower administration which started with his bold boast to go to Korea and bring peace, is ending with his going to Paris and bringing us closer to nuclear war than ever. This new crop of presidential campaigners can promise nothing else but more missiles and more H-bomb rattling, and more sacrifice "to maintain our necessary military posture. THE 1956 CAMPAIGN

Four years ago, during the presidential campaign of 1956. these capitalist politicians were put on notice that they cannot forever play their political games with our lives in the bal-

ance. The Montgomery Negroes had just electrified the world by their historic bus boycott: and short months later the Hungarian Freedom Fighters stormed the heavens with their humanist revolt against the inhuman Communist tyrants.

The Pittsburgh steel workers went out on a 36-day strike; and the Detroit auto workers staged wildcat after wildcat against the nightmare world of speed-up and skeleton plants ushered in by the massive change-over to Automation.

In the presidential campaign then, only the Negro struggle forced lip-service from the voteseeking politicians. Not a word was whispered against unemployment by the union bureaucracy in their support of the Democrats, and only the most inane generalities about civil rights while they remained loyal captives of the party of Southern white reaction. Not a word was said about the colonial struggles in Asia and Afriea.

Democrats and Republicans alike joined forces to enact the vicious Landrum-Griffin Law. Democrats and Republicans alike joined forces to flout the insistent and unyielding determination of the Negroes to secure human rights. Democrats and Republicans alike joined forces in a bi-partisan brinkof-war foreign policy.

THE 1960 CAMPAIGN • The voice of the work-

ers cannot be ignored in the current campaign. The daily strikes in every industry across the land, since the 116day steel strike, attest to the contrary.

 The voice of the Negroes cannot be ignored. The continuing sit-ins in the South, with their supporting picket lines by white and Negro youth in the North, attest to the contrary.

• The colonial struggles in Asia and Africa can no longer be ignored. The freedom fighters from the Mali-Federation to the Congo, and the Japanese demonstrations, attest to the contrary.

All seek to find that common road which links the struggles of the oppressed majority of the world in a global demand for a totally new way of life on humanist foundations.

TODAY'S CHALLENGE

The fearsome threat of missile war, the terrible rise of unemployment and living costs, the intensified struggle of the Negroes for human rights dominate the political campaigns. Not because the politicians and their stooges are dealing with these questions but because, dodge and squirm as they may, they cannot hide from them. The total challenge of the future cannot be evaded and ev erybody knows it.

So insistent is this challenge that even a Rockefeller, for

own Republican party with the statement that: "A new period now begins. It summons new men. New problems demand new ideas, new actions" This, he says, must begin with an awareness of the future to be ignored or evaded only "at deadly peril to our own national life and freedom."

Among the problems he includes nuclear power, either to better lives or to shatter nations and shake the planet; the rise of new nations across the earth; a great technological revolution changing the lives of all men.

The ghost-writers, publicity agents and self-styled theoreticians of the capitalists have begun to clutter the press and the air-waves with demands to evaluate and re-establish "our national purpose."

Whatever their reasons, it is the concrete and specific determination of the working men and women of the world to find a new way of life that forces these capitalist hacks to their pompous double-talk.

Though they call for great new leadership with the courage of convictions, all we see in the current campaign is a clutch of double-faced and double-tongued politicians whose game is to win the election no matter the cost and the false promises. They have no courage for they have no convictions. and they can lead only to a greater threat to the lives of the embattled workers, Negroes, youth the world over.

* * * A young worker told News &

Letters, "I'm not for Kennedy and I'm sure not for Nixon. I don't know who I'm going to vote for. A lot of people say that the average person, and especially the working man, is so stupid that he'll blindly follow anything the leaders tell him.

Anyone who thinks that way is crazy. No matter how a man votes, he knows deep down inside that not a single candidate running in the election even knows or cares about what the working people want."

A News & Letters reader summed it up by saying, "I don't see how the election will change anything or prevent any catastrophe, be it economic collapse or nuclear war. The totality of the problems has become too big for any one segment to control or to be the deciding influence.'

STEELWORKER WANTS A SAY **ON CONDITIONS**

Ecorse, Mich. - There are plenty of men working at Great akes Steel who are pretty fedup with the way things have been going on since we signed the last contract.

In particular, we are seeing a lot of changes going on that were supposed to have been settled when we were able to keep the clause 2-B, dealing with working conditions in the mill, in the contract. This was the main issue in the strikethat we were going to keep having some say about the conditions of work.

But the company is going ahead as if we didn't have that clause in the contract. They are going left and right making all kinds of changes -and nothing is being done about them. ONE MAN DOING

3 MEN'S WORK

I know a truck driver who use to have two helpers working whatever opportunist reasons of with him. He had these helpers **Our Life and Times** By PETER MALLORY

(Continued from Page 1) They are cooked up in the back room by unsavory characters and made law over the heads of the people. It took the courage and militancy of the Japanese youth to bring the practice forcibly to the attention of the world.

The Japanese are continuing their fight against the Security Pact and the government which approved it. The 10 million Japanese unemployed wrokers want a better life than they are now getting in what American reporters call the "prosperity of Japan." CONGO

20 million more Africans have gained their freedom from colonial rule and are about to set up their own forms of government. The largest of these, the Bel-gian Congo, is led by Patrice Lumumba, who spoke his mind to the Belgian masters as they were leaving. "We have known ironies and insults, the blows to which we have had to submit morning, noon and night because we are Negroes.'

Belgium made great pretense about "preparing the Africans for freedom" but by independence day they had permitted only 16 Africans to go outside and obtain University degrees, only 12 had been admitted to administrative posts in the civil service.

BULLETIN

The new Republic of the Congo no sooner got its independence from Belgium, than the latter, whose bloody imperialist record in the Congo is unsurpassed by apartheid South Africa, embarked on new acts of aggression. The ostensible reason for this-alleged atrocities committed by some Congolese against some Belgians-was disproved by the Congolese Representatives to the U.N. His moving speech, however, stressed the need for immediate UN action. He said that if he were to counter the Belgian Foreign Affairs Minister's accusation of atrocities with a listing of "all atrocities by Belgium against the Congolese people these past 80 years of its rule" there would be no time left for restoring order now. Even the bourgeois press

couple of months afterwards. Now, however, the company

has taken the helpers away from him, and nothing has been done about it. In other words, the truck driver is doing the work that was done by three men before. And this is just one case.

The same thing has been going on all over th mill. WE'VE LOST CONDITIONS

OF 2-B CLAUSE" This is bad enough, and we ought to have something done to let the company know that we still have that clause in tthe contract. Only it looks like the union leaders just don't seem to care about what is going on. You go to a shop steward and he can't tell you anything; you ask him to find out what can be done about a situation. He'll always tell you he'll take care of it. Only its never taken care of.

After you wait a while and finally go up to him and ask him to do something about the case you've been telling him about, he says "Well, I've tried Executive Board. After much

which has been having a field day with its reports of rapes and looting has had to admit that the Belgian paratroopers are so trigger happy and arrogant that they have not only killed armed Africans, but those unarmed, and even shot at Europeans and Americans. Thus the Time Correspondent Leo Griggs was shot at by a paratrooper whose only apology was "in the dark I thought you were an African." The truth is the Belgian officers and paratroopers act as if the Congo is still their colony. Thus they made it nearly impossible for Premier Lumumba to land at the Leopoldville airport, and one dared shout: 'We ought to shoot this bastard full of holes!"

The Congolese Representative to the U.N. told the Belgian Representative that the Congo has no need either of its "paternalism or troops." Belgium better remember that "The Republic of the Congo is a sovereign state responsible for all citizens living in the Congo, Belgian as well as African, and with UN help are fully capable of restoring order, provided the Belgian troops get out. If they do not "we will have to meet force with force. We are a new, a young republic. We have to reconstruct our country. We have to do something original, something our own.³

(Editor's Note: The debate at the UN continues. Russia and the U.S. are using this debate to throw threats at each other. We will have a full report in the next issue.)

SOUTH AFRICA

It has been reported that the boycott of South African goods is getting good results. The country is suffering a 2 to 3 million dollar a month trade deficet which is hurting the pocketbooks of the Negro-hating white African rulers.

ALGIERS

As De Gaulle enters negotiations with the Algerian rebels for a peace treaty, the terrorism of his paratroopers is being exposed by trials in Algeria. One of the defendents, M. Alleg, in a book "The Question" describes the brutalities of the French Paratroopers against their captives. One defen-

and kept having them for a about it, but it just looks like caused by Randolph's supportnothing. You just don't have a case right now."

The only thing that can be said about this business is that we may have won the 2-B clause in the contract negotiations, but we sure have lost it so far as conditions in the mill are concerned.

N.A.L.C. Convention

Detroit - May 27 thru 29 marked the founding convention of the Negro American Labor Council. A. Phillip Randolph presided, and with parliamentary skill, parental pa-tience and nibbling sarcasm, successfully contained the grumblings at the gathering of delegates to officially 500 launch the organization.

An unexpected turn of events occured at the convention, when a woman delegate demanded that the women of the N.A.L.C. get representation on the all powerful National his own, is forced to blast his when the strike was over, and to find out what can be done confusion and rough house, to be.

dent, M. Audin, a mathematics Professor, has disappeared. The French claim he 'ran away." His wife claims that he was strangled to death by the paratroopers.

Djamila Boupacha, a 22year-old government typist was held on a charge of planting a bomb that failed to go off. She claims that the paratroopers stripped her and tied electrodes to her nipples, burned her and committed other unspeakable atrocities upon her in an effort to get her to confess. Doctors who examined her two months later stated that she still bore the marks of torture.

The French Government has clamped a veil of secrecy around the trials.

The same holds true of the F.L.N.'s attempted peace negotiations with De Gaulle. Upon their return to Tunis, the rebel leaders said: "Political prisoners have more freedom than that which De Gaulle offered us.'

"IKE'S FRIENDS"

"Show me your friends," an old saying goes, "and I can tell what you are." This would appear to still be in full force after the Eisenhower debacle in the Far East. After the failure of the Summit he rushed off to embrace Fascist Dictator Salazar of Portugal. Between the summit and the recent tour two of his dictator friends were disposed of. Menderes of Turkey and Rhee of South Korea. Garcia of the Phillipines is well known as a grafter who has dispensed millions in U.S. Aid to his friends and business associates. Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator of Formosa, is an old Eisenhower friend. In Japan he counts among his friends Priemier Kishi and the Fascist "Japan Patriotic Society." So hostile to his trip were the Japanese youth that the visit had to be cancelled. U.A.W.-C.I.O.

All is not peaceful in the domain of Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers Union. A group has been formed called "National Committee for Democratic Action in the U.A.W." which has been meeting regularly. They charge that "Reuther and the Big Three quibble while thousands of auto workers walk the streets."

ers trying to wrest the floor microphone from the hands of the woman delegate, she got support from the body. Randolph gave in. He finally suggested that the women caucus and submit the names of two nominees to the convention for election to the enlarged National Executive Board. This was accomplished.

(BROADER OBJECTIVE)

At the outset, the N.A.L.C. was to concern itself exclusively with the status of Negroes within the trade union movement. In the process of its development however, its reason for existence became much broader, and now its objective is to fight for "first class citizenship and full equality of opportunity for Negroes and other minority groups in every fascet of the economic, social and cultural life of America."

As it stands, the Negro American Labor Council is controlled from the top. Its future depends upon whether or not the rank and file Negroes choose to make it what it claims