

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

What Good Is Seniority?

A worker, talking about happenings in his shop, told some workers with many years of seniority are being shed around by the company worse than those with a few years.

One worker, with 15 years, was absent one day for illness. Upon returning, he was told he would be placed on some other job. The chief steward told the worker his job had been changed because he was off the day before. The company said he could not bump the younger men on the code.

The worker said he never was so angry in his life. He called the shop committeeman, reporting his grievance and stating that if he did not get immediate action he wanted to pass to go to the union hall to see the officers.

The shop committeeman came and took the worker to the superintendent's office. The chief steward was called. The argument was high. Every worker in the department was saying they had never heard of such action by the company.

THE CONTRACT & THE COMPANY

The company used the contract which had given them complete rights over production and over workers with regard to placing them on jobs.

The worker yelled out, "The contract also states that the rights are not to be used to discriminate against a worker. This is what you are doing in this case."

The company said they had agreed with the chief steward to place the man on the new job. The reorganization of the job set-up had placed this worker's operation here it only ran part production. Under such circumstances, the foreman is supposed to put the man on whatever he can find. Most of the time, the foreman cannot find extra work. If the company can get the chief steward to agree to remove a worker on the code, it helps the company and makes it easy for the steward.

The committeeman said the worker would have to be put back on his original job. The company finally submitted.

THE CHIEF STEWARD AND THE WORKERS

Every worker was glad when the man returned to his job. They immediately started to petition for a recall of the chief steward. Seventy-five per cent of the workers signed the petition.

The shop committeemen said they were glad. But all the time they had been strong supporters of the chief steward. He had not been elected by the workers in the first place, but appointed by the shop committeeman.

As one worker said, "What was most shocking was to see the company acting as though we have no union. They just openly said what they were going to do with no regard or fear of what the workers would do or the union."

He felt that the union leaders have gone so far with the company in its fight against the workers, that they have no fear of the consequences of mistreating and mistreating workers. He felt that both the union's and the company's so-called good luck would some day come to an awful end.

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Gap Between Leaders and Ranks Widens as Southern Tension Mounts

A show down fight for Negro equality is shaping up in this country. Since the Supreme Court handed down "liberal decisions" on desegregation, the armed organization of White Citizens Councils has moved into a vicious head-on attack against the Negro people's attempts at life preservation.

Official Southern violence is developing on a scale unequalled since the first organization of the Ku Klux Klan. In face of this violence, the government and the Attorney General are turning the other way. The Negro leaders, the labor leaders and the liberals are indignant against the "Southern Way of Life," but they fear the actions of the Negroes more than they fear the counter-revolution of the "Southern Way of Life."

A NATIONAL QUESTION

This is not simply a Negro question, nor a Southern question, it is a national question. The Southern writer, William Faulkner, touched the heart of the matter when he said that the murder of children raises the question of whether American civilization can survive.

The legal decisions, favorable to Negroes, that are coming thick and fast from the high courts, are a testament to the ability and willingness of the Negro

masses to fight for equality. The Constitution of the United States hasn't changed since 1870 when the Supreme Court ruled that segregation and discrimination was compatible with the Constitution. The Negro people have changed and they have forced the change in the Supreme Court decision.

VIOLENT DEFIANCE

Nevertheless, the leaders of the NAACP are more than eager to place the hopes and destiny of the Negro in the hands of that decision. The legal minds of the NAACP envisioned that, as a matter of course, there would be other court fights and they were prepared to carry each case triumphantly through the courts of this land.

The answer from the South has been to defy the decision by new repressive "State's Rights" legislation and by physical terror

"FREE HUMAN BEINGS"

A Memphis Negro high school student wrote a letter

to the Pittsburgh Courier which said:

"The NAACP can't do the job the Negro needs done alone. All Negroes should help, not for one night or one week or one month. It's a long, hard fight. Negro people like us here in the South have got to be willing and able to sacrifice our lives and everything else and fight hard for what is every man's right . . . the right to feel and live like free human beings."

This high school student's letter is an expression of the need for direct action on segregation that one hears daily from the ordinary Negro. The ordinary Negro, in both the South and the North, has revealed a deep desire to do something about Southern violence and inequalities. This has been proved a thousand times over by the large Emmett Till protest meetings held throughout the country and by the current boycott by Negroes of the segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama.

LEADERS HOLD BACK

But everywhere, since the Till fiasco-trial, the so-called Negro leaders are trying to stifle any direct action on the part of the Negro masses. "Race progress," for them, has come to mean the filling of bigger and better jobs in the unions and government by a few outstanding Negroes. Yet the very possibility of these jobs rests squarely on the strength and willingness of the masses of Negroes to fight for "The right to feel and live like free human beings."

THEN AND NOW

"When I was a kid," a West Coast reader writes, "the leaders of the NAACP literally had to sneak in the back door of the White House to get an audience with the president. But in 1940, A. Philip Randolph was big enough to shout down President Roosevelt at a special cabinet meeting to discuss the March on Washington movement.

"When I was a kid, the leadership of the NAACP was largely composed of preachers, sociologists, orators and poets. These peo-

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WORKERS' NOTES FROM ITALY

The Club and the Carrot

FROM THE FIAT PLANT IN TURIN ITALY

Department 24, of the great Fiat plant, is becoming the oldest emblem of paternalism. This means, a sort of disciplinary unit to which undesirables are assigned. It is not just a temporary phase of a strong reactionary wave. In reality, the bourgeoisie operates within the atmosphere of democratic parliamentarism to gain firm control which is essential to a rigid production policy, to be imposed first upon the workers of the major industrial plants.

To those of Department 24 who are affected today and tomorrow, this means job shifting, demotions, pay cuts and humiliation. It also means separation of those workers who have

shown themselves active in their union, and in politics and suspected of non-conformity to the interests of the bosses.

This fraudulent policy of the boss is aimed at catching two pigeons with one bean: to make the workers feel his unquestioned authority in the factory; to obtain the most capable tool makers, indispensable for general production, at low cost. Department 24 is the symbol of the club, as the semi-annual bonus is the symbol of the carrot.

● Editor's Note: This story has been translated from the first issue of Lotta di Classe ("Class Struggle"), published in Milan, Italy, October 1955.

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A DOCTOR SPEAKS

BY M.D.

HOW TO UNSCRAMBLE OUR MIND

My young son doesn't like to eat eggs. When he does have one, it must be thoroughly scrambled and quite dry. So to avoid difficulties, he generally makes his own breakfast.

Being particular about food is not unusual but all food eventually becomes completely scrambled in the body. In fact, that is the chief function of the pouch-like organ we call the stomach. If, for some reason, the stomach is removed by surgery, it is necessary to mix thoroughly and break up all food before it enters the body.

But when the course of the food within the body is carefully followed, it becomes evident that all the mixing and scrambling is but a preliminary step to an unscrambling. No food can enter the blood stream for distribution until it has been broken down and separated into the simple units out of which it is formed. Only basic and elementary bodies can pass through the inner barriers of the body and contribute to its growth.

SCRAMBLED FOOD AND SCRAMBLED LIVES

I was led to thinking about scrambled food, when a physician friend of mine, in talking about his life, referred to it as a mad scramble and rat race. He has been suffering lately from very severe headaches. There is some elevation of his blood-pressure, which seems to go up and down. Nothing else has been found after very thorough examinations.

Various causes of severe headache, such as increased pressure on the brain due to a tumor, sinus infection, eye strain, arthritis of the cervical or neck vertebra, diseases of the kidneys, heart, liver and other organs have all been eliminated. The doctor does not appear to be a neurotic and seems normal and well-balanced. He has a very large general practice and is making a lot of money.

WHAT THE MIND CAN'T DIGEST

As I listened to him, it seemed to me, that he had much on his mind that he could not digest. He talked of his heavy financial obligations, of his unrealized ambition to specialize, of the competition of other doctors, of his hope and fear of retiring. There was restlessness and disappointment and envy and uncertainty in him.

Just as the physical body, through its receiving organ, the stomach, will take only certain things, rejecting material it cannot break down, so is the brain unable to use and digest impressions that are not in harmony with mental and emotional well-being. The stomach rejects unfit material automatically and unconsciously, but the brain has no such self-regulated mechanism. It is often unable to unscramble the mess of abnormal impressions that make up today's living. The result is disorder, which may create tensions, headaches and other difficulties.

CLEARING THE MIND

The human mind is a wonderful creation—the highest on this earth—with tremendous power to mold our life. But there is a chronic poison that comes out of the abnormal association people have with one another, which pollutes the atmosphere in which the mind lives.

To develop in health, the mind must receive impulses inherent in the human values coming out of the free activity of men who look upon one another as people undeformed by position, power, property or even education and therefore, without thought leading to degradation or exploitation.

The place to clear the mind is in the simple ordinary contacts with one another at home and at work which must begin to express a relationship based on the importance of man.

Who Wants to Be Boss?

Psychiatrist Dr. Francis J. Braceland, of Hartford, Conn., says that being a boss can be bought at too high a price.

"A man by ability and hard work may get to the top, but find that on the way he has lost his family, for one thing," Dr. Braceland says. "The situation is particularly difficult if boys are involved. Like as not, the father has had little time for them. Perhaps, because they do not possess his drive, he has written them off. . . Obviously, success is not worth this loss."

Dr. Braceland relates that in addition to family loss, hazards of executive life are heart disease, ulcers, colitis, and obesity.

Strange Company

LOS ANGELES—A recent article on the waterfront situation in the Los Angeles Times reveals that alleged pro-Communist longshore-union boss, Harry Bridges, is keeping his usual strange company. Both Bridges and the shipping companies agreed that the workers and not the union officials were to blame for alleged work slowdowns. Bridges said the men were an independent group and didn't always do what the union officers thought best.

In return for his attitude against his union brothers, Bridges was rewarded by receiving compliments from industry spokesmen as to his sincerity and constructive efforts.

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

"If It's Unsafe, Refuse to Work"

Hardly a week goes by that you don't hear about some sort of accident in the mines. There are plenty of miner's wives who must wonder when their men leave for work, if they'll be coming home again safe. But somehow I don't have that constant worry and fear I did when I was a little girl.

We were so afraid, that everytime there came a knock on the door, we thought it was somebody telling us that dad had been hurt. I don't have that sort of fear anymore. I don't think it's because the mines are so much safer than they used to be. I think it's because we were living in a mining camp in those days, and are living in town now. When you live in a mining camp, all the neighbors in all the houses around you have their breadwinners in

the same mine. Never a week went by that somebody in the camp didn't have a man hurt or killed. It was all around you, and you know everyone of them.

I can't help but blame a lot of the accidents on the men themselves, though. It seems to me, that it's carelessness on their part. What I mean is that the company is just after coal. They worry more about a machine than a man's life. If a machine is lost it costs a lot of money, but if a man's is lost, they can just hire another man. Every miner must know that.

And they must know that they can't really count on the Safety Committee to look out for them. My husband tells me that in his mine, the Safety Committee doesn't

go in and doesn't know too much what the conditions are like. A lot of those committees have gotten corrupt. Most of the men know that, too.

The only ones the men can really count on are themselves. They work in the place—they're the only ones who really know whether it's safe or not. They're the ones who really care whether they're safe or not.

So it's up to them. I they don't look out for themselves—it's just plain carelessness, the way I see it.

They can refuse to work in a place if it's not safe. At my husband's mine, he tells me, that's just what they do. That's the only reason why there aren't any more accidents than there are.

Miner's Wife
Morgantown, W. Va.

A HAPPY DRINK

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — There are probably few people who have never heard of the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud that was carried on in the West Virginia hills during the early years of the century. There are legends, songs and stories that are told and retold by people who knew them and by many who did not.

Here is one story that has never been written. It deals primarily with a Negro coal miner who was a young man at that time.

UP TO MINGO AND LOGAN

"I had been working in the coal fields in the southern part of the state, but I did a lot of traveling around. Times were rough then and you pretty near had to get rough with them to keep going. There was all the trouble in Mingo and Logan counties, with the miners trying to organize themselves and just about everyone else against them.

"There wasn't anyone who hadn't heard of the Hatfields and McCoy's, especially around there. This was their stomping ground. I think Sid Hatfield was the roughest one to tangle with and next to him was Bill McCoy. At least, from the stories that I'd heard, it was so. I'd never met any one of these people, but like everyone else, I'd heard plenty about them. It didn't pay to mess with them; they were just too fast.

IN A SALOON

"Well, anyway, I was at this saloon on that week-end. It seems like I just wanted to be bad. I don't know what it was that made me feel that way, but I did. Here I am at this bar and I throw a quarter on it and tell the

bartender to fill me up a glass. I know you can't get a drink nowadays for a quarter, but then you could and I felt like having a couple. I figured I was just about ready for anything and the gun I had in my belt didn't make me feel too bad about it.

"There was a guy I knew who was at the bar beside of me and I was talking with him. Out of the corner of my eye, I saw the bartender pour my drink; but then, I see this guy who is standing on my other side pick it up and drink it down.

"I didn't say anything, but just thought to myself, 'Uh-huh, so that's the way it's going to be.' I knew just what I was going to do because I wasn't going to have any of that at all. So I reached in my pocket and flipped another quarter on the bar. 'Fill it up again,' I said.

"Then I backed up a couple of feet from the bar. The bartender filled the glass. Looking dead at the guy who had downed my other drink, I said, 'Now let's see who is going to drink this one.' I had my coat open and my gun was in plain sight. The guy looked at me, then started to laugh. I just kept watching him. Then he said 'Okay buddy, I just wanted to see how much nerve you had. Come on and have a drink on me. I'm Bill McCoy.'

"My mouth dropped open and I must have been shaking like a leaf when I heard him. Here I had been a couple of feet away from death and hadn't even known it. He could have cut me down without blinking an eye and I'd never have known what hit me. If ever in my life I needed a drink, I needed one then. He didn't have to ask me a second time.

How Not To Use A Whip

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—I was always running away from home when I was old enough to get out by myself. I ended up one day working in a mine in the southern part of the state. I was 13 years old then and was hired as a trapper. My job was to go and close the wooden doors they had in the mines when men driving the horses and pulled loads of empties would come through. The job was all right, but there were times when I had to hold up one driver to another one get through. They didn't like this at all and took it out on me.

They all had black-snake whips that they used on the teams, only they had other uses for them too. After I held one of them up, then he'd go through, he'd start unwinding that big whip from around his neck. Then—Whap! out it would come at me.

Finally, one day another timer came up to me and said, "Look kid, you can't do anything with those guns, you've just got to learn to stand up to them."

He took me down to the company store and bought me a big Belgian gun and some shells to go with it.

WHIPPERS WHIPPED

The next day, I came to work with the gun and my pocket full of shells. I had held up a driver. Sure enough, when he started to come through, he began to unwind that whip he had around his neck. I didn't wait for him to get done unwinding it. I just pulled out my gun and lifted it to take good aim at him. I had use both hands to cock the hammer, and there I was holding that big gun up front of me, pointing straight at him.

LABOR

Apprenticeship for Young Workers

LOS ANGELES. — Young workers in the skilled trades in Los Angeles usually get their start in a small shop where there is either no union or a very weak union. In a large plant, where there is a strong union and a rigid seniority system it's usually hard for an unskilled worker to get into one of the skilled trades. There is room for so many apprentices and the time you accumulate through seniority to move ahead, you're about fit to be

In a small shop is no place for security but a young guy can pick up valuable experience in his skill. But this also leads to a situation where a young skilled worker doesn't know what it means to be organized.

Specialization, Boredom, Security Cause Engineer Shortage

MASSACHUSETTS — In the cold war that rages continuously between America and Russia the latest field of struggle is that of engineering. The point of similarity however is stronger than any differences there might be. In fact, in this field, it is the nature of the work—the gulf between mental and manual work—that is more decisive than the political policies. I would like to cite my own experiences to show you what I mean.

In the early 1930's I finished my engineering education at one of the leading engineering schools in the East. When I finished, I thought I knew everything about the world. I was going to build bridges, reconstruct "the backward areas" of the world and make our world a better place in which to live.

During the Depression

My first job in the early thirties was that of junior draftsman. I was glad to get it. Millions were unemployed and any illusions that I may have held were shattered. But, in case you take me wrong and think the situation is different today, let me assure you the graduate engineer starts in the same position in prosperous America as in depression America.

Specialization Boredom

The practical knowledge necessary can be gained only through working at it. The tendency is for men to become more and more specialized. High pressure piping, for example, is but one narrow field of engineering, yet within the field there are three or four other specializations, each demanding a high degree of specialization and none permitting either our greater knowledge or our contact with the manual workers.

It is the narrow approach that drives men mad. It is the equivalent

Workers Express Distrust of Union Leadership

DETROIT — "Our line steward is a company representative," some workers were yelling in the plant.

"What proof do you have?" the steward asked.

"We have not yet seen or heard you arguing on anything for us," the workers yelled. "Are you always arguing against us for the company? Everything we say or do, the foreman knows about it and you are often whispering to him."

Another said, "When I saw you coming out of the superintendent's office and asked what you were doing there, you said they were trying to hem you in but you didn't say why. The next day, the foreman could tell us who was short on his production."

Another said, "When we tried to recall you, threats came from you and the company that another line steward would be fired. We know now why the chief steward appointed you to this job as steward."

LOS ANGELES — In discussing our union representatives, one of my buddies said he would not trust our committeeman completely under any circumstances. I asked him why because I am relatively new in the plant and at first acquaintance this particular committeeman does not seem like one who would sell out to the company as a matter of course.

He told me that when the men were out on strike during the recent contract negotiations, the union had come to agreement on most of the new contract but not all of it. The union had accepted a six cents raise for the production workers but were holding out for some eight or eleven cents an hour more for the skilled workers in the plant, to bring their wages up to the prevailing rates in other factories. That was the only unresolved issue remaining between company and union.

A union meeting was called to discuss the situation. Over 4,000 production workers were staying out on strike to enforce the demands of a few hundred skilled workers.

At this meeting, this particular committeeman said to the local that he had just come from a meeting with management at which they had agreed to give the skilled

workers eight cents more than the production workers. He was asked from the floor whether this was official and he replied, "This is official." On this basis, a vote was taken, the contract was accepted and the strike was ended.

Several weeks after this meeting, it became clear that the skilled workers were only getting two cents more than production workers. The company explanation was that they had agreed to give the skilled workers eight cents all right, not eight cents on top of the six cents production got but only eight cents. All that the union leadership had to say, including this particular committeeman, was that they were mistaken as to what the company had agreed to on this.

The guys in the shop asked how this "mistake" could be made if it was all down in black and white for the union leaders to read before signing like the rest of the contract. Several workers, when I asked them about this situation, said that from now on they will believe nothing that the union says until they themselves see it in black and white.

I asked them how this could be worked out with the contract being over a hundred pages and in such complicated language that it's sometimes hard to understand in parts even after many readings. They said a contract had better be shorter and simpler and less in lawyer talk if they are going to accept one in the future.

Auto Workers Resist Time-Study Speed-Up

DETROIT — Our plant is going wild with speed-ups. They are using every device they have, especially timing the company stooges on the job. When they get it timed as high as they can, they remove the stooge and give him some easy job.

On our job, the company time-study man timed a stooge. The production was doubled. The company seemed to know we would not double our production so they had it re-timed.

The second time they timed an ex-foreman. He worked as slowly as possible and reduced the previous timing by 25 per cent.

Another worker, working alongside the ex-foreman and matching his every move, nevertheless had 15 fewer jobs than the ex-foreman did.

After the time-study man was gone, the ex-foreman said to the other worker. "I was working as slowly as possible, working alongside of you and here you have 15 jobs less than I. How could you do it, making the same moves and every move I did at the same time?"

The other man, who had once worked under the ex-foreman, showed him the many excess motions he could have been doing to keep himself busy while the time-study was timing. All of them job motions authorized by the company.

The ex-foreman said, "No wonder I had so much trouble with you when I was a foreman. You know every trick in the book and then some extra. If they had timed you our production would have been lower, which it should have been."

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Girls Want Voice On Overtime Work

The superintendent and foreman of my department got a little surprise just before Christmas. They had about 12 girls working overtime. They had told them ten hours a day during the week and half-a-day Saturday. In the middle of the week, on Thursday night, they cut out the overtime for Thursday and Friday and said the girls would have to work all day Saturday. The girls were counting on half-a-day Saturday to get ready for the holidays coming up.

The next morning when they came in, they all got together and marched out of the department and into the office. The girls asked why was the overtime schedule changed at the last minute without any advance notice.

COMPANY UNION

There is something like a company union here. Each department has an elected representative, who is supposed to deal with any group grievances. Any personal grievances you take up with your foreman. Also these things are supposed to be taken up at a meeting that the company sets. This representative was asked to go with the girls and she refused. She told them that it was immaterial to her whether they worked all day Saturday or not so she wasn't going into the office with them as group representative.

I don't think management expected any group action like that from this department which is made up mostly of newly hired workers, there from one to four months. Before they had begun hiring all these new people, the production departments had a strike and walked off the job, but this department remained in and worked.

THINGS CAN'T BE THE SAME

Even though it is quiet now in the department, things can't remain or can't be the same. The answer is that the management gave the girls for changing the schedule is that overtime is not compulsory. If you don't like the overtime schedule, you just don't have to come in. Also that overtime attendance, whether you're out or late, does not go on your record.

They also tell you this when you're hired, adding that they like cooperation. But when they used to tell us that there is overtime work, they never asked if we would come in, they just told us, "Monday through Friday, two hours, and half-a-day Saturday, girls." I am waiting to see how they tell us the next time. Like I said, "Things can't be just the same."

Angela Terrano

EDITORIALS

THE LIFE & SECURITY OF WORKERS

The so-called forgotten hopes of strike struggles that swept this country in the 1930's are reviving in a new form of struggle. Several months ago, the strike at Perfect Circle in Indiana showed that management is just as inhuman to workers today as they were before the organizing of the union movement.

Now there is this Westinghouse strike in Columbus, Ohio, where a bloody struggle is taking place between workers and the company. A picket was killed according to one reporter and another stated the worker died of heart attack.

On another level there is the newspaper strike going on in Detroit on a scale unprecedented in the history of the Detroit daily papers. It is going into its sixth week. Long strikes and short are everywhere.

The mighty labor leaders in the new merger of the AFL-CIO are so powerful and strong in the sight of the world and in their own sight. Yet they seem very reluctant to move in and give full support to those striking workers, as the CIO was always ready to do in its youth.

There have been strikes broken and unions destroyed because the CIO did not go all out to save them. Financial support is not enough.

The CIO was not organized with money alone. It was the struggling of hundreds of thousands of workers against the domination of their lives by management. That is what built the union.

These strike actions, if and when joined by workers all over, will save the life and security of workers all over America.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

The recent French elections have brought the twenty-third government to France since 1944. Far from being resolved, the crisis which has torn France since the end of the war, is at its highest tension.

Though nearly twenty million people voted, the fact is that the interests and needs neither of the workers nor of the youth nor of the North African colonials are anywhere reflected in the new French Assembly. The heaviest winners in the vote itself were the Communists and the Poujade fascists.

Poujade is a newcomer to the French political scene. He is only 35 but he shows his blood descent from the French fascists of the 1930's. In recent months, the liberal fashion has been to laugh at him just as Hitler had been laughed at in 1931 and 1932 before he took power. Since Poujade's gains at the polls, the laughter has suddenly died, but not the helplessness of the liberals.

In 1934, the fascists tried to take over and the French workers threw them back on the streets. But the Socialist, Leon Blum, "moderated" the workers' drive after they had defeated the fascists.

In the current elections, another Socialist, Guy Mollet, appears as a possible premier. Anyone who thinks that this will solve anything, or offer a solution as against the Communists or fascists, has not understood the past three decades. It is capitalism that brings on these extremes and the Socialists, at this point, play no other role than to try to prop up capitalism as it is being shattered. That is why nothing new has come out of the elections.

What is new in the French situation, is the role of the French youth and of the North Africans in opposition to the official policies of the French government. The young conscripts demonstrated against going to fight in North Africa. Though they were ultimately forced to go, they were greeted by the North Africans not as representatives of the colonial power but as fellow victims of the French government.

The French youth which resists military service in North Africa is the same youth which in recent years has left the Communist Party in droves.

Moreover, since the great auto strike in Renault some years back and in the strikes since, the workers have demonstrated again and again that they have acted independently of the Communist Party though the official union leadership is Communist. It is these actions, rather than the vote that holds the solution as against the Communists.

This opposition of the French workers and youth is not the "Third Force" of which the socialists speak while they take sides in the cold war. It is a force which defies any of the standard and outworn political labels and reaches out nationally and internationally to smash through the crisis to a new way.

ON TAKE-OVER STRIKES

That was a good letter that reader wrote on take-over strikes (Dec. 23). But you had too small a head for such an important letter.

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

A few years ago the workers carried on a fight in West Germany for "co-determination," that is, they wanted an equal voice with management. Somehow the movement seems to have died down. All these are new forms of behavior by the worker in production. I would like to read more on it and hope you can develop it as a regular feature.

Journalist
New York

* * *

I get a good feeling when I read about such things. The only time I heard of take-over strikes was in World War I. My father told me the story of when the workers took over the Italian factories. He was in the army then and he overheard some officers talking about bombing the workers. One officer said, "Let's start with this one." The other officer said, No. Not this one. It belongs to me."

Electrical Worker
Detroit

* * *

A recent strike in Paris, France resulted in a stoppage of buses and most subway lines. On the trains that did run, customers rode free because all the ticket takers were on strike.

Woman Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

PRODUCTION

A recent comment by one of the committeeman in the local union paper sums up the situation in the auto industry nicely. "With the way the lines are running at the General Motors South Gate Plant, full blast day and night, one would think that there is a shortage of automobiles for the market; that the dealers are screaming for more production and that the buying public are standing in line waiting their turn to buy a new car." However, "The auto industry is build-

Readers

ing cars faster than the car market can absorb them. If this keeps up, we shall reach a saturation point where either industry will curtail production in order to get rid of their surplus or shut down completely. Either way many of us will be affected."

General Motors Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

WORKERS & POLITICS

Three Wayne University professors recently made a survey of how UAW members voted in the 1952 election. They found that 75 per cent voted for Stevenson. They also found that "auto workers not only trust the voting recommendations of labor organizations much more than those of other groups; they correspondingly distrust the recommendations of business groups and newspapers much more than those from other sources."

If the 75 per cent figure is correct, and it probably is, that doesn't mean that 25 per cent of the auto workers voted for Eisenhower. Considering all the auto workers that didn't vote at all, the percentage that must have voted for Eisenhower is very small.

Reader
Detroit

* * *

LEADERS & RANKS

I was glad to see that the "Two Worlds" column in the December 9th issue of News and Letters celebrated the 100th anniversary of the birthday of that great American Socialist, Eugene Victor Debs.

One of the favorite sayings of Debs was that, "Too long have workers of the world waited for a Moses to lead them out of bondage. He has never come. I would not lead you out if I could, for if I could lead you out or bondage, some one else could lead you back in again."

Debs, I believe, would have welcomed a paper such as News and Letters, which is attempting to bring the underground opinions of the American working people into the open so that they can organize themselves.

Machinist
Los Angeles, Calif.

I have recently been reading a little pocket book of Henry Miller's entitled "Nights of Love and Laughter." He says, "If you have a duty it is to put our trust in our own power. No man is great enough to be wise enough for any of us to surrender our destiny. The only way in which anyone can lead us is to restore to us the belief in our own guidance. The greatest men have always reaffirmed this though. But the men who dazzle us and lead us astray are the men who promise us those things which no man can honestly promise another—namely safety, security, peace, etc. And the most deceptive of all such promoters are those who bid us kill one another in order to attain the fictive goal."

"Nights of Love and Laughter," which I bought in a neighborhood drug store incidentally, deserves for more than this little Readers View. When I have time I will do a review of it. Meanwhile I recommend it as some enjoyable reading.

Auto Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

PEACE & WAR

A friend was telling me about his training in the Air Force. In one of the classes that he was attending the instructor was telling them how important the Air Force and air defense is and that the next war will be won by whoever has the biggest and best Air Force. One kid stopped it all by getting up and saying, "Come now won't the next war be won by whoever drops the first bomb?"

Ex-G.I.
Chicago

* * *

MOVIES

The TV ads for the movie "Rains of Ranchipur" kept saying that it "breaks all barriers of race and time." They gave the impression of a white girl marrying a colored man. I had guests in my house when we heard the advertisement and they all said they had to see it because they never thought they'd put anything like that in a picture. The picture didn't have anything about that at all. They just put the race question in

Views

the advertising because this is Detroit and they wanted to get people into the movies.

Negro Worker
Detroit

In all these movies and TV shows they're making about the youth problem, they have it that the kid goes bad because his parents are rich and good for nothing, or poor and good for nothing. They're always looking for some person to blame for the troubles.

TV Fan
Iowa

About News & Letters

I believe we are working for the same end—a truly human life through the self-development of the ordinary man and his realization of brotherhood. Denby's articles in issue after issue have a consistency, a simplicity and a solid core which leads to the essential heart of things and quietly lays bare the disease germ in the center for all to see.

Professional
California

I like the direction being taken in the column covering world events, that is, to cull explicitly from the European press and give stories that would not reach us through American newspapers. In general we can afford to be introduced to European-style journalism where papers tend to give more information and to discuss subjects more thoroughly than we are accustomed to in our daily news diet.

Intellectual
New York

Two former residents of Israel, on seeing the article "Growing Crisis in the Middle East" (Dec. 23), said that the article expressed their point of view, particularly about the General Federation of Labor.

Housewife
Los Angeles

AN OBJECTION

It is evident from Charles Denby's reply in Workers Journal (Dec. 9) that my little letter asking for information on the Communists was mistaken for

a quarrel with the policies of the paper on printing the experiences and opinions of working people.

On re-reading my letter I can see that the attempt to compress a basic thought into a few lines could easily lead to misinterpretation so I will rephrase what I really said. **The Geneva Conference**

The problem is: Did the Geneva conference result in a situation where the Communists in the United States must or will engage in class collaboration and work with the labor bureaucracy in suppressing wild-cat strikes?

They did engage in such collaboration during World War II, when Russia was an ally of the United States. CP members in the plant then acted as strike-breakers, stool-pigeons, enemies of the Negro struggle for equality, production pace-setters, etc.

It is quite clear, however, that they are not adopting such a general policy now in this time of cold war. And yet, by merely presenting the incidents of collaboration in Detroit, which is a particular local situation, the editors of the paper have not made the role of the Communists in the American labor movement today entirely clear. **Proof?**

I don't intend to deny the experiences of Detroit workers that Communists there are working with Reuther. I do not ask for an impossible "proof" that this happened. In my original letter, I only counterposed my own true experience in Los Angeles with the Detroit experiences, which I take to be equally true, as a jumping off point to ask for information about the Communist

Party in the American labor movement today.

I was not asking this of any Detroit workers who wrote in their experiences. I was asking this of NEWS AND LETTERS to give the editors of the paper a chance to make clear their own fundamental analysis of the CP in our own labor movement. In past issues of the paper there are many fundamental articles about international Communism but there is not one such article on the CP in American labor, excluding Denby's brief remarks in response to my letter.

I agree fully with Denby that asking for documented proof from a worker about his experiences is fantastic. I enjoyed his impassioned words on this, even when they were mistakenly directed against me, because they are true regardless. But Denby knows as well as I that factual articles on the policies of a public political organization can and have been written.

Editing Committee
Member, Los Angeles

WOMEN

One man had the nerve to tell me that the reason a man doesn't stay home is because his wife looks frowsy when he gets home. I blew my top at him, too. This is my schedule: I get up, get the kids washed, get breakfast, clean up after them, get some housework done, get their lunch, clean some more, and then it's time for supper. After supper you have to clean up again. Unless you have a maid, I'd like to know how you'd have time to stop and primp?

Housewife

I know that women have borne and still bear a heavy load in our society and I sympathize with every move they make for a better life. But I cannot sympathize with the repeated claim that it's all the man's fault . . . if only he'd share the responsibilities in the home.

I am willing to do my share. I help in the cleaning, cooking and marketing. I'm interested in how the home looks and I like it to be a center of human warmth. But if it is to be a shared experience she has to become interested in my interests also and not just restrict the interest to the home. —Critical Male, Philadelphia.

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Notes from a Diary

TWO WORLDS

TOWARDS A NEW UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

In the last issue I spoke of the miner who wanted to see this society changed, but feared that it might once again "turn into its opposite." He had seen too many things "turn into their opposite," such as the labor representatives into labor bureaucrats—form small porkchoppers like the District men to large ones like the Washington men. He felt that only some new unity of theory and practice, unified in the worker himself, would assure the creation of a really new society. The question was: when would the worker gain confidence in his own abilities to stop letting "others" do his thinking for him; and how can the division between thinking and doing stop.

SEARCHING FOR A TOTAL VIEW

This worker was searching for a new philosophy, a total view. I had told him about the great divide in Marxism that had occurred after the outbreak of World War I when official Marxism—a movement of liberation—had changed into its opposite and supported the imperialist war.

It was this which had compelled Lenin to examine the philosophic foundations of Marxism. I asked all our readers to study Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, extracts of which had just been published by NEWS & LETTERS. (See ad on p. 1)

LENIN CONDEMNS "COMMUNLIES"

I now wish to deal with Lenin's *Will*, written 33 years ago this month. In the *Philosophic Notebooks*, Lenin was preoccupied with how the old Marxists, known as the Second International, had come to betray the working class. In the *Will* he was concerned with his own colleagues, leaders of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in November 1917, who had themselves given birth to a new bureaucracy. There was no more severe critic of the first workers state than this great leader of the revolution. He invented new words to describe what had happened to the Communist Party now that it held power. He said they had all become vain and that all around were heard "communlies" (Communist lies). He warned that if they did not change drastically, Russia would end up being another kind of capitalism—state capitalism—instead of a socialist society.

BEHIND THE FIGHT BETWEEN STALIN & TROTSKY

These words, spoken in March 1922, to the last Congress of the Russian Communist Party which he attended, were not heeded by his co-leaders. A faction fight broke out between Stalin and Trotsky. Lenin searched for the meaning of that fight and it was under this circumstance that he began his *Will* in December 1922 and completed it in January 1923.

There is no more amazing document in the annals of politics than this brief, two-page *Will*. It deals in the concrete with the leaders of the Russian Communist Party in a manner which leaves no division between politics and economics, history and philosophy, theory, and practice, revolution and counter-revolution.

Lenin states boldly that, if the dual nature of the Russian state—that of being a state of workers and peasants—is at the root of the dispute between the principal combatants—Trotsky and Stalin—then no force on earth could stop the class division from bringing down the workers' state. Its fall is inevitable. However, the trends implicit in the dispute are not yet a reality. With that in mind, says Lenin, let's take a look at the general staff which made the revolution:

1) **Stalin.** He is "rude and disloyal." That is to say, we have in this social personality the ruthlessness of the outright counter-revolution. He must be removed, says Lenin.

2) **Trotsky.** His "non-Bolshevism," writes Lenin, does not in any detract from the fact that he is "the most able man in the present Central Committee," but he is "far too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs." (My emphasis.) In other words, there is here the inner danger in the establishment of planning over the workers.

3) **Zinoviev and Kamenev.** They publicized the date of revolution in the capitalist press, at the very moment when the workers were trying to take power. This was "no accident," Lenin reminds us. That is to say, at every critical moment, they can be expected to do the same.

(Continued on Page 7)

Write for

NEWS

&

LETTERS

NEGRO NEWS

The Way of The World

By Ethel Dunbar

There has been so much talk about the colored people being different from whites, that I have wondered for years do people really feel and believe this.

Different people have said that the Irish are better than the Greeks and the Greeks better than the Italians and the Italians better than the Jewish. All of this seems to me like prejudice based on national origin.

But this business of the colored people being different or less than the white is prejudice based on race origin and color.

I have noticed that all those whites can go together, mix and live together, without any outburst or interference by the law. But a colored person is looked upon as something totally different when they do likewise.

This, about colored people, has been told to the American whites so long, I believe that some really think it is true.

On the job, working in place of a relative for a wealthy white family, I asked the white woman could I see the story about the Guiding Light on television.

She said to me, "No, because my program is now."

I asked her what was her program?

She said, "Beulah, these colored actors."

I asked her why did she like Beulah?

She said, "They are so much like colored people. Beulah is so nice to the whites she works for and is always fighting with her man."

Several days before this, a man told me that his white foreman said he never misses Amos and Andy, the colored actors on TV. His foreman told him his family likes them because their act is so much like Negroes.

Those are the types some whites think represent the life of the Negro American. But they are far from being correct.

Those types only represent themselves, stereotyping the Negro people for a few dollars to further their own personal gains. That type of Negro has blocked the path and hindered some whites from getting a better grasp and understanding of the Negro people.

Such whites refuse to see Negroes in baseball, football and many other leading sports including boxing. They cannot see Negroes in medicine and science, in music, in art. They cannot see Negro people in the union movement and in no other life where we compete with whites. Only the Uncle Tom types or Beulah and the Amos and Andy types seem real to them.

Negroes and the AFL-CIO Merger

In the AFL-CIO merger, many expected a show down fight on the question of discrimination; some even went so far as to predict that the merger would be impossible because of the discriminatory practices of certain internationals.

But the Reuther-Meany boys pulled the whole thing off like clock work. The million Negro workers that went into this merger had expected that Asa Philip Randolph would lead a vigorous floor fight against the giant railroad brotherhoods. For the first time in 20 years Randolph didn't sound off.

In exchange for his silence, Meany got a private commitment from the heads of the brotherhoods that they would revoke their color clause.

The Chicago Defender, writing on this said, "The avoidance of the clash over racial restrictions is due to the skilled negotiating ability of Meany and his general ability to bring warring factions in line; at the same time, this was another demonstration of the immense prestige of Randolph in his long fight against bias in trade unionism."

For 20 years, when Randolph was isolated in the AFL, he spoke out. Now, with a million Negro workers in the merger waiting to hear from him, he says nothing on this burning issue of our times, but plays ball with Meany.

The true story of what has happened in this "bargaining" on racial discrimination is yet to be told; but we do

know that nothing will happen to the resolutions passed by the merger convention, on racial discrimination, unless the ordinary Negro worker in the local unions fights to put teeth in them.

It has been 20 years since the masses of Negro workers managed to achieve entry into the union movement of this country. In 1935, Negroes were excluded from 24 international unions.

With the formation of the CIO the Negro entered the trade union movement for the first time in large numbers. The Negro worker, in those days, not only participated in some of the bloodiest struggles that the capitalist class directed against the new unions, but also had to fight against the elements within the CIO which tried to prevent equal status in the union.

They had to fight against those union bureaucrats who were ready to compromise with the company on the upgrading of Negro workers; and against these same bureaucrats when they wanted to stifle the struggle for equal rights in industry, during the war years.

Even today, in the deep South, the CIO has reneged in the fight against Jim Crow. Ask any Negro worker who participated in the early days of the CIO and you will get the living history of the present status of Negro leadership in this country today—a leadership that in the early thirties was generally isolated from the Negro worker and even hostile to his aims.

This White World

NEW YORK—I have a friend who came up from Jamaica more than ten years ago, during the war, to get a job. He found one, went to work as a farm laborer up in Connecticut, where he has worked ever since.

All these years that he has been there, they never asked him any questions. Recently, they told him that they would put a down payment on a house for him so that he could move his family up from Jamaica.

He got his wife and son to come, but when they took one look at his wife, they said, "NO". His wife is a Negro woman.

I couldn't understand what made the white man down South act like he did for a long, long time. It finally came to me that the only answer must be FEAR. The white man must be afraid of the Negro.

But then I couldn't understand what the fear

was. It is a fact that the best friend the white man down South has is the colored man. If I went down there and said something out of turn and it got to the white man, it would be an almost sure bet that it would have been another colored man that told. We call it the tradition of "snitching."

It used to be much more so than it is now. But there is still plenty of it going on. Without that and with Negroes outnumbering the whites 5 to 1, the whites couldn't keep their supremacy another day.

The white man made it a practice to develop that "snitching." On a plantation, he would tell one man to watch the others and report to him anything he saw and he'd treat him right. Then he'd go and tell another man to watch the first one. It would wind up with everybody watching everybody else. That is the way, the only way, a minority in power can keep his power.

Miner
West Virginia

INDIGNANT HEART

By Matthew Ward

(Editor's Note: INDIGNANT HEART was first published in 1952. This serial has been specially prepared for NEWS & LETTERS. Here is the twelfth installment.)

My wife, Christine, comes from my neighborhood. Here she tells of her early life.

They wouldn't let a colored person drive a Dodge or Oldsmobile in the South. They'd never let him drive a Cadillac. White men used to beat up a friend of mine who had a Dodge. He got two beatings for driving "a white man's car." They always said a Buick was a "n - - - r car." Another thing in the South: the women could always get away without saying, "sir." My cousin always said, "yes," or, "no." She didn't care who it was, she wasn't going to say, "yes, sir." But if a man says "yeah" to a white man he's going to die or get sentenced.

I met Matthew when I was real small. The girl he was going with was large and she was carrying me to school. After a year when Matthew came back from Detroit I started going with him. When his mother died he wanted us to marry. We got married a year after she passed. We moved to Memphis and roomed for a year, then my son was born and we got a house.

When Matthew Jr. was about three years old I went to work in a shirt factory. I was a pocket setter. Mr. Green was the manager. He liked colored women too. If they were nice looking and talked to him he'd go with them sure. You had to go with him or be a good worker to stay there.

Jessie, the girl sitting next to me, told me, "He tries to go with anybody. If it isn't you're a fast worker or go with him you can't stay. Honey, you got to do some work to stay here."

I was supposed to put out eight bundles a day, one hundred and forty-four shirts in a bundle. I had to put two pockets on each shirt. You had to jump to do that too.

After I was there for two or three months, Jessie told me, "He's getting ready to ask you to go out with him."

I told her I sure wasn't going with him.

He came to my machine and smiled, "Girl, how're you getting on. You need to pick up more. Can you make some extra?"

I told him no, and he didn't like it. The girl told me I should have said, "I'll try."

He carried me into his office and asked me if I couldn't do better. Jessie had told him I wouldn't go with him. I told him I was doing as fast as I could. He let me go.

I took another job for a few weeks. It was cooking for white folks I never liked that. I had to clean eight bedrooms, and cook two meals a day for seven dollars a week. I also had to wash diapers for the woman's grandchild. The woman complained about paying seven dollars. She wouldn't feed me, she wouldn't give me anything to eat. I had to carry my own lunch. She wouldn't let me taste the food to season it while I was cooking. She always stayed to watch.

Many colored women in the South, and especially in my home town, are planners. They have a set salary they work for and they cook in private homes. Sometimes they cook in small hotels or large rooming houses. This type of Negro woman demands her salary before going to see the job. I can't say if they have organization or not, but they all get practically the same salary rating. One planner knows another one wherever they meet. A planner is a cook who plans all the meals on her own time. At no time can any of the family tell, or know, what they will eat at the next meal. If the white woman she is cooking for asks what they will have at a meal, the Negro cook is mad and won't tell her. She says, "Wait and see."

When I got ready to go to Detroit the white woman where I was working wanted me to get someone to work for her. I carried my girl friend to see. When she saw the house and the work she wouldn't take the job.

When I was a little girl at home, my father would say, "Where will you live when you are grown?"

I always said I would go to New York and work in a factory. He said he thought I would be a farmer. I said, "Not me!"

Now, I was going North with Matthew, Jr. to meet Matthew in Detroit.

Buy Your Copy of
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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

Yet they all were revolutionaries, revolutionary leaders who, when the energies of million-headed masses smashed the old and created the new, could and did make great contributions to the greatest single fact of world history: The creation of the workers' state.

BUKHARIN AND MARXIAN PHILOSOPHY

What stands out in the rest of the Will is that it was not alone the older men who would look for administrative, instead of human, solutions to complex problems, but the younger men. Take Bukharin:

4) "Bukharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him (he never learned, and I think never fully understood the dialectic)."

Note that, so far as Lenin is concerned, if you have never understood "the dialectic," or Marxian philosophy, you cannot be regarded as a Marxist though you be "the biggest theoretician of the party."

Heretofore no one has paid attention to this analysis of Bukharin. Heretofore the preoccupation was not with mere theoreticians, but with men of power: Stalin and Trotsky.

LENIN'S WILL SUPPRESSED

Far from removing Stalin, the Russian leadership suppressed Lenin's Will. When Stalin consolidated his power and exiled Trotsky, Trotsky published the Will. But, again, the emphasis was Stalin and Trotsky.

It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than the fact that even Lenin's closest colleagues had been treating his philosophic concepts as the Marxists before World War I had treated Marxian philosophy—as some accidental 19th century addition to "great economic theories."

Nothing could be further from the truth. Without the new humanism of Marx and later of Lenin, the economic theories of both would be meaningless.

Lenin is summing up, in his Will, a lifetime spent in the revolutionary movement and six years as head of the workers' state. He is saying that only when leaders are closely connected with the working class are they great.

But it is the masses, and only they, that can destroy the old and create the new, while the leaders, be they the greatest of theoreticians and beloved by all, can go astray if they fail to respond to the aspiration of the masses of people at every stage.

A NEW HUMANISM OR STATE CAPITALIST BARBARISM

Worse yet, leaders are not classless creatures, floating between heaven and earth. They are very much earth men. When they lose close connection with the working class, they begin to represent the only other fundamental class in society—the capitalist class.

What was not yet a reality when Lenin wrote this, became a reality very soon when Stalin consolidated his power and introduced the Plan. It is true that even Lenin did not see Stalin as representing an alien class. But he was prophetic in this: He stated that if the differences within the leadership did reflect outright class differences, then nothing could save the workers' state. Nothing. Nothing did. It became transformed into a State Capitalist society.

Now that we are confronted with the reality of Russia as the barbarism that it is, the workers have a right to demand, as the miner did, nothing less than a total outlook, nothing short of the unity of theory and practice within the worker himself.

Youth The World Over

By Robert Ellery

Teen-age gangs in South Africa are known as "Tsotses." Part of their lives is spent in prison for pass violations. They are in the cities illegally, where they may not work and they refuse to work on white farms.

The story is told of an Indian doctor who was driven along the road late one night when his car broke down. He sensed in the quietness, a gang of Tsotses closing in all around. He made a thumbs up gesture and said "Africa"—the salute used by the Defiance Movement of 1952. In the darkness, he heard someone say that a mistake had been made and the Tsotses disappeared.

The American draftee, during the period of the Korean and Indo-Chinese wars, envied the French draftees in one respect. The young Frenchman could be sent into combat only if he volunteered. This does not seem to be the case in regard to the war the French are waging against the Algerians.

An artillery regiment, alerted for duty in Algeria, were so angered at fighting a war they wanted no part of, that they mutinied.

The Algerians were quick to recognize the difference between the French government and the French G.I. and greeted the regiment, when it did arrive, with cheers and

Housewives Don't Want to Be Stuck at Home

WEST VIRGINIA—The woman who wrote "Housewives Grow Dull" (Oct. 5), made some good points about working out instead of being confined at home. But when she says housewives don't seem to be interested in wanting to get out from their homes and talk about other things than their homes and children, she's crazy.

It isn't true that housewives lose interest in the world around them. It's just the opposite. We'd like to get out and be active in things outside our four walls. Most of us can't get out. As a matter of fact, that's one of our worst complaints. It's not because you don't want to, but because you can't get out, that it almost drives you crazy.

My neighbor and I both have small children, and we both are stuck at home most of the time. We talk for hours to each other, about everything under the sun. You have to talk to somebody. We've both had the experience of sitting at home and seeing the same four walls sometimes start swimming in front of our eyes.

NEED TO RELAX

A man and a woman both need to get out and relax. I remember an article in the Readers' Digest that said a human being can't keep on working all the time and that time for relaxing was very important. My husband read it and started talking about how important it was for him to play baseball on the team, and go fishing and hunting. I almost blew my top.

It isn't that I think my husband doesn't need a chance to get out. What gets me is that he goes out all the time, while I'm stuck at home . . . all the time.

COULD BE DIFFERENT

If a man thought of trying to help around the house a little, it could be different. But my husband is always too tired when he gets home. The only thing is, that no matter how tired he is, if someone stops to pick him up for a baseball game, or a little hunting, he's out of the house in a minute.

When you feel that your husband isn't interested in his home, you begin to lose interest, too. The responsibilities should be shouldered 50-50, and the relaxing should be for both, too.

handshakes.

Back in the land of the blue jeans and black leather jacket, a questionnaire was recently given to 1000 New Orleans high school students.

Asked who was the American they admired most, they answered as follows: Ike was most popular; Abraham Lincoln came in second, with Marlon Brando crowding him a close third.

Working For Independence

By Angela Terrano

AUTOMATION

When the women at work talked about how someday they were going to do wiring automatically, I didn't really understand the word "automation". I responded to what my friend said, "What would happen to us?" She said they would probably have to give us jobs on the machines. It was all very hazy though.

Now the word is all over the place. And it holds both fascination and fear. I saw on TV an "automated" auto-engine factory; they made one engine in 15 minutes where it used to take nine hours.

The magazine, Saturday Review, had a special issue on automation. It had seven or eight different writers, some from business and one from the UAW-CIO.

What gets me is how the clearest one was the industrialist. The others seemed scared to say much about what it will do to people. He doesn't care. He just says exactly what he thinks.

POINT OF NO RETURN

There is one little paragraph of his I can't get out of my mind, "... another highly desirable feature of automation in relation to labor, is the fact that machines are easier to control than people (and this is a blessing in our democratic society)."

I can't tell exactly what I get it from. It's like this is it, the point of no return. He doesn't give a darn what happens to these people he talks about. And maybe I don't really understand but I think he would like to do away with one thing in this society and that is "democracy."

There is something else, more time. You know, that scares me more than anything else. If I get more leisure time under this society I think I would go crazy. This is very silly because I have always wanted the shorter work day.

They don't bother much about what happens to people, not just people, but the unskilled worker. They are a little scared. Not scared of what happens to the workers,

but I think scared of what the workers will do to them.

UNEMPLOYMENT & SHORTER WORK WEEK

I can't help thinking over and over that this is it. They have thrown so many workers into the streets with their old production methods and now automation. Even if the union gets the shorter week and annual wage what happens to all the workers all over the country that are not working now?

There are some things about automation that are terrific but the capitalists, and the unions can't do any good with them.

We say man is able to work, to produce, to work with, along side, other workers, this is life to him. Now what happens under automation—I don't see man working. Do the energies go toward something else? But what? This and the leisure time is connected somewhere, though I don't exactly know where.

"WORK WILL HAVE TO BE COMPLETELY NEW"

Man likes to work, to build something, but today work is so separate from everything else in your life. Each day is divided: you work, then you have some time in which to rest; forget about work, escape from it. What will be with automation? There is less work for man (as I think of work today) but there will be more time. I am scared of more time the way things are now because more time for the worker might be seven days a week with no pay check at the end of the week.

I used to be told that the fight for more leisure time was so that the individual could have more time for art, music, literature, for study in general. That doesn't satisfy me any longer. Under a new society work will have to be something completely new, not just work to get money to buy food and things. It will have to be completely tied up with his life.

Teddy Boys

Young British Seamen luxuriously coiffured and parading through the port cities of the world in stove pipe trousers, long draped velvet-collar jackets and string ties have been charged with the spread of the Teddy-boy vogues.

Read

NEWS

&

LETTERS

Gap Widens as Tension Mounts

(Continued from page 1)

ple wrote and spoke in passionate terms for Negro justice and did much more than that. Today, the leaders are lawyers, politicians, politically inclined ministers and professional organizational men. They have national and international status, but their passion for human justice has been dulled by political ambition for election and appointments.

POLITICIANS, UNION HEADS HOLD BACK

Nor is the Negro leadership alone in playing this role. The union leaders as well as the Negro leaders are being willingly swallowed up by the major political parties. No leader of national status in either the Democratic or Republican Parties has uttered a word of condemnation of the brutal slaying of Rev. Lee, Emmett Till, Tim Hudson and Lamar Smith. Neither has the leadership of the NAACP proposed any concrete national action to protest this all-embracing terror in the South. Nor have the leaders of the "new" AFL-CIO gone beyond resolutions and general statements because the question of Negro discrimination in the union movement was not settled by this merger. (For more on the Negro in the union movement, see page 6).

THE ADMINISTRATION'S ROLE

Nor is it a question of major political parties alone. The traditional, old radical minority parties have currently added their voice to the call to send troops to maintain order down South. Who is being called upon to send these troops and for what? Is the violent disorder in the South simply the action of a few die-hard Southern white supremacists? It is the stated policy of South-

ern Governors, legislators, United States Senators, planters and industrialists of that region and they have invaded the North with the most villainous lies about Negro inferiority that this country has seen since before the Civil War.

The administration, instead of defending human liberty and decency has sought to placate the South by naming Senator Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, an open supporter of white supremacy, to the federal commission to study the constitutional rights in the United States. This is a direct slap in the face of the Negro people.

FROM BELOW

Last summer, in the wake of the strikes in Birmingham, Alabama, News & Letters reported that Negro and white workers were changing relations in the common struggle for a better life. It was inevitable, as was pointed out, that the Southern leadership would react violently to smash up the new patterns of cooperation which the people were forging and to re-establish their own brutal domination. The Till murder cut through the country just a few weeks later.

It isn't a question of whether or not A. Philip Randolph has become a vice president of the AFL-CIO, or if Congressman Adam Clayton Powell is given the red-carpet treatment by the State Department on his world jaunt of selling democracy everywhere but in Mississippi.

The most profound achievement, at this moment, of "the right to feel and live like free human beings," would be a victory by the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, who through their own actions are fighting to sit where they please in the public buses of that city.

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WORLD OUTLOOK

A CONTINENT STIRRING

Africa is the second largest inhabited land mass in the world. This huge continent, from one end to the other, is astir with the struggle for liberation. With few exceptions, this struggle is not dominated by the cold war between East and West. It is the clearest struggle of colonial people for freedom from imperialist domination. Because the face of imperialism is white, it appears as a struggle between races. Yet the question asked by the colored African is the question by all mankind: Can man be free? To live, work and develop in free cooperation with his fellow-man.

WHITE LIBERALISM OR HUMAN FREEDOM?

It is more than three years since the British colonial government in Kenya declared the Emergency and threw its naked strength against the Africans' efforts for emancipation. So shocking are the injustices suffered by the people of Kenya at the hands of the European settlers, that certain sections of British opinion have begun to plead for a liberal multi-racial government in Kenya. What does "multi-racial government" mean when 30,000 whites dominate five and a half million subject Africans?

Barbara Castle is a Labour Member of Parliament in Great Britain. She has gained recently popularity in Labour circles by speaking out against the breakdown of the "rule of law" in Kenya. She called for a parliamentary inquiry into the atrocities being committed by the Kenya police and the Kenya courts against the people of Kenya. The inquiry was refused, so, not long ago, she took a trip to Kenya to see for herself.

She reports that the atrocities are the rule and that some of the worst atrocities are committed by the African Home Guard under chiefs and headmen appointed by the administration.

How else can a handful subject an entire population except by corrupting sections of the natives and turning them against their neighbors and brothers?

Barbara Castle fears for the future of the European in Kenya.

She says, "... he is aware that the collective aspirations of the African threaten the privileges to which he knows that, on

any democratic reckoning, he has no right. How long, he wonders, can 30,000 whites continue to dominate five and a half million blacks? How long will the African farmer with five acres continue to let his European neighbor appropriate 1000 acres? And so, while he presses feverishly ahead with scheme of agricultural improvements in the reserves and with the belated development of social services, the Kenya European resists with ferocity any changes which would weaken white control over the African's person and his life. Yet it is from that control that the thinking African is now determined to break free."

In the end, she appeals for a reform of the Kenya police. It seems little better than a plea for the continued control over the African on more "moderate" terms.

SOUTH AFRICA AT THE CROSSROADS

The government of the Union of South Africa is under the absolute control of the Nationalist Party which is as ruthless in its white supremacy as the ruling class of Mississippi, U.S.A.

The white man has been in South Africa for a long time. He is now a "native" of that country, being a descendant of the "pioneers" who settled there over 100 years ago. The country was built upon the labor and brutal subjugation of the blacks. Upon this anti-democratic base, the white man developed "traditional democratic institutions."

Defiance movements by blacks and coloured (residents of Asiatic descent) have erupted with increasing intensity since World War II.

There are also white liberals who are in "legal" opposition. Of their parties, the largest is the United "Opposition" Party. There is also the Liberal Party and the Labour Party. But these have kept themselves apart from the struggles of the blacks.

Something new has happened in South Africa. Lately, the government has conducted widespread raids on the homes of white opponents.

The opposition white parties, clinging to their segregated legality, have protested in words of fear and indignation. But still they keep apart from the struggles in deeds

which is carried on by the millions of blacks.

The millions of oppressed blacks in South Africa show the road in deeds as well as words. Only on their basis can a multi-racial struggle for freedom in South Africa be sustained.

FROM AFRICA INTO EUROPE

The revolt in North Africa has caused the fall of every French government since Mendes-France was premier, for France's last prop as a great power in the international race, rests upon its domination over the Arabs. France regards Algeria as part of France.

The Algerian revolt broke out November 1, 1954. The French condemned it as the treasonable work of a few extremists.

The revolt spread and proved to have the support of the masses of Algerians. Last April, the French Assembly proclaimed a State of Urgency in Algeria. It is France's urgency. Military intelligence doesn't know how many rebels there are, nor who the leaders are, nor where their headquarters are.

The Algerians are armed and they are organized. To date, they have defeated a well-equipped French army of more than 200,000 troops. They get most of their weapons and ammunition from the French army itself. What they don't seize by ambushing French convoys, they buy on the black market from French draftees. The money for such purchases they take from the wealthy Arab stooges, whom the French authorities are powerless to protect.

The French government may consider Algeria as a part of France. The Algerians have other ideas on the subject. Ideas with which millions of French youth, who are unwilling draftees, sympathize. Herein is focused the crisis behind the recent French elections.

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