

NEWS & LETTERS

"This Paper Belongs to the People Who Read It and Write for It"

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

WORKERS READY TO FIGHT CO. UNION LEADERS HOLD BACK

Since the U.A.W. contract expired, workers have been more determined to fight the company against continuous speed-up, while the union representatives have been more determined to stop any independent action by the workers from within the shop.

WILDCATS CONTINUE

Some workers are saying, "We have been sold out." Others say, "The union leaders are afraid—they are afraid of workers' action, and of the company. They are the vanguard for the company, but the speed-up continues and the wildcat strikes continue, to the point where a worker does not know what day he will work. Those days he does work, he is worked out."

As a worker said today, "We have lost everything we gained in 20 years of the U.A.W. In this shop manpower has been reduced to half and production standards tripled. We fight back against this vicious and unfair practice of the company, but the union leaders yell 'No, go back to work, and stay on the job.'"

The company eliminated more than half of the chief stewards, and those remaining have no bargaining power. They are just there working without any voice to defend a worker. Workers are mad at the company and disgusted at their union leaders.

At the Chrysler Redstone Missile plant, workers struck the plant to get recognition for the union. The plant is unorganized, but hundreds of union members are working there. They charge the company with working non-union workers 10 and 12 hours a day, 6 and 7 days a week.

These union workers struck the plant for 3 days. They said the company was ready to accept the union but the International leaders yelled "No—go back to work, let us do it across the bargaining table." They sent enough representatives to break the strike.

A worker said, "All leaders, state, city and county, should be drowned. They know that hundreds and thousands of men and women are unemployed, and here others are working all those hours. The unemployed are hungry. All these leaders know this, but today a worker is forced to work if the company says 'Work or lose your job.'"

UNION LEADERS DON'T KNOW WORKERS

"These leaders look at nothing but how they can chisel workers out of money," one worker said. When the contract expired, the company put up notices that workers would not have to pay union dues. This frightened the union leaders stiff. They knew how workers felt toward them. What they did not know is how workers felt toward the company.

The first month workers lined up to pay their dues; some of them paid six months to a year in advance. These leaders were so surprised it shocked them. The next week the company eliminated all stewards and committeemen. Workers had no representation, and they were so mad they struck the plant. The union leaders forced them back. The workers were mad again.

Some workers haven't paid since. Hundreds and hundreds were fined for not paying. In the past when a worker was two months behind, he would be fined \$5, plus \$6 for his two months dues. This time they were fined \$15, plus \$9 for three months dues. This came without any notice of the change in fines, and no vote by the membership.

They said the order came from the International. Workers were ready to revolt; they said they flatly refused to pay. This one they were ready to fight to the end.

UNION CHANGES TUNE

Today a notice came that the fine for those delinquent members would be \$5, as it was before, and those that didn't have it could pay \$2.

Now the companies are saying they are calling back thousands and thousands of laid-off workers. This is another gimmick to defeat the union and gain public sentiment. When we strike they will say that the union is throwing these thousands out of work.

Some have not worked for six months, but the purpose of the company is to stop paying compensation to those unemployed workers. As another worker said, "We are caught in a vice, the company on one side, the union leaders on the other. But something is going to happen. We will have to make it happen and make it happen soon."

He said, "I believe the whole world situation reflects what is happening to us here in this plant. Every leader everywhere is using and abusing the small people here and over the whole world at large."



WHAT AUTO WORKERS WANT IN UNION CONTRACT

A Chrysler production worker told NEWS & LETTERS:

"I know what I want in the next contract. I want a simple contract that any production man can enforce right on the line.

"I want to see seniority rights protected so a man can retire at 60, and not have to keep working till he's 68—which mighty few of us live to see any more.

"I want to see seniority privileges protected—if there's laying off it's to start from the bottom of the list up, and not from the top down the way they're doing now.

"I want us to have our insurance paid, if we get laid off, for as many years as we have seniority, and at least have that worry off our heads.

"Most of all, I want grievances settled on the shop level before the week is out and not dragged out on the international level and never

get settled."

It is here, in the needs and desires of the production worker, and not in the so-called "decision-making" closed executive council meetings that all thought on the next contract must begin.

EVE OF WAR

In the face of the massive unemployment, coupled with unending inflation, the country is in the grip of a deep recession from which capitalism cannot extricate it without resort to war.

While on the international scene the diplomats and politicians are jockeying as to who will be forced to fire the first shot that unleashes World War III, on the national scene the bureaucracies of management and labor are contending as to who will control production, and therefore the production worker, in the political administrative bureaucracy of state capitalism.

REUTHER'S POLICY AND MANAGEMENT'S GAME

To all this Reuther is blind. As against the production worker, Reuther is playing management's game. This is true even when he charges the auto industry with deliberately sabotaging full production in order to prevent full employment.

It is true management is happy to have an unemployed army of over 5½ million with which to beat down the production worker and pay him at the minimum. Thanks to Automation, full production can be

(Continued on Page 8)

London Letter

THE STRIKES

Here in Britain the atmosphere has reverted to that uncertain calm which preceded the recent London bus and dock strikes. These two strikes destroyed the prevalent feeling that the British workers had become apathetic. The solidarity which paralyzed the docks week after week despite frantic union "go back" efforts indicates that after the recent years of annual wage concessions a new wave of rank-and-file militancy is mounting.

The busmen showed this, too. In the seventh week of the strike, voting returns from garage after garage showed big majorities for carrying on, in the teeth of the government, the State transport bosses, the T.U.C. and the millionaire press. It was a revelation! It opened many eyes.

RANK & FILE COMMITTEES

These struggles were widely seen as having political importance. This was recognized by both Tory and Labour parties. Both hindered them in their manner. To date, no news of serious rank-and-file re-organization in either the docks or bus depots is on hand, but there is a trend in that direction. The busman's rank-and-file committee did yeoman service before the war, and the now-defunct Port Workers' Committee since. Such experiences have not been lost. Such committees, cross-linked together with the rail and goods-transport workers at least, could have won their demands in a matter of hours, and indeed, carried the struggle to a higher stage. These days will come.

—British Correspondent

Be Sure to Read

NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS
in Ethel Dunbar's "Way of the World"
on page 2.

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

MINERS, LEWIS & POLITICS

Lewis Out to Prevent Interruption of Production Miners Want Conditions of Life & Labor Changed

Morgantown, W. Va.—John L. Lewis again entered directly into a political campaign. This time it was to make a front page appeal in the UMW JOURNAL in support of William C. Marland, past governor of the state, for the office of U.S. Senator. The JOURNAL was published early in order to get it to the membership in time for them to read the appeal before the primary election took place.

Lewis' appeal ran along the lines that he had appealed to the membership in times past, they had listened to him and both they and the nation had profited as a result. This time he was appealing for support of Marland, who Lewis characterized as a man familiar with the problems of the miners having come from a mining family and region, and was therefore worthy of support. The weight of the UMW Districts' offices was thrown behind Marland. Marland was defeated. (See Readers' Views).

RESULTS OF PAST FOLLOWING

It is true that the miners in the past have listened to Lewis and have benefitted. This was, however, at a time when Lewis was sensitive to the wishes and desires of the men and formulated policies reflecting these desires. But much has happened since then to force a re-evaluation of the wisdom of many of Lewis' policies.

For a certainty, Lewis' position that increased mechanization of the mines was "progress" and his unconditional support of this mechanization has had as one direct result the wholesale laying-off of men which has thrown more than 50% of the miners working in 1950 out of a job in the past eight years.

Lewis considers the Welfare Fund his great monument to the miners. And while there is no question in any miner's mind that the Fund is a great achievement, it is nevertheless a fact that the Fund is directly connected to production. Forty cents from each ton of coal mined in union mines is paid by the operators into the Welfare Fund. This simply means that Lewis will adopt virtually any measure to prevent an interruption of production.

Where wildcat strikes occur, Lewis and his bureaucracy are immediately on the scene, threatening, and taking action against the men and local unions involved. These wildcat strikes are invariably against unbearable conditions in the mines which the companies are always striving to place upon the men. The result is that the men are becoming increasingly convinced that Lewis has forgotten about them as human beings.

LEWIS WITH OPERATORS

Lewis has also invested UMW money in banks and a transport company, jointly formed with railroad and coal operators, to haul coal to Europe. These projects are likewise directly con-

nected to production. There is little wonder anymore that the men are lumping Lewis and the coal operators in the same breath, for they know better than most workers that the strike weapon is the one that has helped them the most in their struggles for better working and living conditions.

The men also know that there is no one who knows more facts about the coal industry than Lewis. It does not fill their hearts with joy to read about Lewis advising the coal operators at a recent coal operators convention in Cleveland on how they can get more production out of the men. At one time, Lewis would not have been caught dead on the same platform with the coal operators. Today, he has joined with them; he is now big business, and the working class, and particularly the miners, know that big business has profits, at the miners' expense, as their goal. They know that there has been a speed-up of inhuman proportions forced on the men still working;

that their neighbors who had been working are laid off and they and their families are daily finding it more difficult to know where their next meals are coming from; that these and other grievances are directly connected with Lewis' policies and can be laid at his doorstep.

MINERS NOW BEYOND LEWIS

The past laurels that are justly due to Lewis for what he and the miners had achieved in the '30s and '40s have wilted in the light of Lewis' more recent policies. Today, the men have gone far beyond Lewis in what they would want done. They want their conditions of life and labor changed. With existing parties and organizations, their lot is worsening. It is becoming apparent to them that to change the conditions in their favor will require not votes for the politicians, but direct action on their part. This is nothing suddenly decided; it is daily forced upon them by the very conditions of their existence.

To Management Life Is Cheap

Co. Tries Again For One Man On A Machine

Pursglove, W. Va.—Since the lay-offs in the mines, there has developed an attitude of distrust and suspicion on the part of the men, coupled with a sense of frustration and anger. The problem of a man's job is something that is being continuously emphasized at the expense of almost anything else. The company is capitalizing on the fear that has been brought on by the depression and pushing the men still at work to do things they would not ordinarily do or allow to be done.

One thing that has been dear to the heart of the companies, and particularly Consolidation Coal Company, is to have one man working on a machine. This increases the danger to the life and limb of the men, but cuts down on the cost of labor. To the company, life is cheap.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPT FAILED

Consol tried to establish the practice of having one man on a machine in 1956, but their attempts were met with the closing down of every mine in northern W. Va. by the men. What the company could not accomplish then, it is trying to do in the changed conditions of today. There are many re-

ports now of men working on machines by themselves.

At one Consol mine here, there has been a long standing agreement between the mine management and the local union that there are to be two men working on the machines at all times.

TRYING AGAIN

There are some men who will refuse to work on a machine by themselves. When a boss meets such a man, he will go to someone else until he finds a weak sister who will do it. This creates hard feelings between the person who will kow-tow to a boss and others who know that what the weak sister is doing is going to hurt them all. They will be pushed more and more by the boss, the men already laid off will have less chance of getting called back and the danger to a man will be greater. Uncounted lives have been saved by a miner yelling at his buddy working on a machine to warn him of danger.

MEN WATCHING

The men are watching to see what the local union officers and committeemen will do about the situation. The previous committeemen complained that the men would not back them up and could do nothing.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS

Some readers have criticized this columnist for writing so strongly my feelings about whites, their prejudices, discrimination and their segregation practices toward Negroes. I know there are differences in people, colored and white. They are not all the same. But when it comes to whites, those whose prejudices against Negroes do not show up in some form are very few and far apart.

My recent experience with my illness convinced me that I am correct. Fortunately my health has been very good in the past. My family did not have a family doctor. I do not believe working people have family doctors. No professional or business man feels any family relation or responsibility or obligation to working people, unless he first knows where and when he will get paid. If total strangers go to him, they are received in the same manner as the family, if they have the cash.

Several months ago I became ill, and I knew I had to see a doctor. My feeling was to go to a Negro doctor, mainly to escape white prejudices. I went to this Negro doctor for several weeks, paying six to eight dollars a trip. Then he told me I would have to get all the soreness out, but he did not say how long it would take.

When I asked what hospital he would send me to, he mentioned some reconverted apartment house that he called a hospital. I knew then that I would have to change doctors. Many of those places have no modern facilities to operate with, nothing that the leading hospitals have.

DOCTOR CAN HEAL SOME ILLNESSES

Then a white woman friend of mine, one of those few that I believe have no prejudice, advised me to go to her doctor, a white specialist for women. She called and made an appointment for Wednesday at 1 o'clock. We were there on time, but there were four women ahead of me. Soon after, four or five more came in, all white except me.

I sensed something was wrong but I knew my friend would not have carried me there if this doctor did not accept Negroes. The nurse came to the door and asked who was next. After the four women ahead of me saw him, I went in. When I walked into the doctor's office he said in a firm and strong voice, "Not you, it's not your time." I thought he said "turn", so I began to tell him that I was next, that my friend had made the appointment.

The nurse rushed in and handed him my appointment card and said that Mrs. X had made the appointment. After he examined me he said I had to be operated on as soon as possible. I should have my husband come and see him tomorrow at four or after.

—AND FEEDS OTHER ILLNESSES

All night I worried, not so much about the operation, but about this doctor's attitude and his actions. I didn't know for sure whether I wanted him or not, but I also knew I could not keep running from one to another. I told my husband he would have to tell the doctor how I felt.

The doctor told him all about what the operation would be like, and how the patient should feel free and have confidence in her doctor and so forth. My husband told him about his attitude and actions to me the day before, and how I felt he did not want to wait on Negro people, and that if this is true he should say so.

The doctor said No, he was sorry, it was the nurse's fault because she did not put my card on his desk. He said, "I'm discriminated against too; I'm Jewish." When my husband told me this, I said he may be Jewish but he is white and here in America.

Anyway, after hearing what a good surgeon he is, I decided to go and make the best of it. I was sent to one of the city's leading hospitals. There were four colored women in the section I was in, two to a room. Some of the colored nurses were surprised because we were the first Negroes in that section.

SEEING PREJUDICE

My operation was successful, but you see and live with prejudice even there. An old white woman patient refused to let the doctor operate on her. Her children, grandchildren, and other relatives and friends begged her night and day, but she still said no, she will die anyway.

—AND HUMAN RELATIONS

There was a colored patient in the next room. After several days the colored girl got the old woman to say that she would take the operation. She did and is recovering nicely. The day the colored girl left, she stopped in her room to say good-bye. The old woman told her children who were sitting there, "She saved my life, and I want you to give her our phone and address so she can call and come to see me."

These whites began to whisper to each other. The old lady said, "Give it to her, please give it to her." The whispering continued, and the colored girl said, "You don't have to give it to me. I don't want to come to your house or call." Then she walked out.

The old lady's son came to her room in a hurry with the number and said he was sorry and his mother was crying. She said, "All right, I will take it, but do not expect me to call or come."

"GOOD AMERICANS?"

The next thing that happened was this. There was a white girl in the next room to me. She spent much of her

(Continued on Page 7)

WORKER DEMANDS:

**Elect UAW Chiefs
By National Referendum**

Southgate, Calif.—In the January issue of *News & Letters* there appeared a letter written by an auto worker, a brother member of Local 216, in which he advocated the election of all international officers and board members by referendum vote of the membership.

I do not understand why this suggestion has not been commented upon and discussed. It most assuredly offers a way out for some of the wrongs and blunders we in the U.A.W. have had to endure for some years. If we are to judge the popularity or membership acceptance of our top leadership by the comment and conversations one hears in the shop, then Reuther and his administration are about as popular as a skunk at a Sunday school picnic.

Certainly it is the most useless of pastimes to discuss and cuss the shortcomings of Walter Reuther unless we simultaneously consider ways and means to rid ourselves of this very talkative blunder. . . .

**UNION OFFICERS
& CONVENTIONS**

This administration maintains an army of so called "organizers" or "representatives" on the payroll whose first and principal job is to ride herd on the locals, and see to it that opposition to Reuther and his administration does not develop. They also attend conventions and throw their weight around among the delegates to the end that their boss remains on the job to keep his checks coming.

As things are now, we elect delegates to a convention. Whatever their intentions are when they leave home, they bear little or no relation to how they vote when the pressure is put on. Having been a delegate to several conventions of the U.A.W. I know whereof I speak. The first and foremost objective of every convention is to see that every incumbent in office is safely re-elected. Every trick of propaganda and pressure is used; money, whisky, etc. will convince quite a large percentage of otherwise honest men.

After this important business of ensuring their places at the hog trough for the next two years, the convention resigns itself to listening to speeches by such characters as Mitchell, the Sec. of Labor, or George Meany and similar mental vacuums until the day of adjournment arrives. The unfinished business and resolutions are then left for the Executive Board to discuss and resolve. This means they are thrown in the ash can. . . .

I am well aware that such unions as the mine workers, steel workers and others elect their officers by refer-

endum vote, and they manage to stay in power until they are removed by death. The secret of the whole matter is—who counts the votes? A referendum vote is meaningless if the incumbents in office also count the vote. **ELECTION COMMITTEES COMPOSED ONLY OF WORKERS**

I have in mind a procedure where at each convention, nominations for all offices are made. The convention elects an election committee composed of working delegates, whose duties it shall be to prepare the ballots, distribute them to the local unions where the votes will be cast under the supervision of a local union election committee, composed of

workers from the shop. This local union election committee conducts and supervises the actual voting at the local level; they count the vote and certify the results to the election committee elected by the convention. It is important that all election committees be composed of actual workers in good standing, and no person should be allowed to function on any election committee if such person is on the international or local union payroll. . . .

**MUST BE DONE
AT LOCAL LEVEL**

To do this, the job must begin at the local union level. Resolutions must be drawn up, discussed and adopted. Copies must be sent to all other local unions urging them to do the same, to the end that sufficient and proper support be given such resolutions when they are introduced on the convention floor. Such a desirable change will never be started by the international officers. It must come from the local unions, and must be pushed all the way by the local unions.

I feel that *News & Letters* can do a fine constructive job along this line by giving a forum to those of the UAW who are now denied that right. I would be very much interested in seeing how others think on this question. **Auto Worker.**

SEE:

"Two Questions & An Answer"
Readers' Views Page 5

**Steel Workers Not Protected in Lay-Offs
Company Hiring College Boys to
"Get More Work Out of Men"**

Pittsburgh, Pa.—It may sound funny to say it, but when I hear somebody say something is fifty years behind the times, it seems to me that that's about where we're going to wind up before much longer. What I mean is that conditions in the mill, and I think in the mines and shops too, are getting to be like they were 50 years ago.

The guys see it happening; they know what's happening, but they haven't done anything about it so far. This time the company picks on one guy, and another one stands by and lets it happen. Next time they pick on that other guy. They're "picking you off," one by one.

**WHAT'S HAPPENING
IN STEEL MILLS?**

As far as the union goes, we're just paying them our money. But they don't do anything about the situation. The steel companies are trying to put a scare into McDonald right now and the guys are standing back watching to see how much the companies will get away with. If a guy does put in a

grievance, the union tells him to "work under protest." They mess around with the grievance so long you can be working a year—"under protest." And in the meantime, you can bet the company will be looking for a way to get rid of that man.

Then take the situation of some of the older men. They have no protection at all, with these layoffs. Say a man has worked 16 years in the mill. He has a bad heart—after all those years, and he falls in the group laid off. To get back, he's got to be in top flight condition. The steel mills aren't taking anybody back for light duty work any more. So that guy is just out. After 16 years. And where else could he get a job, either?

**FAST REPUTATION
EARLY DEATH**

It's not the old-timers that are bringing about most of the changes in the mill. It's the college fellows, just hired by the company, with no experience, but all kinds of ideas about how to get more work out of the men. They're in a situation where they have to make a reputation for themselves fast. The old-timers are making more money than they are started at, and the company tells the new college men that they're

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

CRISIS 1958

For sure, they are trying to make paupers out of working people. What a state of affairs the human race finds itself in, in 1958. Standing so close to the razor's edge of World War III and nuclear warfare, just see what the very first A-bomb did to the Japanese people it was dropped on (reprint article, page 7) "Survivors of the Bomb") . . . and imagine what devastation the H-bomb would create. Those science fiction movies that we sometimes laugh at seem very real when you read the statistics. Imagine, if it is possible, what kind of man it is that sees the necessity to use first the A-bomb and now a horror 1,000 times more powerful. Such men lose all identities of Nationality, American or Russian, or men like Werner Von Braun, the German scientist that worked first for the Nazis and now for the American government. Such men are all the same. They lose the identity of humanity and retain only the power-crazed interests they serve.

UNEMPLOYMENT

They say "things are picking up." However, "Don't count the next few weeks because things will be far worse, but after change-over in the auto industry it will be better."

I wonder if these people are real. Many workers at the unemployment office have been going there for 7, 8 months. Two or three weeks means a very lot to them.

There is a sort of merriment when someone says this at the unemployment office but it is a bitter humor. One man today was just mad at the world and cursing the people behind the desk for working so slow. He said, "I worked 23 years at Ford, before that I spent 10 years in another factory and now I have to come and wait on this line."

**CRISIS THROUGHOUT
WORLD**

The depression is beginning to hit the European continent. Aircraft and building trades workers in England and the miners in Wales have been hit hard by the unemployment.

That favorite expression of some older folks, "What is to become of us?" is becoming very appropriate.

Certainly these "men" that create, build, and use H-bombs, these men who with 5 to 6 million men and women unemployed, say things are not so bad. In a few weeks, weeks that drag out into months, things, they say, will pick up. These men will not save humanity; only the working people can.

**Without Credit Hours
No 'Guaranteed Annual Wage'**

Los Angeles—Two years ago the big victory won by Reuther was the **Guaranteed Annual Wage**, but when it got to the auto worker it was **SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits)**. The difference between the two is the **30-40 week, or unemployment**.

The company puts so much per car made, into a fund. The worker receives credits for every 32 hour week he works. If he works less or if the company schedules less than 32 hours a week he receives no credit for that week; no credit is given for overtime.

When a worker is laid-off, the amount of money he will receive is determined by his seniority, number of de-

pendents, and amount of money in the fund. The length of time he'll get the money is determined by the number of credits he has; the maximum is 26 weeks. He is paid from 60% to 65% of his weekly take home pay. The first four weeks he gets 65%, and the remaining weeks he gets 60%. **Money paid in taxes is not considered a part of the worker's wages, but you must pay income tax on the money received from SUB.**

**MORE RED TAPE
AND UNEMPLOYMENT**

The whole plan is tied to the State, through unemployment insurance. You must be eligible for unemployment insurance which pays around \$40 a week. Then if you meet the company requirements from SUB you can receive a maximum of \$25 per week. A worker with three dependents and three years seniority can receive up to \$12 per week from SUB.

For the unemployed auto worker it means another office to go to, another line, more forms to fill out.

I understand that with no contract, no money is being paid into the fund, so when the fund is paid out, there will be no more SUB.

In place of the short work week, 30-40, in 1955 we got the SUB and unemployment.

—Steelworker

**Unemployment In Michigan
Shows Rise**

According to figures just released by the U.S. Dept. of Labor, unemployment in Michigan, in the 8 major labor market areas, rose slightly. A rise to a State average of 15.8 per cent in May occurred in the total percentage of unemployed in relation to the labor force.

DETROIT, with 16.4 per cent unemployed last

March, sank deeper with a rise in unemployment to a new percentage high of 18.3 in May.

Battle Creek was 9.1% in March, 9.8% in May; Flint, from 13.8 to 18.5; Grand Rapids from 12.5 to 13.7; Lansing from 8.6 to 13.7; Lansing from 8.6 to 12.5 to 14.2; and Saginaw from 9.0 to 11.3.

EDITORIALS

OIL FOR THE BOMBERS OF WORLD WAR III?

"What are our troops doing in the Middle East anyway?" a Negro auto worker who is a Korean veteran wrote NEWS & LETTERS. "In Korea we were told that South Korea had been attacked and we came to its defense. What is the excuse now? Every time two colored people get into an argument, up pop the heads of Eisenhower and Khrushchev. It looks to me as if America and Russia want to gobble up the whole world between them."

Nothing that has come out from the mouths of the Administration or the learned apologists for landing troops in Lebanon comes up to the profundity of analysis of the worker quoted above. Unfortunately, however, it is not he who has the power to direct policy, but that brink of war strategist, John Foster Dulles, who is now helping Eisenhower elaborate a new theory called "indirect subversion."

"INDIRECT SUBVERSION"

There is no doubt that Russia is fishing in troubled waters at the summit and out of it. There also is no doubt that Nasser stands as the symbol of Arab nationalism. If he cannot free Egypt from its feudal fetters, he can at least thumb his nose at America—as he has just done when he showed up 5 hours late for a conference with President Eisenhower's "personal representative" Robert Murphy and left him holding the diplomatic pouch.

The truth is that this explosive game of politics this side of war is a result of the conspiracy among all the powers against the tide of liberation that is rising not only against the two main world power blocs, but for a new way of life altogether:

—AND DIRECT LANDING OF TROOPS

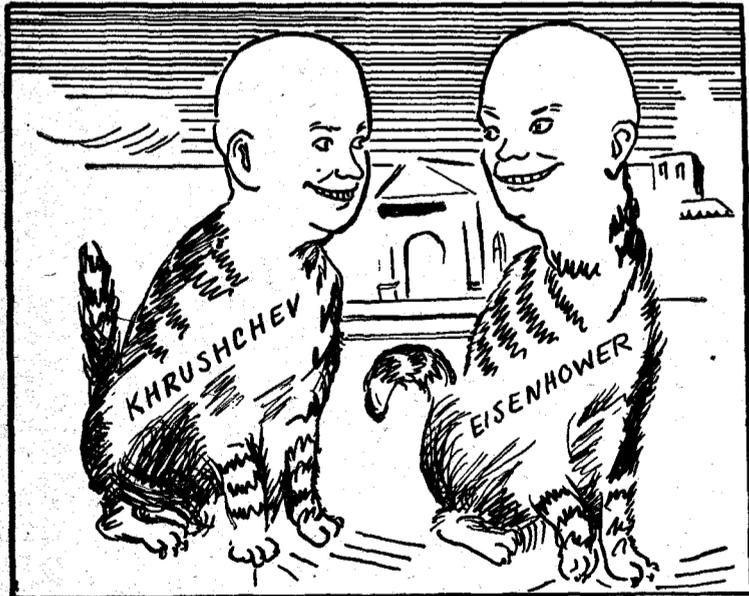
Nasser can use Israel as the scapegoat for his failure to reconstruct Egyptian society on non-exploitative foundations because: (1) America and Russia and France and Britain and Turkey like to pretend that there was no Middle East problem before the creation of Israel in 1948. That "clears" them of centuries of exploitation of the Middle East long before Israel became a state.

(2) Israel, like any state capitalist country, has acted with such utter disregard for the lives of the refugees from Palestine which had been their homeland before they were huddled into camps in Jordan that it needs no prodding from Radio Egypt to rouse them against Hussein as well as Israel.

HATRED AGAINST AMERICAN DOMINATION

(3) As in Algeria, the color line here is the class line. Little Rock reverberated around the world with the force and speed of the Russian sputnik and exposed the Achilles heel in American democracy at home as well as abroad. It needs something more than the vapid theory of "indirect aggression" to win the global struggle for the minds of men. The direct landing of troops in Lebanon speaks much louder than this theory of "indirect subversion." It also becomes the focal point for the mounting hatred of the Arab people against American domination.

The truth is that the dollar diplomacy and gunboat enforcement which has characterized British, American and French domination of the oil-rich Middle East has not stopped with the nominal independence of these countries. On the contrary. Now that the two poles of world capital—America and Russia—consider no part of the world outside of their "sphere of interest," every single incident becomes that brink of the precipice that might set off World War III.



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Readers

U.A.W.

Reuther said there would be no '59 model cars run without a contract and we're running them now. We still don't have a contract.

Production Worker
Detroit

Well, I see where the UAW has finally come out banning overtime. I was wondering how come my cousin was working 6 days in Chrysler's press room on the new cars while so many people are out of work.

Unemployed
Detroit

LEADERS & RANKS

Looks like Lewis' support didn't do much for helping Marland to get elected. But maybe that was Lewis' strategy. Maybe he knew that if he came out for him that someone else would get elected.

Laid-off Miner
W.Va.

(See page 2)

The politicians are talking about the right-to-work law. That's something we don't want, but there are plenty of other things that they'd better do something about; and that's to get something done to get the men walking the streets some work. If they don't, the men are going to find plenty to do and the politicians will find themselves out on their ear.

Laid-off Miner
W.Va.

A friend of mine says you need leaders but I say that if we could get five workers to sit at the bargaining table in negotiating this coming contract, that would get what workers want. And it wouldn't be what Reuther has been playing around with—profit sharing and so forth.

If five workers were at the bargaining table it would really mean something.

Production Worker
Detroit

No wonder the people in the Middle East hate the American government. All we've done is help those big wheels over there to line their pockets, have 100 wives, gold plated Cadillacs and big mansions, while the ordinary people over there have to grub for a living in the worst conditions in the world.

Working Miner
W.Va.

I read an article on a couple who went out in the country to pick fruit at \$1.25 a day and when they returned to the city the government had taken their six children into cus-

tody. It's awful when you're put in a position where you can't support your child and you're put in jail because you don't.

Working Mother
Los Angeles

10 years ago the union stood firm against an unemployed worker who had been making \$1.85 or so an hour being forced by the compensation office to go on a job that pays \$1.50.

Today they are sending these workers to jobs that pay \$1.10 an hour. Now why was the union so firm on this 10 years ago and totally ignoring it today?

Teamster
Detroit

NEGRO STRUGGLE

You know what is behind the Negro hospitals in this town? Wayne county gives them \$11 per person and they are loaded with patients. The food they get is deplorable. They get something for breakfast and maybe some bread and soup for lunch and that's it.

It is very economical for the county and at the same time it takes pressure off the other hospitals that don't want us.

Negro Worker
Detroit

For several months a white worker has tried to organize a White Citizen Council movement in the shop. Some Negro and white workers are very mad about it and had threatened to throw him out of a window. The union leaders said, to get concrete evidence on him and they will bring him up on charges and throw him out of the union.

A Negro unionist says that will be hard to do because he is telling the white workers that his purpose is to save their jobs. The Negro workers have as much or more seniority as the whites. If the lay-offs continue the whites will be on the streets and Negroes will be working.

This Negro unionist said some whites who once would have stood up against him today are being quiet.

Production Worker
Detroit

U.S. ROADS

A fatal accident killing 2 boys, occurred on Carbon Canyon road in San Bernardino, California a few months back. It happened because of a bad road. At this particular spot in the road there is an S turn which is very narrow and there is a fifteen or twenty foot embankment to the side with no fence except for one metal post about three feet tall. Coming up to "Dead Man's Curve," which is the name the

town nearby has given it, there is no other warning than "Slow, S Curve Ahead."

When Joe, the driver and father of the boys that were killed, left the hospital he went to the San Bernadino Police department and demanded to be taken in a squad car to the scene of the accident. The policeman in charge at the time refused to do so, saying that there were no extra cars or men. He said that the road was very safe.

When asked, why, if the road was so safe were there over a hundred cars in the nearby junk yard, cars that had gone over the same "Dead Man's Curve," he evaded the question. He told Joe that he would not take him to the scene because only two officers in each car were insured and other passengers were not.

That's how safe the road is!

The policeman told Joe that nothing could be done until Sacramento gives the word. Joe does not want to wait for twenty more lives to be claimed by this death trap before the road is either straightened out, blocked off, or the ditch filled in.

I was lucky I got away with minor injury, my brother and sister were hurt worse than I. What I want to know is when are they going to do something about not only California's bad roads but all the bad roads all over the country? What are they waiting for anyway?

Concerned 15 year old
Los Angeles

Editor's Note: McGraw-Hill publication, ENGINEERING NEWS - RECORD, estimates that the roads of America are in such disrepair that it would take over \$60 BILLION to get them modernized. This is the case in the United States, which is the richest land in the world. The estimate is a conservative one and does not take into consideration roads that couldn't possibly be repaired because they were never made in the first place—they are just mudholes, such as Scott's Run in West Virginia and which characterizes most mining communities.

FRANCE

What struck me as I read the last issue of News & Letters was the parallel between the struggles in the U.A.W. and in France.

In this country workers' opinions are being channeled, being pushed to one side by company and on the other by the union bureaucracy. Everything is being channeled and turning into its opposite.

The same thing is happening in France. The party that is supposed to support workers, what do

Views

they do when De Gaulle comes into power? They too, channelize everything the workers do.

High School Student
Los Angeles

* * *

READERS ABROAD

There is a great interest in a paper like yours here in France, but there are so very many opinions and shadings.

There are a number of factory papers functioning here, of which I attended one meeting with 9 to 10 present, young, mostly white collar workers.

They were very interested and asked many questions of News & Letters. Who decides on articles? Reaction of workers to paper? Do workers complain that something is left out of their letters?

I thought you might be interested in knowing of this.

Reader
Paris

* * *

I think that the American working class must be prepared to sacrifice their ridiculously high standard of living to provide food for the half of the world's population who are undernourished.

Remember that in India the average weekly wage is approx. 77c; no doubt it is about \$60 or so in your country.

Your working class may be exploited a few per cent by the capitalist but your country as a whole exploits the world to a terrific extent. Of course your unemployed are another matter entirely; they have just complaints.

The luxuries (when you really go into it I am sure you will find most of the goods are luxuries) must be sacrificed to provide food for those undernourished.

What rather puts me off about your paper, is that the dispute is that the workers want to be allowed to make more automobiles! I want the automobile industry particularly to pack up!

Student
England

Editor's Note: Who ever told you that "workers in America have a ridiculously high standard of living?" There is still 1/3 of the country that is ill housed, ill fed and ill clothed. There are also 5 1/2 million unemployed. That part of America that exploits the whole world is also the part that exploits the American working people. These cannot be thought of as the "same" America.

* * *

MARXISM & FREEDOM

While I do not agree with everything in the book MARXISM AND FREEDOM I do think it contains much truth.

I am one of those who are too old to work and too young to die, I will send you as much as I can in the near future.

New Reader
Los Angeles

* * *

In 1933, when I was 16, I joined the Young Communists League. In 1937 I was expelled as a Trotskyist over the Moscow trials. In 1941 I left the Trotskyist groups and left politics. On returning in 1956, on the Hungarian question, I find there has been no addition to Marxism since Lenin. I feel that MARXISM AND FREEDOM may fill the vacuum.

I do want the July issue of NEWS AND LETTERS and if you will send me a few back copies especially the one on China I will appreciate it.

J.H.
London

J.Y.
London

Two Questions And An Answer

WORKERS DISCUSS REUTHER, UNION

Detroit — There is one question that I am confused on and worried about. 8 of us guys at work were saying we know what the union bureaucracy is, but we also say not to fight the union bureaucracy at this time. We want the union, even though we know how bad the union leadership is. We don't want a workers' paper attacking the union bureaucracy until the contract is signed.

—Ford Rouge

* * *

No one questions the union bureaucracy and no one questions the ruthless attack of the company against the workers but I feel we can't fight both at the same time.

I realize the vicious attitude of the company and know that some of it was caused through the stupidity of the union bureaucracy, but I feel right now the workers have to fight the company.

—Worker

* * *

How many times have I heard Reuther say, "Now is not the time." He got the upper hand on us by saying that. He also told us automation was progress. We're not against progress but progress should be for us too not just for the company.

When we first organized the CIO I heard the same song "Now isn't the time." When is the time? We lost blood, lost sleep, walking the picket lines to organize our union.

When we started, we had to meet in basements. We didn't dare meet in the open. Many's the time I was black from the dirt when I came out of such

I read a 'borrowed' copy of an excellent book, MARXISM AND FREEDOM, some time ago and was very impressed by its scope and perspectives. I think that it has begun to rescue Marxism and Socialist humanism from the pit of obscurity into which they have fallen.

I think that MARXISM AND FREEDOM has laid the basis for the regroupment of the revolutionary socialist movement on a world scale. The fight for socialism will be a long, uphill struggle, but a beginning has got to be made now. I am only 27 years old and I have been an active socialist for over 12 years. If I am a little impatient and want to change the world overnight—well, please forgive me.

J.H.
London

J.Y.
London

TWO WORLDS

RESPONSIBILITY OF INTELLECTUALS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

I have received several letters from friends abroad who ask me to clarify the last paragraph in my previous column on the question of "the responsibility of the Marxist theoretician." In questioning my analysis of **Whither Paris?** these critics ask: "Having, ever since the beginning of the French crisis, issued the slogan 'Neither Pflimlin nor De Gaulle,' what else can a Marxist theoretician do except to appeal to workers to establish their own councils and take power? Surely," my correspondents concluded, "it is not the intellectuals, but the workers, who have the power to change society."

This is true, but it is not the whole truth. Were Marxism limited to that one great truth, there would be no reason for it to have continued as a movement after 1848. The fact that Marxism is alive still is not because it is incorporated in books, but because it is in the daily lives and aspirations of the working people, and will remain so until a new truly human society is achieved. It will be achieved only when a new unity of theory and practice in the tradition of Marx **but answering today's needs is achieved.**

Now that Russia has become a state capitalist society, the unity of theory and practice which made possible, first, the Paris Commune, and then the early workers' state in Russia, evidently must be broadened to answer new questions and new tasks posed by today's workers: "What happens AFTER gaining of power? Will the division between mental and manual labor continue and thus forever confront us with a new bureaucracy—an intellectual elite?"

The theoreticians cannot pretend that they have answered these problems in so total a way that it has matched the grandeur of the activity of the masses who (1) have moved ahead from the period of the Russian Revolution where their primary aim was political power through soviets to the Spanish Revolution where they fought for immediate control of factories. In a word, they combined economic emancipation with self-rule. This has reached its highest development in the Workers Councils in Hungary. (2) Where, before Automation, the worker's control of production seemed to answer all questions, with Automation, workers' control of production is incomplete unless it includes the beginnings of the end of the division between mental and manual labor.

Far from accepting his responsibility, the Marxist theoretician nowadays wants to shift all responsibility to the workers except that of leadership. It will not do.

BACK TO FRANCE

Take the present situation in France which was the subject of my last column. Of course only the French proletariat can work out the new forms of revolt against the new form of fascism. But two factors now stifle the workers: (1) The "ordinary" French intellectual who thinks that, because De Gaulle isn't Hitler, therefore the "republican form of government" will continue and worker and intellectual alike will have their "democracy." (2) The intellectuals who have no such illusions—Communists and genuine Marxists alike—and pretend that they were right all the time, predicting such "barbarism" as the logical outcome of capitalism.

I am not concerned with the Communist who will sing any tune Moscow blows out. I am concerned with the anti-Communist Marxist beating his chest. For, in the concrete, the new form of fascism could not have been foreseen and was not foretold, much less prepared for by unfurling a new banner of Marxist Humanism. Marx unfurled his not alone against capitalism, but against the vulgar Communists who thought all they needed to do to have a new society was to oppose private property and all other questions would solve themselves.

A NEW LISTENING AND A NEW DOING

Presently, while capitalism in France is learning to imitate not the outright destruction of unions, as in Nazi Germany, but, instead, to try to emulate successful Russian state capitalism and incorporate the trade unions, in one form or another, into the state apparatus, the Marxist theoretician is working with old, outlived categories. For example, every existing institution, including the British shop stewards, has undergone a transformation into opposite, and become an integral part of capitalism. Needed, therefore, are not only new forms of workers' revolt, which workers are sure to discover, but a new listening to workers. A new listening is needed plus (1) a demonstration of the theoretician's belief in the ability of the proletariat to do tasks heretofore the prerogative of leadership. In his own organization, therefore, the theoretician should "give up" editorship of publications in general, and the newspaper in particular. (2) On the basis of the new listening by him and the new doing by the proletariat, the theoretician can create a philosophy which the proletariat recognizes as the new quality of his own thoughts and aspirations for total freedom: freedom from economic exploitation and from political rule by a new intellectual elite. In a word, freedom to reconstruct the wholeness of man.

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

THE NEED FOR TOTAL PHILOSOPHY

Last issue this column carried a letter from a Parisian student whose ambition "is to make the revolution and be an electrical engineer." He is also interested in finding out what American youth are like. They must be quite an enigma to the European who has known all stripes of mass organizations and popular political demonstrations. Indeed the European experiences have given the American radical, political youth such a sense of inferiority that they have never considered their own American roots seriously, but have striven, with fingers crossed, to adhere to the time tested methods to build a mass youth organization.

Y.P.A.

The most significant political youth organization in the past decade, has been the Young Progressives of America, the youth that rallied around Henry Wallace in the 1948 presidential elections. They represented not the mass of American youth by any means, but a petty bourgeois segment with spirit and idealism. They fought racial prejudice the best they knew how. They were for the workers, even if it often went no further than pity.

In the beginning most of the leg work, organizing and so forth was sparked by the Communists. They sowed illusions about the possibilities of peace pledges, co-

existence and writing your Congressman. The atmosphere was so charged with petition signing and activities, that the young eggheads never bothered to sit down and think.

Wallace lost the election, the Communists tightened their strangle hold, and the advent of the Korean War administered the coup de grace to YPA.

It is painful, to see, that amongst the "vanguard socialist" youth the lesson of YPA's rapid demise was never learned. That the biggest youth demonstration for students' rights, the N.Y.C. High School Strike of 1950, in the last score of years occurred spontaneously, without their help, has not humbled them one bit.

PASSION FOR NUMBERS

Still their passion for numbers outweighs all else, creates for them a "united socialist" organization which has no other clasp to hold them together than this quest for bigness.

The only thing that will starch backbones, in a world caught between the two poles of capitalism, Russia and America, is a total philosophy. If ever the world cried for a theoretical basis for the clarification of minds, it does so now. Only a book as comprehensive as **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**, by Raya Dunayevskaya, can serve the purpose. —R. E.

Warsaw Cracks Down On Youth

I recently read an article describing the attempts in Warsaw to "regulate" the behavior of teenagers. It looks as though the Polish Communists are having their troubles with teen-age rebelliousness.

The new "regulations" are as follows: 1) a 9:00 o'clock curfew for boys and girls up to 16 who have no adult escort, and a 10:00 p.m. curfew for unescorted 17 and 18 year olds, 2) forbidding sale of alcohol to anyone under 18, 3) forbidding anyone under 18 to sell anything on the street or by house-to-house canvassing, 4) forbidding anyone under 18 to smoke in public.

REGIMENT YOUTH

There seems to be an attempt to regiment the youth of Warsaw in much the same way that the attempt is being made to do so here in Los Angeles, with the cases of the five parents put in jail because their children were out after curfew.

The only "regulation" different from those here in Los Angeles is the one forbidding selling and house-to-house canvassing. That seems to be a way of preventing youth from having money of their own and being able to be more independent.

Could it be that the events in the Hungarian Revolution where the youth played such an important and decisive part, have trained the Communists to keep an eye on the youth in order to crack down on them at the first sign of restlessness and rebelliousness?

We need a unifying principle. I don't know just where we will find it, but find it we must." Miss Dunayevskaya said that this unifying principle is Marxism. She pointed out that Marxism is a theory of liberation and it is in mortal opposition to Russian Communism which is the theory and practice of enslavement.

SURVEY COURSE FLOPS —

Detroit — This summer I have been going to summer school and taking English Literature. When I looked at the book which we would have as our textbook I was amazed. Here is a book that contained most of the important Englishmen of literature from around the fifth or sixth century till the present day. Yet we had to cover the complete book in a period of eight weeks. This book contained so many different types of writing and different authors that it could not be covered in a year let alone eight weeks or even twenty.

I have now been going to summer school for seven weeks. Yet, we have covered English Literature in such a surface way that I have not learned anything. Every day we cover about three or four authors and some of their works. We have no chance to study any of them for more than a moment. We threw the Romantic Age, the Elizabethan Age, and six other periods of English Literature together in a large bundle. The whole course seems like a waste of time. There are just too many authors to have thrown out in a period that is so short.

16 Year Old

Co. Using Unemployment Against Workers Union Lets Sweat Shop Conditions Prevail

Los Angeles—I have just ended the 2 month probation period in my shop and joined the union. I work in a small plastic assembly plant at \$1.12 an hour and the union initiation was \$8.00, almost a day's pay. All during my probation I was thinking of the situation reported in the last issue of News & Letters in the auto plants because of the lack of a contract. I know that those plants must be terrible to work in now, even from having to work in my shop, which has a contract and a so-called "union."

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE 8 HOUR DAY?

Management has been firing girls still on probation right and left, because there are so many out of work now. The tension is high; each night we wonder who will be next. Men have been fired also, and those who are working (almost all of them married men with families) begin at \$1.30 an hour. **They must work 12 and 14 hours a day and 6 days a week to bring home enough to support their families.**

"Gifted" Students Urged to Get Educated Fast

Los Angeles — In order to win the cold war with Russia we are going to regiment our students as they do theirs. Thirty thousand students attending special summer classes in Los Angeles High Schools were praised for giving up their vacations in order to "get ahead," on the Big News, a CBS TV program. There are special science classes in each school for the "gifted ones" and all are urged to give up all vacations and get their education "in a hurry."

REGIMENTATION

It is undoubtedly a fine thing for students who thoroughly enjoy studying, and the opportunity to do so should always be there, but

SPEED UP AND INSECURITY

The quotas are forever being raised to impossible heights. Women are made to stand, even when they have jobs which they could do sitting down.

When I saw my check with the \$8.00 deduction I had two responses, 1) relief that I had lasted long enough to get into the union and have the minimum security of knowing that the company can't just fire me out of hand for no reason, and 2) I was angry that the \$8.00 was going to a union which does nothing about these conditions, but is there fast enough to grab the initiation fee.

Although there is a contract where I work, the terrible insecurity because of so many unemployed has made us all feel as if we were working with "no contract" and no union. We all know how lucky we are to have jobs at all.

—Assembly Worker

this is something else, because it is pressure on all the students. They will soon have awards for those who study overtime and penalties for anyone who takes a vacation. In short, in order to win the cold war with Russia, our children will have to be regimented as their fathers are.

'T.V. TOWN HALL'

Recently I saw a television show which presented a debate entitled "Marxism is the American Way." The pro speaker, Raya Dunayevskaya, dealt first with the American roots of Marxism. This was very interesting to me because in school you either learn that Marx is the father of Communism in Russia or nothing is mentioned of Marx.

Miss Dunayevskaya showed how the Abolitionists and the Civil War in America helped shape Marx's theory.

AUTOMATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

She then moved to the present by showing how today in capitalistic society man does not lead a full life. His mind and body do not function as one in his daily work. The speaker pointed out how the wonders of automation — instead of helping to ease man's burden, do almost the exact opposite — throw him out of work or, if he does work, the machine is the master over the worker instead of man over the machine.

This was a University of Detroit Town Hall program. I could not really tell what the opposition speaker—Dr. Withers — said. All he did was repeat some stale charges on the abolition of the family and private property. It means little to me.

The audience consisted of both workers and students. When the floor was given over to the audience for

questions, one University of Detroit student asked Miss Dunayevskaya "How can you say Marxism is Humanism? Aren't you going back to human endeavor, working by hand, instead of forward?"

A NEW UNIFYING PRINCIPLE

Miss Dunayevskaya pointed to Dr. W. H. Pickering's statement (who by no means is a Marxist) when he said "We are sorely in need of some principle that will save mankind from mutual annihilation . . . We can't find it by building anti-missiles to shoot down other missiles.

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

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- Part III. MARXISM: THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE
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Then and Now

**IRISH WORKERS
IN ENGLISH "RECESSION"**

A century ago, because of unemployment, oppression, and famine, many Irishmen emigrated to England, where they were the last hired and the first fired, very much like the Negro American here and the employers did their best to exploit this division in the working class. The Irish, however, as the most oppressed layer of society, always strengthened the working class by their militant struggle. They were a powerful force in Chartism a century ago, when workers' demands brought England close to revolution, and in the New Unionism a half century ago, when unskilled workers began to organize as they did in America in the I.W.W. and C.I.O.

Recently, the recession in England has meant the firing of many Irish workers there. According to Brian D. Ward, writing in THE PLOUGH, an Irish newspaper, English employers are trying to reassure English workers that only "foreigners" are losing their jobs. He thinks that when these Irish return home, militant and organized, as they will be forced to do in large numbers, they will fight against "the sweatshop conditions found in Ireland."

"It was a pity, perhaps, that England became the safety valve, otherwise the Irish People, driven by poverty and hunger, might well

have put an end to the opportunism, sectarianism, and Clerical dictatorship that is causing the long suffering Irish people such misery and holding them up for the world to gaze upon with ridicule."

Ridicule? What American worker, facing unemployment, discrimination, and oppression, would ridicule the struggle of the Irish people for liberty? Their Revolt of Easter, 1916, against British rule and for a Workers' Republic, encouraged the working class all over the world in its struggle for liberty. James Connolly, one of its leaders, correctly predicted the dangerous illusions of State Capitalism, which might become disguised as Socialism — as indeed happened later when Russia suffered a transformation into the State Capitalist tyranny that she is today. Ireland also, despite its great revolutionary history, was driven by the world economy into State Capitalism. Today, when that economy, when that system is shaken by recessions and revolts all over the world, Ireland may very well face a bright future, when workers at last humanize society by controlling production. Meanwhile Americans will follow with sympathy and understanding the struggles of the Irish workers.

—Detroit Teacher

'The Survivors of the Bombs'

On the occasion of the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the following is reprinted from an article in the August 2, 1958, issue of the British paper, "New Statesman" on an inquiry into the continuing effects of the atomic bomb dropped, 13 years ago.

"Two recent case histories from Hiroshima illustrate its divergent manifestations. Happy and carefree, young Keiko Madoka set out on a May picnic with fellow-workers from her factory to view the cherry blossoms. It was while they were playing games that Keiko cried out, "My legs!" and sank down on the grass. When her companions, still laughing, tried to pull her to her feet, she fell over on her side, never to rise again. In her case atomic injuries manifested themselves with lightning speed, and she died before ever the cherry blossoms

had made way for the ripe fruit.

"To another survivor, the student Hiromasa Hizume death from radiation exposure came very gradually. Throughout his young life Hiromasa had suffered from spells of mental instability, coupled with partial deafness, yet had managed to complete his schooling with a brilliant record. A month before his final college examinations, overwork brought on a recurrence: his lymphatic glands swelled up, blood oozed from his eyes and mouth, and he raved wildly about the fire and the deafening noise of the atomic explosion. Before his death he wrote in his diary the most damning question that a young person can ask an adult, irresponsible world: 'Why must I die? What have I done to deserve to die so very young?' . . . "Not only victims, but

RESPONSIBILITY OF INTELLECTUALS

(Continued from Page 5)

This unity of mental and manual labor in the worker himself, is to be removed from mere intellectual discussion among intellectuals, and instead made "the order of the day," in the manner in which Marx considered the full and free development of the individual's power, of his natural and acquired talents, not as the "hereafter," but as the road to be taken on the morrow of capitalism's fall, if the nationalized means of production are to serve any better end than the privately owned means of production. Without unfurling such a banner as a first step to any truly new social order, why should workers listen to Marxist theoreticians any more than they do to "their own" labor bureaucrats?

FRENCH CRISIS

De Gaulle has finally submitted his proposed new constitution for France. It lays the legal basis for the establishment of a dictatorship, as everyone who knows De Gaulle expected it would.

Under the present constitution, written in 1946, the President has little power; the Chamber of Deputies must pass on the activities of each Premier. Under the proposed constitution, the President has full power to declare an "emergency" on his own say-so and to take over all government powers. It is expected that after De Gaulle pushes the measure through, he will then take over the office of President.

The sections dealing with Algeria are vague enough to satisfy the big Algerian landowners, but the Algerian people and the rebel forces will have nothing to do with it. They want complete independence.

* * *

AND IN ALGERIA

The Algerian struggle for independence continues. As the De Gaulle kind of referendum is approaching, the Algerians have stepped up their struggle against the reactionary colons in Algeria and their De Gaulle partners in France. Thus on the week-end of August 9-10, Algerians with machine guns fired on passing cars, killing 19 Frenchmen and wounding 50 others. On Monday, August 11, it was reported that the Algiers-Oran passenger train struck a mine which killed 3 French soldiers and injured several civilians. It is clear that the native Algerians have no intention of accepting continued French domination over their land.

would-be parents of future victims are sometimes attracted to this way out. (Suicide). A large number of abnormal and mentally retarded children attest to the genetic hazards of radiation; and lately, presumably reliable statistics have been issued by the Imperial Japanese Atom-research Institute, covering births in Hiroshima and Nagasaki since August 1945. Of 32,000 children born in Hiroshima, not less than 5,000—almost one in six—were deformed or stillborn. This figure includes 1,100 with skeletal deficiencies or serious muscular weaknesses; almost 100 with deformed brains or without brains altogether; almost 200 without lips, and the same number without sexual organs; 25 with one or no eyes—four lacking even eye-openings . . ."

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A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

WHAT KIND OF LABOR?

Structure and function—these two attributes of living tissue are dependent on one another. Function influences and determines structure and vice-versa. Their association indicates movement, flow, and exchange between them. Recently I have been pointing to the various associations of stress to human disease and how through over-stimulation of the nervous system and the glands of internal secretion, a functional activity can result in anatomical structural changes.

PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL INJURY COMPARED

An interesting study was made recently in one of our large medical centers. A group of people, who had lost various known amounts of brain tissue through removal of neoplasms, or tumor growth, by surgery, were studied. The impairment of the highest brain functions were measured by tests, then compared with persons who had undergone prolonged life stress or emotional tension.

Tests were made for fatigability, slowing of thought and action, difficulties in abstract thinking, memory defects, poor concentration, and difficulty in making decisions. The impairment score in the functional and organic groups were found to be similar. Their social and work patterns were constricted; they were less inventive and imaginative, and they were less tolerant of frustration.

STRESS PRELUDES BRAIN DAMAGE

Persons in whom anxieties were continuous and prolonged and who lived in circumstances perceived as threatening appeared to have sustained brain damage as a sequence to the period of stress.

Physicians, like other people, look for familiar signs and pathways in solving problems. It has taken a long time for the association between structure and function, body and mind, and between over- and under-activity, over- and under-stimulation of an organ in the production of disease to be recognized. Even now many refuse to see and accept the relationship though the evidence is there for those who want to see.

SOURCE OF ANXIETY

As we look about us and examine our own position, there are, however, many simpler things right before our eyes that many of us fail to see. It is these simple things that are most fundamental to our life. I am thinking of the life work of the average man which is the source of much of his sickness-producing stress. We fail to see that the daily work for most of us is not a self-mobilizing activity which we enjoy because it makes our life grow, flourish, and expand; but is instead a tribute extracted from a slave. The wage compensation is a poor substitute for the kind of labor that human life requires for growth.

NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS

(Continued from Page 2)

time in my room, talking about her room mate's complaint that she was a Negro lover and spent all her time talking to and visiting Negro patients. She told me what was being said and all hell broke loose.

The nurse said she was an alcoholic and that she was going to lock her in the prison cell of the hospital. She said, "Hell, no, it is because I see Negroes as human beings the same as any one else." Her family had rejected her because of this, but it did not change her opinion. Her husband is white and he knows where she stands on this.

She said her roommate was foreign born, but the Negroes were born here and their parents before them were born here. She said some of the foreigners have taken an oath that they will not associate with Negroes. To them this is being a good American.

She put on her clothes at visiting time and walked out with the visitors and yelled from the outside, "Good-bye, Ethel, write this number down and call me when you go home."

NORTHERN SEGREGATION
Another Negro woman

friend called my husband to inquire how I was. When she learned of my doctor, she said he was her doctor at one time and he discriminates again Negro patients. They can only go to his office on Tuesday; the other days are for whites. He does not make home calls. A Negro can go on the whites' day if she goes after four.

I have been worrying. What if I or another Negro patient of his needed to see him at 5 one morning? We would have to wait until after 4 that evening, because of segregation. That could mean life or death.

In the South they discriminate but not in that manner. They have separate waiting rooms and the doctor will see three or five whites to one Negro, but there are no separate days or one day a week. I hope I continue to improve because when I am well I will change doctors and tell this one why I reject him, regardless of how good he is in his specialty.

I will never feel free and confident with him, paying the same or more than the whites. I cannot believe he puts the money from Negroes in one pocket or bank and the white money in another.

WHAT AUTO WORKERS WANT IN UNION CONTRACT

(Continued from Page 1)

carried on with but half of the workers. They are not "sabotaging" full production. They are caught in the web of the latest phase of state capitalism on the eve of war. Paying the worker at a minimum, and with many millions unemployed, the auto industry has no one for whom to produce.

Consequently, between Republican Eisenhower and Democrat McClellan—even as in Communist Russia and De Gaulle France—the state is seeking to discipline and actually absorb the unions as part of the administrative apparatus. They seek to transform the union from an instrument of workers' control over their conditions of labor, to an instrument of enforcing control over the laborer.

Reuther has only one objection. He is willing enough to keep the workers disciplined as to speedup and production, so long as management is also brought into state control. In that alone he differs from Eisenhower and McClellan.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

Against this type of centralization of control, the production workers are now facing their most decisive struggle since the rise of the CIO.

Another auto worker told NEWS & LETTERS:

"I don't know what's going to happen, but this time it's for keeps. We've seen them cut us since the '56 changeover, until I don't think there'll be one third of us left working on the new model who worked on the model in 1955."

Another worker said, "Reuther brags that we've kept up our dues payments even if there isn't the check-off anymore. Sure we have, but that's because we can't let the company break us, not because we're with him."

"He brags that he's got 95% support in Ford and GM and Chrysler for striking. But he doesn't even give us 10% support when we wildcat. Then he tells us to tighten our belts and get back to work while he deals with the company."

After two months of working without a contract, auto workers have been stretched beyond endurance by speedup and short weeks and brutal arrogance on the part of management.

In Chrysler, GM and Ford plants throughout the country and particularly in Detroit, the cut-backs have affected workers whose seniority dates back to the very days when the UAW was first organized.

There are no longer any seniority guarantees, there are no longer any safeguards on production standards, there is no regard whatever for the human rights and dignity of the workers on the job, except what they can force by their own wildcats which have become an almost daily occurrence since the contracts expired on May 31.

INFLATION AND REUTHER ONCE AGAIN

At the same time the Administration bellows loudly against workers' desire for a wage rise as the supposed cause of inflation, but its voice is hardly above a whisper when it itself and management bring inflation about. This is the first time in our history when inflation continued even during a depression. Not only is nothing done to stop it, but trial maneuverings are going on, on how further to keep up unwarranted monopoly pricing. Thus steel has just raised its price. While steel's price rise is criticized after it became a fact, wage rises will be fought tooth and nail. Already, under the guise of driving racketeers out of unions, new anti-labor laws are being prepared in Congress. The two months of working without a contract is also part of the worldwide state capitalist assault against production workers, while management is seeking to find out whether they have any further need whatever of Reuther to discipline workers or whether they themselves can subjugate workers.

Reuther is now charging Chrysler with provocative brutality against workers in the plant to break them and reduce them to pre-union standards. That is correct as any Chrysler worker knows and as any Ford or GM worker knows.

A body shop worker said, "It's about time he found that out. We knew it since Automation came in but Reuther made us bow to it then as progress."

"O.K., we're not against Automation if it's progress for us. If it's so great, we want it so we don't have to work but four hours a day and live proper and decent, and raise our kids well. That'll bring men back off the street and into work again."

THE ROAD OUT

"If that's what Reuther wants, he's going to have to prove it. We've got to keep him from selling us out again."

"This time it's got to be up to the production man on the shop level in each and every shop in the industry all over the country."

"This time, Reuther's on the spot," still another Chrysler worker told NEWS & LETTERS. "He can't hit them one at a time anymore. He'll have to hit Ford, GM and Chrysler all at once if he's to get us what we want."

As against Reuther's playing with the Big Three at the negotiating table, in terms of having his kind of contract throughout all of industry, but safeguarded and enforced by him on the shop level.

This workers' type of control is the only way to prevent World War III. It is also the only road to a new way of life in which human dignity is the tap root of a world where the condition of freedom for all is the freedom of each.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

The world crisis of capitalist society finds its current expression in the explosive Middle East. As usual the chief opponents are the United States and Russia, imperialist rivals in the struggle for world power. The victims are the Arab peoples.

The revolution in Iraq, with the potential of its oil reserves as the prize, inspired the military intervention in Lebanon, not to settle any local revolt, but as a stop gap measure to slow down growing Russian influence in the Arab countries.

Iraq has been the keystone of British influence in the Middle East. Its revenue, about \$300 million a year, comes from oil and has been devoted chiefly to supporting the feudal chieftains in luxury and in buying the loyalty of the top military commanders.

The British have been content with the arrangement of the government where the Arab landlords supported General Nuri es-Said, all political parties were outlawed, the press censored, torture by the police regularly employed, a police force cost three times as much as the educational system, and 10,000 political prisoners languished in jails.

While the revolt against the despotic regime of Nuri found much sympathy among the poor peasants and the disgruntled politicians, the new regime is far from being a proletarian dream. The three men who emerged as the top leadership of the revolt are, Mohammed Kubba, who led the abortive revolts of 1941 and 1948, Sadiq Shenshall, who worked for the Nazis during the war, and Brigadier Abdul Karim, leader of the 'young colonels' in the army clique. Collectively they are anti-Western and anti-Israel but seek primarily to substitute themselves for the former ruling clique.

The fact that the regime was quickly recognized by Washington is proof enough that "business as usual" will be carried on by the oil companies.

Jordan is the poor oil-less relative which lives two-thirds off of Iraqi charity and one-third off of British charity. Its chief value is that of a military base of operations against Israel. Its people live in abject poverty while its ruling Sheiks live off their oil rich relatives.

Russia has been making very generous offers to the monarchs and politicians of the Arab world. There is evidence in the case of Nasser, that they have supplied concrete military and economic as-

sistance. The Russian "experts" which have followed these offers are interested in obtaining oil concessions similar or better than those obtained by the Americans and the British. Once such concessions are obtained the Russians would have the same "rights" to occupy the country that the Americans and British have exercised. It was as a last desperate gesture to slow down the process that Dulles pulled another of his brink-of-war blunders by sending troops to Lebanon.

World opinion was against it to the extent that a face saving method of withdrawal is now being sought through the United Nations.

Yet, on the Persian Gulf, the Sheikdoms of Kuwait, Bahrien and Qatar as well as Yemen and Aden, rich in oil, all British controlled, all absolute monarchies, are willing to sell out to the highest bidder, providing the bidder can back up with military force the feudal relations of that Arab society. Whoever wins, it will not be the Arab people.

INDONESIA

The recent death and burial in Arlington cemetery in Washington, D.C. of General Claire Chennault with full military honors, brings to mind an old story.

During the recent revolt in Indonesia, an Allen L. Pope, of Miami, Florida, was captured by government forces after his B-26 bomber was shot down. He admitted that he was paid \$10,000 a month to bomb towns and harbors in East Indonesia, and said he was but one of a group of American pilots engaged in the same work.

Now it turns out that he and the others had been employed by General Chennault who, acting as a private citizen, kept a private air force based on Formosa, for sale to Chiang Kai Chek, Indonesian rebels or whoever else could pay the price for mass murder.

SPAIN

8 women and 39 men were tried recently in Barcelona on a charge of re-organizing the United Socialist Party of Catalonia. They were tried be-

fore the Special Tribunal for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism.

Franco, in this public trial, gave Emiliano Fabregas, the leader, 7 years. 9 others were sentenced from 4 years to 6 months while the rest were released.

This trial was supposed to show a mild attitude on the eve of Franco's rumored "retirement" from office. But the fact that these people were arrested over 18 months ago and still bore the marks of brutal prison torture on their bodies, makes Franco's public trials a mockery.

Few American businessmen know that the Freemasons, to which most of them belong, is listed at the top of Franco's "subversive list" as more dangerous than the communists and is governed by the same laws.

In Spain today the underground working class political parties are completely reorganized, active, and carry on the struggle against Fascism.

* * *

SOUTH AFRICA

Once again the big trial of 92 men and women for treason is scheduled to take place in a converted synagogue before three Judges, all of whom were appointed by the present repressive government.

The government has done everything possible to make life miserable for the defendants, who range from top intellectuals to common African laborers. For example, they moved the trial to Pretoria, 100 miles from Johannesburg, so that the defendants must travel 200 miles a day for the duration of the trial, making it impossible to keep up some of the part time jobs that they held in Johannesburg during the pre-trial examinations.

Public demonstrations of sympathy with the defendants are supposed to be the reason for the move.

The government will use Professor Josef Bochenski, the Polish Catholic Expert, who played a large role in reactionary West German politics, as a prosecutor in the case.

Funds for defense are being collected by the Treason Trial Defense Fund.

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