

NEWS & LETTERS

'This Paper Speaks the Truth Whenever It Is Needed'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

WHAT DID REUTHER GIVE AWAY THIS TIME?

When the news broke that Reuther and the UAW leaders had reached an agreement with Fords, workers began asking, "How far were we sold down the river?"

One worker tried to explain what was good in the contract, such as you can retire at 60 and the company will pay double retirement pay until you reach 65. Another worker yelled, "That's what Reuther will yell he did to help the unemployed." Someone else asked what about shop grievances? A worker yelled back that is something that does not exist in the minds of Reuther and his leaders. The worker that was doing the explaining said we will receive up to \$30 a week for 39 weeks of SUB. Practically everyone yelled at once, "What production worker ever got \$20 a week SUB? How much will the man who only gets \$2 a week now, get and for how long? We want to know what is the least a worker will receive and the shortest period he will receive it for, not what some skilled or office worker will receive, with all credit hours needed." He said, "You fellows are right, I was passing through 49 department and a worker called me and gave me a paper cup and asked would I run over to the water fountain and get him a cup of water to drink. Then I had to do it for several others. They can not stop to get water. They can not stop to go to the toilet. You have to train your body not to want water. Train your bowels and bladder not to pass of waste. Hell, nothing could be put in a contract as important as this. Grievances and working conditions should be first, but they are not mentioned."

SWEAT SHOPS HERE AGAIN

We workers in this UAW have gone the full circle from when we organized in '37, from sweat shop conditions. All the years past that I have worked in the auto shops during model changes, supervision has always let us work as we wanted to until we got adjusted to the new jobs, to put out the best possible quality in the cars.

Since the contract expired in June, management has been running wild with intimidations, speed up, firing and threats of firing workers. It is to the point where practically every worker is saying, "I never thought the union would come to this." Many older workers are saying that it's worse than before we organized. The job controls that the workers did have are now all given up. It is now the speed of the automation machine that governs the speed of the man and not the other way around.

The speed up is so terrific on the new model that the majority of the workers only work four and five hours a day. Everything is wrong with the cars. The company sends us home until they can straighten them out. We come back tomorrow and the same thing happens. One old timer said that the strain and pressure was not like this before we organized. They did give you enough time to work on a new model. Many workers would quit rather than be abused from strain and pressure. Today you can not quit because all the workers in the plant have 12 years and up seniority and so you have to stay because of seniority, insurance and thinking of retirement. We feel we have something to lose when we think like that. Not many of us are under 35 years old. No one will think of giving you a job at that age. One worker said, "We're stuck." Only a year or so ago workers would call the operation he worked at, his job. He worked there every day. Today he has no job. He must work any operation in his department. Some times it is eight different jobs a day and the foreman expects top production on each operation.

WILD CATS

We are back to inhuman sweat shop conditions, now worse because of the automation machines. That is why the production workers in Fords were wildcatting the minute after the contract was signed. It is not only the skilled workers as the press implies. The foundry workers and workers in the coal head department are saying, "They are going to replace the monotony of one operation with the monotony of eight."

What happened to Reuther's statement of no more long term contract, it must be 2 years or less? Some were fired from their jobs because they opposed the profit sharing plan. When Reuther made the statement to the press that wages should be raised in accordance with production standards, a worker said, "We in production should be paid \$5 an hour, but I don't want that. I want to work where I feel like a human being after eight hours. Not like I should be in a hospital bed." He said, "In the good old days we would say to a worker who was working fast, 'Slow down, don't kill the job,' but today the job is killing us."

War Clouds Over China

Listening to a radio report of American military build-up in Formosa, a neighborhood shoemaker remarked bitterly, "Whenever they get into trouble with a depression and millions of people out of work, they try to get out of their troubles by pushing us into the death of war."

"I myself, in my own life have gone through two World Wars and I will surely live to see a third. I was a soldier in the Italian Army in World War I, where my brother was killed. My son was killed as an American soldier in World War II. Now my grandson has been drafted. When the bombs fall for the next one, he will be there and no one here will be saved. It makes me feel that they want to wipe out my whole family for three generations—and for what?"

"BRINK-OF-WAR"

The Administration's brink-of-war policy—which almost landed us in war over Formosa three years ago—has now reached such a low of callous indifference to the American people that commentators have openly warned that this policy can plunge us into a terrible war of atomic annihilation behind our backs. Not only have Democrats criticized the Administration, so have Republicans. Even businessmen, who have long wanted to profit from trade with Red China, whisper that Mao Tse Tung, not Chiang Kai Shek, should be recognized.

In general, faced with the daily reality of lay-offs and speed-up, the workers don't talk much about the Administration's China policy because it seems so senseless that we should go to war over Quemoy or Matsu or Formosa.

See:
Editorial and Two Worlds
pages 5 and 6.

It seems senseless but it's not just words they're playing with. Our lives are at stake. No one can seriously think that if war comes now it will be another "police action" as in Korea, or a "local" Chinese-American War.

Both Russia and America have nuclear weapons and have stated again and again that they're ready to use them. The question is, not whether America will recognize Communist China, but whether Russia and America—the two poles of state capitalism fighting for world domination—will bring on a nuclear war of total destruction, using Formosa as the excuse.

When American troops landed in Lebanon last summer, American standing in the Middle East reached its lowest point and the colonial countries of Asia and Africa were united in their opposition to American policy.

So bankrupt is world capitalism that the crisis in Formosa enables state capitalist Mao to strengthen his masquerade as a revolutionary at home, and as a leader in the colonial struggle against the ravages of Western imperialism.

So corrupt is Chiang Kai Shek, to whom American Far Eastern policy is wed,
(Continued on Page 8)



Reproduced by Popular Request

Report & Appeal to Our Readers

The latest wave of wildcat strikes throughout the country, at the very moment when Reuther is finally getting his auto contracts, points up sharply to the dissatisfaction of the production workers with the leadership. The auto workers who wildcat are showing they do not consider this leadership represents them. The need everywhere is for an organ of their own where they can express their demands and where they can unite with other workers who think as they do.

Such an organ is NEWS & LETTERS which, before, during and after contract negotiations, devotes its columns to what the production workers say and want. This is the only paper that is not only "for" the workers but written by them. Our editor is himself a production worker, and the greater part of the paper is given over to stories from other workers.

We have been working towards this aim this past year and in a year's time, through hard work, persistent hard work, through people digging deeper into what seemed an always empty pocket we kept NEWS & LETTERS going.

All this took money—a thing that is given to us for our labor which we put into use for the building of that society, where you are not judged by whether you are a laborer, an engineer, Negro, white, youth, woman or man, but by just the fact that you are a human being living and working with other human beings.

It costs us approximately \$259 per issue for the printing bill alone. This does not include rent which is \$50, phone, stationery and so forth. Since last year we have had issues of NEWS & LETTERS that covered "Little Rock, USA," to "Things Look Worse for '58" to "France at the Cross Roads" and back again to the condition of the workers here...

You know, the more I read and hear of the Abolitionists and Wendell Phillips, I realize how important the lecture tour the chairman makes is, and the necessity to have the lecture platform. I haven't heard anyone show what that creature called the Governor of Arkansas is, as she did on the TV show here in Detroit, except those 7 children that walked up and

(Continued on Page 5)

NEXT ISSUE:

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN AUTO PLANTS

THIS ISSUE:

See "Chrysler Wildcat" Page 3

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

No One Can Know Pressure of Continuous Miner Except Men Who Work It

Scotts Run, W. Va.—Working on a continuous miner is something that no one can know who hasn't worked on it. I had heard men talk about it, and saw it working, but I never really knew until I got on it.

NOTHING LIKE IT IN 40 YEARS

I've always liked to work where I've had plenty of room to move fast in case something happened. But you're stuck when you're on the miner. That machine throws out plenty of coal and it piles up—from rib to rib and up to the top. If something should happen at the face—and that's where most accidents happen—you just don't have a chance. There is just nothing you can call safe about it. I've put 40 years in the mines, and I've never had to work in conditions like that. And you can bet your bottom dollar that I've worked in some tough places.

But even if you didn't have to worry about being safe—which you always do—the work itself is not fit for a human. No, you don't even have to work, all you have to do is just be there for a couple of minutes and you know that nobody would put up with those conditions if he had a choice. It's hot; there is very poor ventilation; and the dust—the coal dust that just hangs in the air from the machine ripping into the coal is more than enough, but you have the more deadly rock dust you get from the drilling into the top to get your roof bolts in. After two minutes in that heat, you're wringing wet. And in no time you've covered with all that dust that sticks to you like glue and keeps building up.

BREAK-DOWNS MAKE IT POSSIBLE

There's only one thing about working on a miner that makes it possible for a man to take it. If that machine is run steadily for about two hours, there is

LEADERS & RANKS

Back in the twenties the union was broken and the company got away with murder. We organized ourselves so we could have some protection. Now we've got the UMW, but it sure looks like they can't do anything about the conditions and the lay-offs. We'd better start organizing ourselves all over again. Only this time, we'd better change a lot more things than we did before. We've just got to have a world where people are important and not just money.

Laid-off Miner
West Virginia

something that will break down. Some hose or some part will break and you can get out into fresher air and get away from the pressure of working to get that almighty coal. Not that you get a chance to take it easy and rest. There is no such thing anymore. That boss is right there and he's got a dozen jobs lined up for you to do "while you're waiting."

PRESSURE PRODUCTION

Another thing is the pinning on the miner. With a regular pinning machine, you can get the machine into position, drill your holes and get your pins in. If the top is hard or the hydraulic pressure drops, you can work at it until you get the job done. On a miner it's a different story altogether. When that machine is in a certain position as it rips into the coal, you have a couple of minutes to drill the hole and get that pin in before that machine moves. If the top is hard, the pressure drops or the auger gets hung up, you don't have the time to get the work done. And that miner is never supposed to stop. It all amounts to a terrific speed-up. You've just got to go according to the machine, not the job as far as the pinning is concerned. The main job of that machine is to get coal, and the boss is right there to remind you of it every time there is a delay.

CONTINUOUS MINER BAD FOR EVERYONE

Scotts Run, W. Va.—The man they put on the continuous miner on my section since the lay-off is pretty old. I don't know if he's old enough to retire or not, but I'm afraid that he's going to have a pretty rough time on that machine. That machine wasn't made for old men. It was made to make old men out of young men in a hurry. If you're old to start with, you don't have too much of a chance.

JUST MISSED DEATH

I know he was almost killed last week. The only thing that saved him was that he was taking his dinner. The guy who was floating him through dinner is a young man who has worked on the miner for a pretty long time.

They were pinning a place and a big piece of slate fell. The young guy was used to watching for that and was able to get out of the way just before that rock fell. But if that old man had been there, he'd have been worrying about his work and wouldn't have been fast enough to get out of the way before it would have got him.

LABOR AND LIFE, TOO?

It sure is one helluva note. He's worked all his life for this company. They've gotten most of his labor from him, and if he's not awfully careful, they'll get his life too. It sure does make you wonder if working for a living has anything good about it at all—especially working for Consol.

'Right To Work' Laws Understood By Men

Barrackville, W. Va. — I was talking with my boss the other day about the "Right to Work" laws. He was trying to tell me that the only reason the men are against it is because they listened to people who didn't really know what the law meant. He said that every man had a right to work. I agreed with that, and he said that that was all the law was designed to do—to give everyone the right to work. I couldn't help but laugh at that. I guess when you're a boss you can't be too smart, or you deliberately lie about something and say it is good when you know all the time it is bad for the men. A boss has a lot of practice at this, anyway.

DESIGNED TO ROLL BACK THE TIME

I told him he didn't know too much about the law himself if that was all that it meant to him. I told him it was something designed to break up the unions. If they had the law, an employer could make things awfully rough on the men just to provoke them to strike. Then he could offer work to anyone else he would choose. You couldn't have a picket line; the men who would agree to work for him wouldn't have to belong to any union at all.

You'd have open shop, and you can't show me one man who can fight the power and money of a company by himself. That was the reason for organizing in the first place. The men knew it couldn't be done alone; but they also knew, and proved it, that they could do it together. This law was just designed to roll the time back to how the conditions were during the "yellow-dog" contract days. Every union man knows that and that is why they are against it. Not because they don't understand, but because they understand only too well what it means.

LOS ANGELES EDITING COMMITTEE MEETS EVERY FRIDAY EVENING AT 8 P.M. AT 1904 S. ARLINGTON AVE. (Cor. Washington Blvd.) ROOM 207

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

"MANS INHUMANITY TO MAN"

When I think of the inhuman brutality to the Negro people here and abroad it is enough to make any human blood boil.

THE RACE RIOTS IN ENGLAND

I think of the things that I have heard Negro G.I.'s of World War II say about how they helped white women and their children throughout Europe, by giving them food and other things for themselves and their needy children.

Today these could be the same white women who are part of this Teddy Boy gang in England.

The London Express daily paper said the white American servicemen took part in the riot in which "lynch" was yelled by them. It also accuses them of inciting the riot. They also claim it was started because of housing shortage, job shortage and Negroes dating and marrying white women. I say only one thing started it, this dating and marrying white women. Especially when the American white man there and even here knows and sees it.

ALABAMA, U.S.A.

One sees a 56 year old Negro in Alabama awaiting to be sent to death for supposedly attempted rape, and robbing of an 85 year old white woman of \$1.95.

I was told that the Negro man was working around some white homes and they paid him \$1.95 at each home. The day he was to work on the old lady's yard he didn't show up. When he did she was angry and abused him. After getting paid he told her that he would not work for her again. She called the police and told the lie about the attempted rape and robbery. Even after Secretary of State Dulles sent a telegram to the Governor of Alabama saying he doesn't mean to interfere but many people throughout the world are writing him concerning this case, the Supreme Court of Alabama still refused to grant him a stay of execution. Some people think they tried to execute him for burglary but it is not so.

Who can believe a 56 year old Negro man would want to rape an 85 year old white woman.

A 17 year old Negro youth was shot to death in Montgomery, Alabama, by two white policemen because he had telephoned a white girl for a date. The courts the following day said the police were justified and free to go.

If the Negro youth did call the white woman she could have told him off and that should have ended it.

But you can be assured there is more to it, as the word goes, than meets the eye. Look at the fight that Faubus and the South, with much sympathy from the North, is carrying on against school integration; and using as their argument that this will cause intermarriage.

REPORTER SHOWS HIS PREJUDICE

I applaud Roy Wilkins, NAACP head. He appeared on a T.V. interview on school integration, Sunday, September 7th, with news reporters. When one reporter said "Won't this lead to mongrelization of the races?" Wilkins said that was a word used by white supremacists, what you mean is intermarriage.

Roy Wilkins said the record shows that more mulatto children were born in Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama than in all of the other States of the U. S. put together. Not of the Negro man and the white woman but of the white man and the Negro woman. This stands true prior to and after the Civil War. The white man has done more to make the races one color than anyone else on earth. They now say, that is what they are afraid of.

I have often heard the phrase of Karl Marx that says "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains." Having nothing to lose but your chain may be true but as long as the white man thinks he will lose his white woman to a Negro man I can't believe there will ever be a unity between them.

"LAW & ORDER"

I have read where a group of white longshoremen in the South left their jobs, to go and lead in lynching a Negro man because he was caught with a white woman. What makes me feel good is to see how the Negro people are pushing forward and fighting every inch of the way. They are turning these leaders inside out. Even Ike says he wishes the Supreme Court had not ruled in our favor and that Negro leaders should tell the ranks to go slow.

We are making him and many others show their hands openly and the force is so strong from the ranks that these Negro leaders can't slow the progress down.

LONDON STYLE & "OUR OWN BACK YARD"

The London people had to say the riot did not slow the Negroes there. Where they met whites on equal terms the whites gave ground. The difference between there and here is the police don't carry guns and no one was killed by them. They seem to arrest the ones that were the cause and it seems they will be punished for it. (See "Our Life & Times," page 8) Here the Negro's worst enemy is the law enforcement officers with their guns, their arrests, murders and jail sentences always tripling that of the white. Even if they attack the Negroes at every point and have all the odds, it has not lessened the Negro's fight for his complete rights but forces them to fight harder and some say, "the time is not as long, as it has been."

Worker Against No-Strike Clause

Detroit—During World War II they tried to force us to a no-strike pledge. Now they're trying to force us to a no-strike pledge even without a war.

Last time, Reuther didn't come right out in the open against strikes. But he gave up our right to strike when he started to call the production man

a "wildcatter" and cracked down on our strikes. He's sold us out so far to get his contract, that we have to do whatever the capitalist wants us to do. If it's this bad without a war, you can be sure it'll be worse when there is a war and they use the excuse of "not helping the enemy" to crack down on us. —Chrysler Worker

A WEEK AT CHRYSLER'S — WILDCAT

Detroit—At Chrysler while Reuther and his boys were at the bargaining table trying to work out a new contract agreement workers walked out and shut the plant down.

The walk-out was over working conditions and firing of workers who can not keep up with production standards.

In the paint shop some older workers were fired because they could not take this impossible fast pace of the line. This started the wild cat strike. The workers are saying, "We were expecting the union to make some effort to do something about these conditions and restoring our stewards and shop committeeman system. When the daily paper came out and showed union and company big shots having a joint birthday party for the president of our local union, then we understood what the company is doing to us, and the union has been sanctioning it all along.

How is it possible that a group of men, supposedly in opposition to each other, can eat and drink together at the same party? Then the union big shots yell to the work-

UNEMPLOYMENT POLIO EPIDEMIC HIGHEST IN DETROIT

Detroit — I feel that the whole world should know how I and all other fathers with large families feel.

We can't turn our radio or television on or read a paper without hearing the cry for money for polio drives to help them fight polio.

Who in the world could do any more than the production workers have done. The majority of them gave from 75c to \$1 a week from their checks. How do they expect to get anything from our unemployment checks.

Who has helped spread this terrible disease any more than Walter Reuther and the capitalists have done since they kicked us out of our shops and put us on unemployment lines.

The disease has spread among our families. Undernourished children in a run down condition cannot fight off germs. The top amount of unemployment is \$55 per week. You must have 6 or more in your family in order to get that.

How can we feed, give our children vitamins, pay rent, lights and gas on \$55 a week? Who could help this any more than the president of our country and the president of our union?

What are they doing to

ers, "We are here in your interest."

WORKERS WANT TRUE REPRESENTATION

For the first time in many years the union leaders such as committeemen and stewards are not yelling, "Stay on the job, let us settle it at the bargaining table." One reason for this is that they are working in production along with all the other workers, and the union heads are at the bargaining table. The company has used these stewards and committeemen for years as the ones to stop walk-outs. Actually to boss the workers for them. Now the company has the workers where they think they can handle them without the help of the stewards and committeemen.

One steward was telling a worker how vicious the company has gotten in the past several years and how workers are dumb to take it. The worker said, "Yes, and you and other stewards are more to blame for it than any one else. When we had problems we sometimes could not get you nor any other representative of ours until we began to walk out. Then you came running, yelling that we can't do it. Now you all are working and we are dumb not to strike for you guys. We want representation, we need it but it's not our dumbness that we do not have it. It is you leaders' lack of understanding and lack of believing in us, in our strength to maintain good working conditions. You siding with the company, like our president is doing at the bargaining table today. These wild cat strikes are spreading. Fords and General Motors are having them every day and I am hoping they consolidate themselves, and then something will have to change." —Production Worker

help this matter? Wayne County alone has over 600 cases of polio and 16 deaths, on top of all this unemployment. The cry was to contact your health Center to get the shots but when you get there the first thing they say is, "Are you going to pay for this serum?" How much can an unemployed worker pay for the serum?

They wait until they have an epidemic before doing anything about it.

They don't care for our children, whether they live or die. This is what our leaders think of us.

—A Disgusted Family

WILDCAT STRIKE AT FORD HIGHLAND PARK

Detroit—The oldest plant of the Ford Motor Company was finally, after 10 years of peace, hit by a strike. On Saturday morning, September 6th, the members of Local 400 refused to go to work and formed a picket line in front of all gates.

The company was probably shocked to death. Local 400 never, never strikes! They might walk out on a so-called extended lunch period, but never anything so un-American, so unorthodox, so unauthorized as a strike: thanks to the passive well fed leadership.

This Italian dominated local never becomes upset unless one of the Italian brothers is in trouble. All due regards to Italians but there happen to be other groups to represent.

WORKERS WANT GRIEVANCES SETTLED

Off the record the leaders were undoubtedly ordered to pull a wildcat in order to add fuel to the fire Reuther was trying to build under the contract negotiations. Valid reasons for a walkout are always available. Now that reasons have been accidentally revealed some of them might have to be settled before we return to work. The contract has been signed; we are still picketing.

It isn't very easy to cool down the workers once they have become excited over an idea. Of course only about 200 of the 2800 have been putting on any mileage in front of the gates, but that's enough to stop the show. Even the reluctant sideliners believed the "work without a contract" nonsense had gone far enough.

This aged plant is slowly vanishing. The truck job moved to Kentucky. Half of the trim job has moved to smaller plants. East of Oakland Avenue has moved to Mt. Clemens, and all buildings West of John R. are to be torn down. In three years, the length of our new contract, Ford Highland Park might be a beautiful golf course.

—Ford Worker

CHRYSLER WILDCAT

The latest wildcat strike at Chrysler is different. Friday morning, August 3rd, a picket line started with just a few, but in 10 or 15 minutes it grew to cover the whole plant and shut it down. . . .

After we got our pay we went to the union hall for a meeting. The local union officers didn't show, but 3,000 workers were there.

To understand what's happening at Chrysler you have to know what's happening throughout the country.

—Production worker.

WATCH FOR THE NEXT ISSUE OF NEWS & LETTERS for a full report of these new developments throughout Auto.

—Ed.

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

BRITISH SHOP STEWARDS MOVEMENT

I take pleasure in printing in place of my column, an analysis of the Shop Stewards Movement in Britain, by Eric Heffer of Liverpool.—A.T.

I have been a Federation

steward—full time but paid by the firm, a situation forced on the employers by the men—in a number of sites where thousands of men are. Today of course I find it difficult to get on the big jobs. I am banned and am forced to take employment in the municipal workshop. Shop stewards are, in England, elected by the workers directly from the shop floor. They are elected any day, and can be removed anytime. They are given a formal card by the Union, but in the main that is only a formality. I have never known any steward to be refused his credentials by the union after he had been elected by the members.

"UNOFFICIAL STRIKES"

Most stewards (particularly in the Engineering shop, ship yards and large building jobs) form Joint Shop Stewards Committees, which transcend the mere interests of any one union. These committees represent all the workers, and act unitedly. They are certainly changing in composition because stewards often change, and in that sense are separate and often opposed to the official Trade Union machinery. You often hear the "leading" trade unionists condemn the irresponsible actions of the shop steward, who are charged with calling "unofficial" strikes, etc. (In America you call them "Wildcats," incidentally,—why? The name intrigues me). Only this week Sir Tom Yates, this year's chairman of the T. U. C., attacked those responsible for unofficial strikes, and said they were either Communists or self styled militants who were responsible to no one.

CONFLICT WITH UNION OFFICIALS

The shop stewards do not hold all the power, as some think—but they do genuinely reflect the workers because they are workers, elected by them to do a job, and as often as not in conflict with the T. U. officials, who all the time try to limit the powers of the shop stewards, and restrict their activities to checking T. U. cards and seeing to welfare matters. They do not want them to "negotiate." It is in this that the struggle takes place. The T. U. officials early saw that the best way to destroy the stewards movement was to make them official, recognize them and put them into the machinery of the union. This is what has happened, but as yet they haven't completely been successful, the reason being is that the workers have kept the right to elect and throw out the stewards any time, and do not have lists put before them by the union. It is this control by the workers, which the official machine would like to destroy. The

same goes for local trade councils.

ACT FOR WORKERS

The shop stewards committees are potentially, and actually on occasion the revolutionary organs of the workers. They act as the committee of the workers, literally force foremen off jobs (make firms sack them) "blacking" work and get higher bonus payments through what the employers call "black-mail" or "holding a pistol to our heads," but it's very rare that they act in a political sense outside of the factory, although this has been known to be done. The famous occasion was the election of the first Labour Government after the war in 1945.

However, a word of warning. Shop Stewards Committees are often "captured" by C.P.'s who begin using them to further the Party's policy. The same also goes for Trotskyist (The Labour Party as a Party, doesn't capture anything, but many stewards are in the L.P., but probably a minority throughout the country) and then the Committee ceases to be a genuine organ of the workers and it's turned into a satellite of "the Party." However, with control being in the hands of the workers the "vanguardists" are forced to acquiesce to the workers, and the vanguardists can never have absolute control. However, if they seized power in the country the position would be different, and the Shop Stewards would then be organs of oppression.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The battle around the shop stewards will obviously intensify. The men and the stewards will seek greater "power," whilst the officials will try even stronger to curb the stewards. In reality again it is but a reflection of the struggle between capital and labour. The men and the stewards wish to concern themselves with the affairs of management whilst the officials concede that managerial functions are primarily the concern of the management. That in itself shows how subordinate they are in practice, despite all their resolutions calling for "nationalization," never, of course, with workers control.

The struggle will only really be resolved when either complete control passes into the hands of the Labour Lieutenants making them the genuine Generals of Capital, or the revolution takes place when no doubt the Shop Stewards will be superceded by other forms, when in fact the workers become genuinely free and the division of mental and physical labour is destroyed forever.

EDITORIALS

UAW VERSUS AUTO WORKERS

In Detroit the press and T.V. have been full of the smiling face of Walter Reuther claiming great victories in the Ford contract. He places great faith in what he calls the "give and take" of the bargaining table. Management takes all and Reuther gives away what isn't his to give—the workers' rights. No wonder Vice-president of Ford Bugas looked like the cat who swallowed the canary.

For 5 months Reuther and his paid pork-choppers have been discussing contracts with the auto industry. Yet, never in this period has he made the slightest effort to sit down over a bargaining table with the workers in the auto industry. If he did he would find out that they are not interested in his SUB schemes, which never give them more than 3 or 4 dollars a week and which need a Philadelphia lawyer to figure out. He would find that they want to discuss working conditions, speedup, layoffs, seniority, automation, job security, and grievance procedures.

After the contract, the dissatisfaction of the Ford workers burst out into strikes. That has now, become the steady feature of Reuther's victories—wildcatting.

THE WORLD IS DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS

The world has never been closer to World War III than presently. Those directly involved in the never-ending series of "incidents" of our crisis-ridden world are Communist China and Formosa. But everyone, rightly, is looking, not at Mao and Chiang, but at Khrushchev and Ike.

For the truth that is as big as life and as awesome as death is that our contemporary world is divided into two, and only two, parts—Russia and America.

No matter where the crisis breaks out at any point—whether it is immense China with its 640 million inhabitants, or little Lebanon, and no matter who next gets involved—even if it is America's "major" ally—as was the case during the Suez crisis when Britain and France joined Israel's attack on Egypt—those parties must withdraw when Russia and America are not ready to come to blows at that spot. Are they ready now?

BRINK OF WAR STRATEGY

That brink-of-war strategist, Dulles, has gotten himself so wound up in abstractions on "aggression" that he cannot see the forest for the trees or, more precisely, he cannot see the holocaust that could put an end to civilization as we have known it, for the byplay of Mao on Quemoy.

Of course, the "aggression" is on the part of Mao's China—if anyone today can be shocked by the ordinary imperialist ways of reclaiming an island which is so near the mainland that all American reporters are comparing the distance from Quemoy to China to the relationship of Staten Island to New York City.

Of course, acting on Mao's initiative, Khrushchev agreed that the "timing" is perfect for, in the world's eyes, America's landing troops in Lebanon hardly entitled the Administration to shout "aggressor" at another.

No one in this country doubts that the Administration would hardly win a popularity poll now. Fully 80% of letters received at the State Department are against the Administration's China policy. No war threat has ever been more unpopular than the present one. President Eisenhower recognized that fact when he doubled up his tongue for his appearance on TV. Eisenhower said, at one and the same time, that he would not sacrifice a single American life for Quemoy—but that the "bigger principle" was "non-aggression."

In a word, he will not let a single American soldier die "for" Quemoy, but he will let thousands die on Quemoy.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SAY "NO" TO WAR

No wonder that the American people will have none of Ike's gobbledygook, and turned instead, to watch T.V.'s other show, "The Price Is Right."

Ike's price was as phony as his "principle." What is involved is not "aggression" or "non-aggression." What is involved is this: will civilization hang on the brink of nuclear extinction because the two giants contending for world power are presently so crisis-ridden in their own countries, with their own working people, that they are ready to shoot it out?

It will not be as easy to switch off the war as it was to switch channels when Ike spoke. But the American people have thus shown where they stood in no uncertain terms: this senseless rush to war better stop right now.

CHRYSLER'S PRESIDENT

How many noticed in Colbert's (President of Chrysler Corp.) letter to all workers, part of their offer: "3. To improve the no-strike clause and other clauses in the contracts concerning strikes."

If you remember shortly after Briggs took over Briggs they wrote a letter saying they have taken over and there are a lot of rumors but nothing will change. All agreements and contracts would remain the same as with Briggs.

We found out about this new letter coming by reading the daily paper.

How could they say workers should agree with them on a no-strike pledge. They're saying just give me a bigger stick to hit you over the head with.

Production worker
Detroit

A worker showed me the letter from Chrysler and one aspect of Colbert's letter is so like Khrushchev that I thought I was reading The Pravda.

He writes, "Chrysler Corporation can play an extremely important part in making our economy and the community dynamic in the months ahead. We have a strong sales force, a splendid dealer organization, and have already won great dealer and press acclaim with our new 1959 models.

"We now have to work together to build them well and sell them to the public."

Every time I read it I think I am hearing Khrushchev speak.
Russian intellectual
New York

AUTO CONTRACTS

I saw John Bugas, Ford's chief negotiator, and Reuther on television right after they had signed the contract. They were in a friendly, first-name, mood. Bugas spoke first. He stressed the point that the contract would not break the company financially. He also happened to mention that the company would be able to get the work done in the factory now.

He kept saying how

To our readers:

We regret that we could not print all the letters and articles sent in. Unfortunately we have only 8 pages and money only for a monthly.

Watch for your article and letters in the next issue. They will be printed if they have not become "yesterday's news."

We print as many as we can, so, please, keep writing to us.

—Editor

Readers

happy Ford was with the deal. Finally he seemed to realize that he was putting Reuther in a bad position, so he added that of course he didn't mean that the UAW leadership had sold out, or anything like that. He referred to Reuther as a "rough, tough bargainer."

Reuther was all smiles, too. When the company and the union are hand in glove, you can be sure it is the workers who are losing out.

Disgusted
Detroit

The Chevrolet Van Nuys plant, was on strike here because there were 1,200 workers on the streets during and after model-change and a small force working over-time, so the laid-off workers formed a picket line and closed down the plant.

Unemployed
Chrysler Worker
Los Angeles

UNITED MINE WORKERS

In the last issue of the paper there was an article in the coal section about Consol trying to get one man to work on a machine. We don't have that problem now where I worked. We have nothing but continuous miners now. I suppose what the company will do now is try to have only two men working on a miner. They always used three before, but I've heard some men say that they're trying to get the miner operator to do the pinning, too.

Laid-off Miner
West Virginia

They got 38 of those big cars on my section yesterday. We're averaging about that every day. That means about 80 tons per man. You can figure out what they're making when you read that the last contract was signed on the basis of 11 tons per man.

Working Miner
West Virginia

There was a big write-up on the front page of the paper about John L. Lewis' brother making a speech about the coal industry looking up to better times. He must be blind or deaf or both. I know he's a District President in the southern part of the state, but he must be talking to the operators. The men that are laid off, and the ones still working, all know better.

Laid-off Miner
West Virginia

I never thought I'd live to see the day when I'd say something like this, but you know, the way things are in the mine now, I think the company

did those men a favor when they laid them off.
Working Miner
West Virginia

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

My respect for Roy Wilkins was boosted 100% when he appeared on television and faced a panel of rude and hostile reporters. Some had a reputation as "liberals." Not one asked a sympathetic question; all were opposed to the work of the NAACP.

A reporter asked Wilkins about Eisenhower, and Wilkins said the president had failed to show any kind of leadership on the integration question. The reporter said, "Don't you think the president should be the leader of all the people including the whites? Shouldn't he represent them too?" Wilkins said he thought he should support what is morally right and what is lawful.

I have often thought the NAACP was too conservative. But when it faces that kind of stupidity even from so-called liberals, you have to be with it, Wilkins certainly "out-gentlemanned" everyone there.

White Reader
Detroit

By closing the schools Faubus has clearly proved that ignorance and segregation are inseparable. The idea of opening a private school system, in which wealthier students would be at an even greater advantage than they have been, proves that segregation and capitalism nourish one another. The southern teachers, like most of the northern ones, by failing to take a stand for integration, prove that higher education and the ideals of their exalted profession rest upon fear and ignorance. American education propagates the words of democracy and the practices of totalitarianism.

The only good news in the many reports about the southern school problem is that certain groups of high school students, Negro and white, have met to learn as much as they can without teachers while the schools are closed.

Teacher
Detroit

WAR & PEACE

Below is a duplicate of a letter which I have just sent to TIME MAGAZINE. Perhaps you may find it suitable for publication in NEWS & LETTERS. If you have read the lead column in the latest issue of TIME, you may understand my fury. "Sir: As a young man who is on the threshold of induction into the

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Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second class mail privileges authorized at Detroit, Michigan.

Views

armed services of the United States, I am in search of a cause for which to fight. I was not surprised when TIME supplied one.

"You mention that the 'vital difference' between Dienbienphu and Quemoy is that 'United States prestige is directly at stake.' With pride, I now march forward for God, Country, and prestige."

I have rarely been so infuriated by such crass misinterpretation of political shenanigans. I always have been an angry young man of sorts, but if this type of nonsense continues, I shall certainly be beat very soon.

Student
Detroit

* * *

I don't get scared anymore when war is threatened, because I know if it's averted this time, it won't be the next time, or the time after that.

I know the brink-of-war strategists are going to trip on that brink someday and fall into the 3rd World War.

Young mother
Los Angeles

* * *

When I listened to Ike as he compared Quemoy to Munich, I really got scared. Why should anyone go to war to help Chaing Kai-shek sit on thousands of Formosans?

Housewife
Los Angeles

FRANCE

The referendum in France, which has recently been a no party state under the dictatorship of De Gaulle, was a means of strengthening capitalism and subjugating Africans to brutal French imperialism. Of what value is a ballot cast in the presence of armed guards for whom only affirmative votes are legitimate?

Doubtful
Detroit

* * *

READERS ABROAD

A few days ago I had the great pleasure to read your interesting journal News & Letters...

We wish to let you know what we are looking for. We are looking for 1) an exchange of views on the theoretical and political problems of Marxism, 2) the development of relations for collaboration, on the basis of the historical necessity, for a modern Marxist movement and of the common interests of all the countries...

I was very interested to read in News & Letters the articles of Dunayevskaya about the modern position of Marxist thought and the search of a real Humanism.

A new reader
Greece

The British Trotskyists (all groups) measure how progressive a worker is (or is not) by trying to discover whether he voted Labor or Conservative. Now I have often pointed out that many workers who have broken free of bourgeois ideas frequently refuse to vote at all. (I have often heard life-long Labor men say: "What's the use of voting; they are all alike, all out for themselves?") Our Trotskyist friends here say that these workers are not progressive at all, but just burnt out. I disagree.) The point

I am making is that the number of votes a radical candidate gets is no measure of class consciousness in a given area at a given moment in time. A far better measure of increasing class-consciousness is the ever increasing number of industrial struggles in the past period. There have been for example a year by year increase in unofficial strikes in the Scottish coalfields since the introduction of nationalisation.

J. Y.
England

REPORT & APPEAL TO OUR READERS

(Continued from Page 1)
faced Faubus' bayonets at the school door itself...

What does this mean when we are living in a state-capitalist society and are stretching our hands to that new society where the free individual is the social entity—what does it mean when we say we will put out this paper, spread this book, this organization? They are our proof that when we talk of how much it takes to put out NEWS & LETTERS that 'each figure becomes the mirror of the inter-relationship between necessity and freedom, what we are now and what we hope to be when we become part of the new Working Class Humanist movement' on our way to that society where the individual is what counts.

—Financial Secretary

* * *

With the size family I have it would be pretty hard to say exactly what I can do. By being unemployed and not knowing when I'm going back to work, I don't know just where it will come from. But I'll say this: I'll pledge a hundred, and do my very best. If I can't get it out of my salary, I'll go out and raise it some other way...

I think the pledges we make here are wonderful. But if we only don't stop at the pledges we make and get on out with the paper more. That's the way I feel. Of course, after every convention, anywhere I've been, you're running over with eagerness to get out and do things. And a few weeks after you die. We just don't keep pushing.

I can remember when we used to pay a dollar a month to join, or rather a dollar to join and a dollar a month dues, to the

UAW-CIO. With the financial reports that they give us now, we haven't got anything. They spend more for drinks than this organization spends for everything. And they take it out of our sweat and blood. I was just listening to the financial report and thinking. I went to Atlantic City and one night's party that they gave for the delegates there would run this paper for ten years. One night's party, and who pays it? People like us, with our dues to the UAW. They don't pay it, WE pay it. Plus their salaries.

It just looks to me like we'll have to push ourselves more. They push themselves. When they get ready for a drive, they get out and have one. And don't spend any of their own money, just ours.

—Unemployed
Auto Worker

* * *

I thought the report was not so much part of the financial page, as the philosophic page, because I never heard such a terrific analysis of just what money means, coming out of human labor, and just where it's going, in our own activity here.

I can't add anything to the report at all except one quotation from Marx that I thought tied in and that is that dead labor, Marx said, in our society dead labor of capital dominates living labor or human activity, and I feel that our contributions here represent our power to transform money which is just dead labor into free human activity, both the activity of our organization and the future activity of the new society. And I'd like to pledge \$100.

—Committee Member

Please fill out the blank below with your contribution. Every \$1 helps.

NEWS & LETTERS, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich.

Here is my contribution of \$.....to help assure that News & Letters will continue to appear.

I shall send you \$..... a month. My pledge for this month is enclosed.

Name (Please Print)
Address
City Zone..... State.....

TWO WORLDS

COLONIAL REVOLTS AND THE CREATIVITY OF PEOPLE

by Raya Dunayevskaya,
author of MARXISM AND FREEDOM

The cold war between America and Russia that began as soon as the hot war came to a halt is proof enough of the fact that World War II had not solved a single fundamental problem that capitalism, private or state, is constantly creating, and for which it is plunging humanity into constant wars. At the same time, the colonial revolts that followed World War II differed quite sharply from those that followed World War I.

The colonial struggles that arose after World War I were inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917 and followed the pattern of national liberation that linked itself to the working class struggles for a totally new social order, as witness the Chinese Revolution of 1919, led by Sun Yat Sen. On the other hand, the colonial struggles that followed World War II, and the division of world power into two colossal masses of capital, held either by America or Russia, have followed the path of compromise with the old social order.

THE ROLE OF THE ARMY AND THE COMPROMISE WITH THE OLD ORDER

Whether, as in Egypt, it was a compromise with the feudal social structure; or whether, as in Mao's China, it skipped straight to forced collectivization and industrialization a la Russia, what characterized both colonial struggles is what characterizes our whole age: the role of the State.

The greatest single feature of a class state is its Army. Whether it was only secondary army colonels, like Nasser, who achieved power through a quick coup, or General Mao, whose famous Eighth Route Army won only after literally decades of civil war, the truth is that the popular revolts in these were controlled by the Army. Never for any length of time have the untapped creative energies of the millions been brought into the construction of the new social order, as they were in the first years of the Russian Revolution.

The result is that the destruction of the old corrupt regimes of a Farouk or a Chiang has not led to a new life for millions. 600 million in China continue to be bottled up in contradictions, as Mao himself has had to admit. What, then, is it that gives Mao's China so much the appearance of "the new?"

The new seems "obvious." It was not the native bourgeoisie, as in India, that led the national struggle and achieved national independence. It was the Communist Party. True, it is not a workers' party. True, the petty bourgeois intellectuals that lead this party rely not on the masses, but on the Army. Indeed, the Chinese Constitution gives it equal status with "the Party."

Still, because Mao's obvious adversary is the corrupt Chiang who was driven from his country, despite the support both by Roosevelt and Stalin, the real opponents of Mao—the working people of China—are forgotten, and the illusion is created in many that Mao is "the progressive force" and should be supported in any "localized war." As if in this age of state capitalism and nuclear warfare any war can be "localized" or it is the task of Marxists "to take sides" in such wars! At the present moment this would be the height of folly and would doom the proletarian struggle.

The truth is that which appears as a new social order is only a new stage of—capitalism, state capitalism. Just as in World War I when the labor bureaucracy, whether in trade unions or parties, proved to be an integral part of capitalism, so in World War II the role of the petty bourgeois intellectual has changed. He has transferred his individualism into "collectivism"—the State Plan. One thing remains the same: it is the State Plan against the workers' revolution.

Plan or no plan, so decadent is capitalism and so total is its crisis precisely because each country has the two worlds of capitalists and workers, and yet the whole world divided into but two parts (See EDITORIAL) that it has not the forces nor the means nor the method to undertake the completion of the agricultural revolution or even the relief of tens of millions, much less the construction of modern industrial structures in underdeveloped countries. Neither Russia nor America has been able to help build the Aswan Dam for Egypt. In this day and age India is once again facing famine in large areas. So is China. NOT MAO, BUT THE CREATIVE UNTAPPED ENERGIES OF MILLIONS

The idea that Mao and his bureaucrats will lead China to a truly new human order is sheer fantasy. Historic viability China does not have. Every partial solution to a problem only multiplies its contradictions and brings closer the day of World War III. That is its only "historic future."

The only possible progress among a billion people in Asia and the awakened millions in Africa will come from the creative untapped energies of these billions. No military might will decide the question. The question that has been posed by the colonial revolutions is the creativity, the self-activity of the peoples themselves. Nothing on earth will prevent this solution from winning in the end.

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By ROBERT ELLERY

Once again the ringing of the nation's school bells calling children to school has assembled the white supremacists, who are hell bent to stop integration at any cost.

The anti-integration stand of Governor Faubus of Arkansas and Almond of Virginia and those their stipe is no surprise.

Encouraging is the fact Angie Evans, a white high school junior from Van Buren, Arkansas, had the spirit to face an open meeting, mostly pro-segregationists, of the school board and tell them, "Negroes have a right to attend a school just as much as anybody."

STUDENTS FOR INTEGRATION

A student-run poll of Little Rock's junior and high school students showed that 71 per cent were for the reopening of schools closed by the segregationists, even if reopened on the basis of integration. Sixty-five students at Hall High School signed a petition demanding that the schools be reopened, even if it meant integration.

That these Southern white youth, reared and educated in the South, have resisted complete brain washing is a tribute to them as well as to the just cause of the Negro, and signals hope for the future.

LIBERALS MUTE

What is missing from the integration picture is the voice of the Northern liberal, shouting loud and clear for human rights. What a

noble cause for liberals, to champion. The statements of Governor Almond and assorted nuts is front page news, yet the liberals remain in hiding. There is much pussy-footing, explanations of what is really at issue is not human dignity but the Federal Government's gaining too much control over the States. Despite the fact that integration proceeds at a snail's pace, there are more cries for moderation. The daily papers continually refer to those who won't take a clear stand on anything "responsible leaders."

President Eisenhower has still declined to take a stand on the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, saying he is sworn to uphold the Court's interpretation of the Constitution, and "Therefore for me to weaken public opinion by discussion of separate cases, where I might agree, or disagree seems to me completely unwise."

YOUTH MARCH

A committee headed by Martin Luther King, Mrs. Ralph Bunche, A. Phillip Randolph and Jackie Robinson has been organizing the Youth March for Integrated Schools. Since the unfortunate stabbing of Rev. King the date of the demonstration, to take place in Washington, D. C., has been postponed to Oct. 25 to allow as many people as possible to participate as a tribute to him.

For more information write "Youth March for Integrated Schools," 312 W. 126 St., New York City, N.Y.

'The Southern Way of Life'

I have heard that phrase so many times, especially in the last year. "Don't change our Southern way of life." But what is this "Southern way of life?" I feel that this quote from Wendell Phillips expresses my feeling on the "Southern way of life." "And by the South I mean a principle, and not a locality, an element of civil life... which believes that one-third of the race is born booted and spurred, and the other two-thirds ready saddled for that third to ride... Our struggle therefore is between barbarism and civilization!"

This holds true today just as it did one hundred years ago. In Arkansas and in Virginia Governor Faubus and Senator Byrd lead the fight to preserve the "Southern way of life."

WHAT YOUTH THINK

But while this is important, I want to talk about what concerns me most as a youth. What do the youth feel about this? In school I talked to a sixteen year old girl who had been born in Virginia and had been back for a trip this summer. I asked her how does she feel about the situation in Little Rock and Virginia. She said that she does not blame the youth in the South for not

wanting to go to school with Negroes. For years, she said, we have been taught that Negroes are inferior to whites. We cannot learn in a day that whites and Negroes are equal. For this I have but one answer. What better way to learn than to go to school with them.

"PREJUDICE IS TAUGHT TO YOU"

I asked her if she liked it in the South better than here. She answered by saying that the people in the South are so much more courteous and friendly to you. They tip their hat and always say hello. A boy who was listening asked "What about the Negroes?" A girl who was also listening said that she had talked to a white Southern girl who had come to California for a vacation. This white Southern girl said that many if not most white youth, where she had come from, were in favor of integrating. But they were afraid to say anything for fear of being beat up. She said that they met secretly with Negroes. Surveys in two southern high schools showed that the students favored integration. Prejudice is not born in you it is taught to you.

In Virginia and in Ar-

Juvenile Delinquency

Detroit—Why is there juvenile delinquency? Why? Because the youth of today don't like the way their world is run. They see no future in it.

All youth of today have some conception of what's going on. Whether in the fifth grade in school or in fourth year college. We see something wrong. We see what's happening in the factory and see what's going on down South with the fight for integration and we all come to the same conclusion—**there is something wrong with today's society!** All this evidently shows is a never ending lay-off plan and enslavement. Youth ask themselves and others, "Won't this ever end?" Our parents and school teachers can't answer this question because they don't really know themselves.

NO ONE DEALS WITH QUESTIONS OF TODAY

It's true we learn in school, but not what we want to know. If the teachers go into the problems of the world they just skim the surface and the students know nothing they didn't know before the discussion. All we did was waste some valuable time talking about nothing! No one can figure out why there is delinquency, so they just settle for vandalism. Don't people ever really try to get to the bottom of juvenile delinquency? If so, they haven't shown an answer to the easiest question around: **the fight for freedom!**

WORLD IS DELINQUENT

Marxism and Freedom has been gotten to many youth and adults too. It has shown them a new way out of this life and a way into a better one. Others won't listen to the Marxist way, or for that matter any ideas of the many other organizations for they fear that it will all be the same in the end. I can appreciate their point because it almost seems that way. If **Marxism and Freedom** could be gotten to some of these people, particularly the youth, this would be a better world faster.

All that youth are doing is fighting for their freedom and the freedom of those yet to come. It isn't the juvenile that's delinquent, it's the world around him.

—15-Year-Old High School Youth

Arkansas segregationists plotted to stop integration. Perhaps the best answer to these people is one given by the student body president of Van Buren High School, 140 miles away from Little Rock, Arkansas. At a school board meeting, which was discussing integration, she announced that a poll of 160 fellow students showed the majority in favor of integration. "Their arguments are so ridiculous," she said of the segregationists. "They've been nothing but troublemakers. Someone had to speak up."

—High School Student Los Angeles

NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS

Tyrannical public opinion, as well as tyrannical laws can destroy personal liberty. In the United States in general, and in the Southern part of the United States in particular, white people and colored people are forced to avoid each other, seldom allowing themselves to become too sociable in public or private activities. If they find it necessary to socialize to any degree, they fear the loss of friends and social prestige.

Pious theologians of the South, however, in moments of religious meditations, have advocated that it is ungodly to avoid and reject people on the basis of color; they would like to become strong, mature vessels, drifting out into the big sea, embracing the whole of humanity with friendly human relationships, but they are restrained and held at bay by the strong arms of public opinion, which, like tyrannical laws, restrict the bounds of their personal freedom.

The white South further restricts the freedom of its citizens, black and white, by the enforcement of tyrannical laws which strike at the heart of personal freedom. The public educational system, financed by taxation collected from black and white people alike, is segregated on the basis of color. Since 1865 laws have been passed to secure and maintain segregation in every facet of public activity: in

transportation, in public schools, in housing, graveyards, and ticket offices.

These blatant laws in restricting the freedom of the citizens of the South, have stuffed their social maturity, and injected into the white minds of the South a false psychology of race superiority. On the other hand, these same laws have been effected to ram-rod into the minds of the black masses a social psychology of inferiority and worthlessness.

We are living in a world that is under the impact and influence of great cataclysmic social changes; we are on the threshold of a new society, and for those of us who are genuinely mature in mind and heart, we will be better able to contribute positively to our world.

But we must be free, and in being free, we must continue to search our hearts for traces of childishness and blind ignorance, thus cultivating the harvest of maturity. Without social maturity, we are only little children marching through the night in a blind and hopeless society guided by the dictates of an out-worn psychology which denies us the right to grow up in a growing world that must continue to grow in order that it might continue to live, and in living, move closer into the hearts of men, and into the vision of the promise of spring.

—Postman, Detroit

LONDON LETTER

'Race Week' an Experiment by Fascists

The "race riots" which took place most nights during the first week of September in London and Nottingham do not reflect the attitude of the British public.

These disorders were quite definitely organized. They mark a new stage in the growth of the small fascist groups which survived the war. "Race Week" was an experiment that succeeded beyond expectations!

Notting Hill is a faded residential area of London about half an hour's walk from Marble Arch at Hyde Park. It has little industry, cheap shops in the back streets, and the once prosperous middle class houses have been converted into honeycombs of flats. In lots of these, coloured folk are crowded. Nottingham is a fair sized town in the centre of this island. It has some coal mines roundabout and some light industry.

FASCIST GROUPS STIRRING

The popular liberal daily "News Chronicle" recently conducted a Gallup Poll, came up with the conclusion that the British workers' main worry is fear of possible unemployment. The fascist groupings are trying to cash in

on this. Their slogan, tried out in the elections for the London County Council, is "Keep Britain White." In Notting Hill, this campaign had been concentrated, by frequent street corner meetings, mass leafletting and wide literature sales. The keynote: "Don't let the blacks pinch our women and jobs!"

We can learn a lot of lessons from "race week." The success with which militant rank and file workers apply these lessons will determine whether these events are a curtain raiser or wider and prolonged attempts to build up a fascist storm-troop organisation in the future. "Race week" was an attack on the white, not the "coloured" workers in Britain!

Solidarity with coloured workers is general among British trades unionists, who work with them on London's underground railways, on buses, in the docks, and in large chemical works for example.

During the recent long bus strike, the coloured workers were out solid with the rest. While our unions remain as united and tolerant as they are now, there is no question of "coloured" or any other worker getting "under the rate" in a union firm.

London Correspondent

A SCOTTISH WORKER'S STORY

A Young Scottish worker was inspired by a reading of INDIGNANT HEART by Mathew Ward, to begin writing his autobiography. He finds much in common between the struggles of Negro workers in America and Scottish workers in England.

A Chapter In Autobiography by James Douglas

The Golden Age we'll then revive;
Each man will be a brother;
In harmony we all shall live,
And share the earth together;
In virtue train'd, enlightened Youth
Will love each fellow creature
And future years shall prove the truth
That man is good by nature:
Then let us toast with three times three
The reign of Peace and Libertie.
—Robert Burns. 1759-1796

I was born in Grangemouth, a Scottish town, on the third of April, 1931. My father was first a coal miner, then a railway plate layer, and later a docker. My mother was, and is, an extraordinary, intelligent, high-spirited, working woman. To them I owe my basic understanding of the world I live in. The indestructible faith that I've now got in the ability of the working people to re-shape the world on a Socialist humanist basis derives from the courage, endurance, self-sacrifice and simple humanity of the many fine working men I have known and worked with.

My earliest and most painful memories as a child are memories of terrible poverty and humiliation. At that time I believed that our community was doomed to an unending existence of poverty, cruelty, and ugliness: a bleak and awful prospect as I detested cruelty and ugliness most of all. But I derived great comfort from my mother's determination to keep a roof over our heads in the face of the greatest of difficulties. I think that I derived comfort, too, from the words of our own Scottish poet, Robert Burns.

"He'll hae misfortunes great an' sma',
But ay a heart aboon them a'."

My father was a poorly paid railway worker at this time. He was, in fact, paid four shillings a week more than those unemployed workers who received unemployment benefit from the labour exchange. Even so, by virtue of the fact that he did not have to join the daily search for work, he was better off than most other workers in our town. He was also a trade unionist and an individual member of the Labour Party. That marked him out from other working men—as unemployed workers could not afford to belong to any working class organisation. Although my father never read much at any time—except an occasional Socialist paper—he was militant and class conscious. I vividly remember that he passionately argued with other workers in our home about "the rottenness of the capitalist system." He lashed everything that the Tories stood for. On one occasion he strongly criticised a worker who confessed that he voted Tory. My father told him that he'd "vote for a black if he represented working class interests." "In fact," he added, "I have got more in common with African and Russian workers than with any of Churchill's class." He hated the Tories like hell!

Today I know that my own special hatred of Toryism is rooted in that background. My father hated the capitalist system because of what it had done to working people. "They not only tried to starve us out," he once shouted out in anger, "but they also tried to rob us of our dignity as men." He had absolutely no patience with workers who offered a defence of Toryism. And he would always argue that the only good or progressive Tories that he knew were dead ones.

(To Be Continued Next Issue)

"We affirm as a fundamental principle, that labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates.

"Affirming this, we avow ourselves willing to accept the final results of the operation of a principle so radical, such as the overthrow of the whole profit-making system, the extinction of all monopolies, the abolition of privileged classes, universal education and fraternity, perfect freedom of exchange, and, best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma upon our so-called Christian civilization, the poverty of the masses. Holding principles as radical as these, and having before our minds an ideal condition so noble, we are still aware that our goal cannot be reached at a single leap . . . therefore,—

"Resolved, That we declare war with the wages system, which demoralizes alike the hirer and the hired, cheats both, and enslaves the workingman; war with the present system of finance, which robs labor, and gorges capital, makes the rich richer, and the poor poorer, and turns a republic into an aristocracy of capital; war with these lavish grants of the public lands to speculation companies, and, whenever in power, we pledge ourselves to use every just and legal means to resume all such grants heretofore made; war with the system of enriching capitalist by the creation and increase of public interest-bearing debts. . . ."

—Wendell Phillips

I do hope your paper will pay attention to latest figures on labor productivity, unemployment and unusually high profits. Business Week, Sept. 20, 1958, openly boast of the fact that the rise in labor productivity which jumped 4.4% in output per man hour in 1955, and another 1.4% in 1956 and still higher, 2.5% in 1957, is expected to be top this year by a 4% gain over 1957.

They shed no tears over the fact that this has meant a constant rise in unemployment but go on to gloat over the fact that the after-tax profits of the April to June quarter of this year has jumped by 15%.

Economist
Chicago

Book Review

PROPHET OF LIBERTY: The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips by Oscar Sherwin. Bookman Associates, New York.

At last there is a spirited and fairly comprehensive biography of the great Abolitionist, Wendell Phillips. Although the price, \$10, is fantastic for the pocket of any worker, the speeches of Wendell Phillips that are reproduced here make it a must for a workers library. There is nothing in today's crisis that so nails the South for the barbarism it is and that points so clearly to the creative force that the Negro represents in the necessary reconstruction of the South.

Bourgeois historians have so rewritten the period preceding and following the Civil War that to read this truthful account is like a breath of fresh air. Indeed, the research work seems very impressive at first sight. A closer look, however, reveals that the ramifications of the Abolitionist movement have escaped also the attention of this liberal professor. There is no comprehension of the self-activity of the Negroes, the millions enslaved, the thousands of runaways, and the free Negroes. A single sentence suffices to describe the great leader of the slave revolt in North Carolina, Denmark Vesey. Another leader of a great slave revolt, Nat Turner, is mentioned only by the way of the Southern press. In the 662 pages of text and 150 additional pages of references and bibliography there is not a single reference to the heroic Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman or to David Walker, whose Appeal to the Colored People, predated William Lloyd Garrison's LIBERATOR.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

SEGREGATION AND HUMAN HEALTH

There are times in almost everyone's life when he feels he must look at himself more closely and see who and what he is, and where he is going. Such a time occurs in men after an emotional shock, or when concerned with serious body disease. Nations as well as people may experience these events, and it seems to me that our country is entering such a period.

The soil out of which grew our revolution of 1776—rich as it was—had certain defects. Otherwise how could we maintain Negro slavery almost 100 years after the Declaration of Independence? And now almost another century later, the question of school desegregation still shows the lingering chronic disease at our roots. It is time to look into our soil.

Recently a physician returning from a European trip told me that he found it very difficult to answer the often repeated questions asked him about the treatment of Negro Americans. He said it helped very little to point to worse treatment of the Negro in the Union of South Africa or the race riots newly appearing in England.

LAWS BECOME JUST FETISHES

To make the statement "we have a government of laws and not of men" as though this was the answer to nation's troubles, reveals the counterfeit nature of our claim to democracy. Both the President of the U. S., and a committee of Justices of the State Courts use this formulation in recently issuing pronouncements, with solemn faces holding up the law and at the same time stepping on human beings. As though it were a matter of coffee with cream or without, Eisenhower says, I would never give an opinion about my conviction about the Supreme Court discussions because such a statement would indicate either approval or disapproval and I was never going to do it. The law without a solid human base is merely a fetish, a hollow thing.

Among physicians, as in other groups that are well-off economically, there are those who see a threat to their own well being in Negro equality. They also stand by "the law" and "states rights." When I said that laws and humanity are not always the same thing and that human rights are frequently not in laws, one physician asked, "What would you have done if Hitler needed emergency surgery and you were the only one able to do it?" I surprised him by saying I would have refused to operate.

"SEGREGATIONIST IS A DEFORMED PERSON"

Some years ago when that advocate of racism, Gerald K. Smith, came to our town to speak, I was opposed to letting him spill his poison in a public school auditorium. Yet representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union thought it best to uphold "law and free speech." This has never made sense to me. There are simple elementary truths which must never take a back place to law. A law has no meaning without human content.

Race antagonism, however, is only one facet of the abnormal living that is today's existence. The race hater, the segregationist, is a deformed person, but he is the legal offspring of a sick society. Man came into existence by differentiating himself from other animals through consciousness of himself. The maintenance of this awareness of himself—his humanity—as well as its deepening, requires the fullest activity and free mobilization of all his functions.

A society clinging to segregation is ample evidence of stunted living. We can no longer afford to live in compromise with this disease. Today the fight of every human being for full expression is the fight for all humanity to remain alive. This is the real meaning of our struggle against segregation.

It is no wonder that "the life and times of Wendell Phillips did not lead the liberal professor into the not so obvious relationship of Karl Marx and the whole Workingmen's First International to the Civil War in general and Wendell Phillips in particular. In this essential respect the few isolated pages on Abolitionism in MARXISM AND FREEDOM tell more than the 814 pages of the PROPHET OF LIBERTY.

It is especially to be regretted that Mr. Oscar Sherwin did not unearth the fact that the path of Wendell Phillips and that of the great American socialist Eugene V. Debs crossed. The then young

secretary of the Railwaymen's Union shared the platform with the grand old orator who was the only one of the Abolitionists who had gone straight over to the labor movement after slavery was abolished. Yet Mr. Sherwin writes beautifully when he describes Wendell Phillips in his old age taking up the cudgels for the "battle of labor." (See quote on this page.)

The inadequacies of the work notwithstanding, this book should be in everybody's library because it gives a picture not easily gotten of the most glorious, and most neglected, page of our history—the great Abolitionist movement.

WAR CLOUDS OVER CHINA

(Continued from Page 1)

and so universally detested is he by the Chinese, that Mao found it easy to create a situation whereby he could point to the threat of foreign intervention in order to divert the mounting unrest of the Chinese masses.

INSIDE MAO'S CHINA

What is the situation inside China itself? First there is the fact that Mao is head of a government which speaks for over 600 million on the Chinese mainland, as against Chiang Kai Shek, whom they expelled, to the small island of Formosa where he can't even speak for the 600,000 over whom he sits.

Then there is the fact that in over 100 years of China's struggle for unification and independence from foreign rule, Mao, in 1949, with his powerful peasant army was able to unify China and expel foreign rule and subdue or incorporate the various war lords who had separately bled their own provinces.

It was one thing for Mao to win almost unanimous support against Chiang. But the elimination of China's centuries' old poverty and its reconstruction from 30 years of war devastation is an entirely different matter. Full-blown, Mao introduced totalitarian state capitalist controls with a ready-made one-party Communist apparatus which he had built up in his army.

Of 640 million, less than 15 million are listed as workers, and the rest are engaged in the most back-breaking impoverished agricultural labor in the world.

If the poor peasants thought that by getting rid of Chiang Kai Shek, they'd free themselves from exploitation and better their own conditions, one of Mao's spokesmen set them straight by explaining that "the basic aim of agrarian reform is not purely one of relieving poor peasants it is designed to set free the rural productive forces."

If the workers thought that under Mao they could improve their conditions of life and labor, the state let them know they had better submit to speed-up—or else—by warning those workers who "do not clearly see the relation between the interests of the individuals and the interests of the State ... and, regardless of the financial ability of the State, demand too high wages ... and living conditions."

Of the 15 million classified as workers, less than 5 million are actually industrial workers, the remaining 10 million are administrators, technicians, teachers, government workers.

To force the workers and poor peasants to submit to this weight of oppression, Mao has regimented every single aspect of family and personal life.

PUTTING WOMEN TO WORK AND RURAL "COMMUNES"

The latest and most ambitious scheme is what the Chinese rulers dare call rural "communes." Any relationship to the old socialist ideal and principle of the Paris Commune—self-government—is out of the question. This fantastic scheme, officially called "People's Public Communities," is controlled strictly from Peking. Its aim is the intensification of the literally around-the-clock work that has been the lot of the Chinese masses. Presently this means the following:

(1) 750,000 "People's Co-operative Farms," or collectives, are to be transformed into 100,000 larger units in which all, including housewives, become "wage workers," that is to say are regimented like factory workers. This scheme was first introduced quietly in April in Honan Province near Peking, speeded up in July, and by now (September 23) a Hsinhua New China News Agency dispatch claims that 30% of the 500 million peasants have been consolidated into these communes in Honan, Liaoning, Hopei, Shansi, Tsinghai, Shantung, Heilungkiang and Kwangsi.

(2) Tens of millions of millions of women are "freed" from household chores and must work in the field alongside the men full time. Nurseries take care of the children and then the family comes, not home, but to a huge public mess hall. The women who do not do individual household work must therefore cook for approximately 8,000, the average membership in a commune.

(3) Since all are now wage workers and there is no ownership, private or collective, of the land, the inhabitants may be shifted from farm work to the factory.

(4) Indeed, the scheme is not to have the city or industry "lead" the farm, but the other way around. Thus these "communes" not only farm large areas under its control, but build and manage industries, handle trade and banking, and assume a military type of organization, arming and training all the able bodied, men and women.

In face of this, all previous and still existing, forms of control and spying on the population, such as, block committees in the cities and health stations in the Villages, for maintaining police control, pale into insignificance before this super regimentation and Plan to push all labor into forced labor, literally around the clock.

MASS RESISTANCE

Nevertheless, mass resistance can be seen on the countryside just like in the city. Thus the latest information, especially that given to its "cadres" (read: small and large bureaucrats, officials) is to slow up a bit. For example, they have been told that this reorganization need not at once abolish "co-operative ownership," and must not interfere with the gathering of the autumn's harvest.

Despite this totalitarian terror, the workers' resistance can be glimpsed from the repeated complaints in

NOTTING HILL, ENGLAND

Recently a mob of "teddy boys" raged through the Notting Hill section of London, inhabited by West Indian Negroes, in the first and worst racial disturbance in British history. The riot was organized and led by British fascists under the leadership of Mosley, old friend of Hitler. (See "London Letter").

In sharp contrast to the way things of this nature are handled in the United States, the police arrested the white rioters and promptly passed out 4 year jail sentences.

Judge Cyril Salmon, in sentencing 9 who went out with clubs and iron bars looking for trouble said, "As far as the law is concerned, you are entitled to think what you like, however foul your thoughts, to feel what you like, however brutal and debased your emotions, to say what you like provided you do not infringe the rights of others or imperil the Queen's peace.

"But once you translate your dark thoughts and brutal feelings into savage acts such as these, the law will be swift to punish you, the guilty, and to protect your victims."

If our Bill of Rights was enforced as the British law has been then we would see Gov. Faubus and his ignoble colleagues serving a four year prison term instead of another four years in public office. What the Supreme Court here is reaping is the bitter fruit of a Civil War which won on the battlefields and lost in the Court through "gentlemen's agreements" which gave back the White South white men's laws. In the South oppression and discrimination have always worn a white face.

Mao's official newspaper, "The People's Daily," which blasts workers for high absenteeism, lateness, violation of factory regulations and working procedures and the large number of defective pieces and rejects which are produced.

The speed with which the discussions unloosed by his famous "Let 100 Flowers Bloom" speech were forbidden, and the mass arrests which followed, show how widespread is the unrest in all strata of the population.

AMERICAN CRISIS

If the timing of the Formosa crisis indicates the mass unrest which Mao is trying to divert and suppress in China, it also reflects the internal unrest in America. Not only did the Administration reveal its hand in the Middle East at a time when millions of American workers were being laid-off, the actual sending of military

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

FRANCE

France, under DeGaulle, has accepted the new constitution, abolished the Fourth Republic, and accepted a form of dictatorship they call the "Fifth Republic". The victory of DeGaulle was not without violent protests from those most affected by it.

The Algerians, fighting for their complete freedom, have carried the Algerian war from North Africa into the streets of Paris. Police have been fired upon in the streets and killed, bombs have been thrown, and the DeGaulle forces are on a 24 hour alert.

France has also been treated to a sample of what DeGaulle will do when he gets his dictatorial power. Over 4,000 Algerians have been picked up by the police and thrown into French concentration camps without trial. Running gun battles take place on Paris streets. Sudden arrest, search and seizure are commonplace.

The Press, Radio and television have been seized and put under complete government control of Soustelle, the most rabid of the DeGaulle fascists.

Formerly it was a matter of great French pride that all forms of communication were free of government control. Now every post is filled by a Soustelle hatchet man. Those who openly oppose have been exiled to the provinces.

A study of the DeGaulle vote will reveal that French Guinea rejected the proposal by a huge majority, that the Algerians refused to vote, and that the workers in the cities voted against it. DeGaulle carried the day through the support of the shopkeepers, the farmers, the middle class. The seeds for it were planted by the Communists and intellectuals who so feared

the workers taking power in their own hands that they paved the way for fascism.

SOUTH AFRICA

Black men in South Africa have been forced to pay a head tax of \$2.80 per year. It is now doubled even though they earn an average yearly wage of less than \$369. All whites are exempt if they earn less than \$420 per year.

TANGANYIKA

The first elections in Tanganyika, where each of five constituencies was to elect an African, a European, and an Asian, resulted in a clean sweep for the Tanganyika African National Union, who elected all their own candidates plus all the Europeans and Asians that it supported. The TANU defeated the African National Congress and the United Tanganyika Party, which campaigned on a "multi-racial" basis. The party is a moderate nationalist movement led by Julius Nyerere.

UNITED NATIONS

The vote in the United Nations on the question of admitting Red China as a member revealed how extremely weak is the position of the United States on the question.

Brink-of-war Dulles sponsored the motion to delay and postpone the question for another year. It won 40 to 29 with 10 nations abstaining. No doubt those who abstained would have voted against the American resolution except that America holds the purse strings. In that sense the resolution came within one vote of losing.

To ignore a nation of 640 million people, for any reason, is to reveal the United Nations as a tool to be used in the power struggle with Russia.

units to Formosa took place at a time of intensified repression of Negroes in the South.

What lies beneath the Russian-American maneuvers in the international crisis, is the fact that neither Mao nor Khrushchev can solve their internal contradictions any more than the American capitalists can.

The one thing they have in common is that they are all willing to sacrifice the lives of the world's millions to maintain their power.

To Our Readers

Please note that there is a new masthead on the front page of News & Letters. For the next few months we will print, on an experimental basis, suggestions by our readers. News & Letters committees authorized the

Editorial Board to then choose one, to be submitted for a final vote. This month it is "This Paper Speaks the Truth Whenever It Is Needed."

Please send us your suggestions!

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