

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

THE \$64 QUESTION

When the question is asked: "What kind of work would a man like to do?" it reminds me of the 64 dollar question. There is no direct or concrete answer but you can be sure the kind of work that the production workers are doing, in the manner they have to do it, is not the kind of work they want to do. There are so many contradictions in the life of a human being who has to hire out his labor power for wages.

We have just returned to work after a five week lay off. Practically every worker said they were bored at home and wanted to be back in the shop. Not just because they need the money and are behind in their bills but also because they wanted to be working.

NOT HUMAN

After several days back these same workers were saying, "I wish there was some way I could earn my living besides coming into this plant with this production, with the foreman yelling, with this factory discipline. It's miserable. You are not a human. You don't feel free to do anything, not even to think unless it is how to make more production."

We were back to work one day and were notified that beginning the following Monday the schedules would be changed. We will begin work at 6 a.m. instead of 6:30 because the company is behind in its production schedules. That same day some workers were laid off. It also meant that workers would be getting out of bed at 4:00 a.m. and 5:00 a.m. to be at work on time. Not one word from the union leadership about this. Yet thousands of workers are already laid off by the company. To make it worse the company sent most of us home at the end of 8 and some times 8 1/2 hours. As a worker put it, "You work to get enough money to buy enough food to give you enough strength to go back to work."

"HOW DUMB CAN A MAN GET?"

The second week at work we were told that we would have to attend a class in the plant for one hour a few times each week, with about 400 workers at a time attending. The lectures are by the plant manager. He talked about the competition among the big three auto companies, and particularly the drop in sales of the Chrysler cars. He pointed out what was the basic cause and as usual the main reason was the production workers—the bad quality of their work, their attitude to the

work, their lack of interest in the work. He concluded that the future of his job, the future of the company and the future of our jobs rest in us. He vaguely mentioned the office workers, foremen and engineers. We were then shown a picture of how people react when they buy a new product and it is no good and conks out on them. How they talk to others and stop many other customers from buying the product.

They didn't have a question and answer period but there were plenty of questions and answers among the workers. As one worker said, "Heck, I could have told him about those leaks and welds breaking. The speed we have to go at to make production is one of the causes. If you do not make production you can be fired." Another worker said, "Man, did you hear that fellow talk about attitude toward your work. How dumb can a man get? They have a time study man telling you that you can get more and then some more, the foreman breathing down your neck for 8 solid hours. You never have enough to pay your bills. Now these people have you getting up at 4 o'clock in the morning and all day you feel like you're in a strait-jacket. Then he says we have the wrong attitude towards our work. This isn't work, it's slavery."

WORK, BUT NOT IN A FACTORY

The big thing is that Chrysler tried to put Automation in place of all the workers in the plant. On the machine where I work we are pushing buttons. We put a long back fender into the machine to weld it. Sometimes we hear the welds breaking before we get it out. Sometimes we call the repairman. The foreman rushes up and yells at him saying we are standing around not working. The repairman gets angry and says the machine is okay. We have to rush back to work and the welds continue to break.

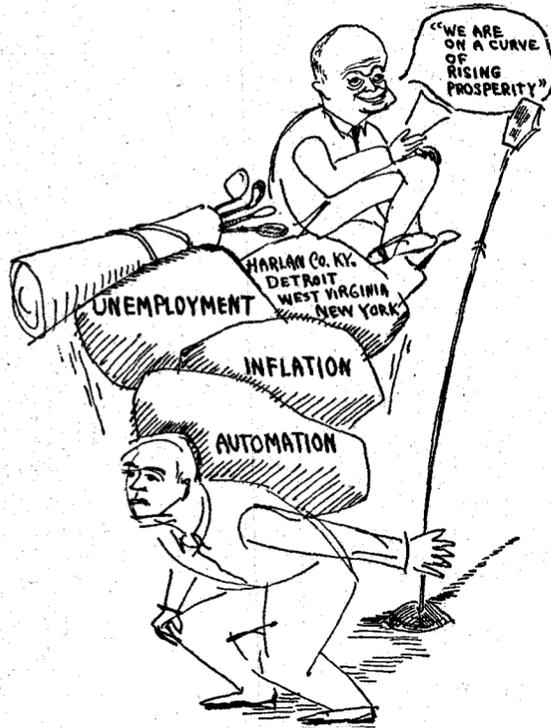
We don't say a word. We are caught in a vice and man it's squeezing us tight. If we don't get quantity we are fired. Now if we don't make quality we are causing the company to go out of business. All of this is impossible to do with the high standard of production. It is impossible for a worker to have a good attitude toward his work.

Yes, what kind of work would you enjoy doing? One thing, not in a factory where a man has to slave to exist.

The Workweek and The Kind of Labor

UNEMPLOYED TO MEET IN WASHINGTON

April 8 is the date set by Walter Reuther for the National Conference of Unemployed. He hired a hall seating over 5,000, and seems to be intent on talking the conference to death. Reuther had nothing to say on the primary question of workers' control of production, without which it is impossible to control the disastrous effects of Automation on the workers. It is unlikely that he will produce any solution on April 8. But, once started, neither Reuther nor anyone else will be able to control all the activities of the workers, employed as well as unemployed, who have marched on Washington.



EDITORIAL: An Appeal

The Rank & File Speak

An auto worker called News & Letters to tell us about the March 8th meeting of Local 212 of the UAW, called to ratify an agreement with the Chrysler Corporation on Seniority. This worker added, "I know you need money to publish your paper. I feel sure that many workers like me would be glad to help you in this. We would like an explanation of the agreement and a chance to fight it."

News & Letters is proud of the fact that it has always been the voice of the rank and file worker, in his struggle against both management and the labor bureaucracy. It is glad, once again, not only to print what the workers had to say at that meeting (see page 3 for a full report) but to answer this worker both on his union contract and on this paper.

In railroading through the agreement, the union bureaucrats shifted the discussion away from the questions of time study, speed of the line, and seniority. Instead, they talked of the fact that unless this agreement was ratified, 8 workers who had been fired would not be put back to work. The feeling among the 3000 workers who attended the meeting ran high against this slight of hand type of talk. "What the hell are we here for?" they shouted, and "What is the union for?"

APPENDIX A

The original agreement on October 1, 1958 was a complete sellout since it gave all and every right to control the production line over to the management, prohibited strikes, and left the whole question of seniority up to "local agreements." This then—Appendix A to the Seniority Agreement—was what the March 8th meeting was about.

(Continued on Page 4)

Be Sure to Read:

EDITOR: CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN RUSSIA IN THE

TWO WORLDS COLUMN Page 5

Also:

YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

on Page 6

UNEMPLOYMENT EVERYWHERE

Automation has produced mass unemployment, not as a temporary thing, but as a permanent feature of the the American economy. Look at the situation in January according to the official figures. Michigan has 332,000 unemployed; over 75,000 Detroit jobs have been wiped out permanently by Automation, and 100,000 jobs by the cut-back in government spending. Pittsburgh has 112,000 out of work in comparison to 54,000 a year ago. Philadelphia has 128,000 unemployed. Chicago has double its number of last year, one third of them between the ages of 25 and 34. In New York after Christmas 534,557 applied for unemployment compensation; 231,000 have used up their unemployment compensation.

In coal mining 704,739 were employed in 1923 but today, with Automation, 200,000 men do their work and produce more coal. In Harlan County, Ky., all the coal mines are shut down tight. (See Page 2).

In the steel industry 10% less labor is required to produce a ton of steel. When national production rose 11% it was done with only 1% increase in manpower. In the rubber industry it took 96,000 workers to produce 87 million tires. Now 83,000 workers produce 110 million tires. In each industry the story is the same: more machines and fewer men—more speed up and greater productivity.

These figures spell out concretely what general statistics limit to a percentage point. It is not only a question of the present recession but the whole decade of 1947-57 in which manufacturing employment increased only a single percentage point. During 1956-57 there was an actual decrease in manufacturing employment, although production increased. The year 1959 holds nothing brighter in store.

REUTHER DOES NOTHING

In, the shops, on the production line, where Reuther could act, he does nothing. In one department at Chrysler 80 men were laid off and next day a notice was posted announcing a nine

(Continued on Page 8)

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

"GHOST COUNTY," U.S.A.

HARLAN COUNTY, KY.

Morgantown, W. Va. — There have been many "ghost towns" appearing in the past several years in coal mining areas when mines have been closed down. This was bad enough, but we now have a "ghost county," which is Harlan County in Kentucky.

The magazine *Time* reports that "10 years ago there were 32 big mines operating; today there are nine." Ten years ago there were 12,500 working miners; today there are 5,000, with little hope that even these will continue working.

The few mines still operating have been shut down by the miners because the operators have refused to sign new UMW contracts.

AUTOMATION IN THE MINES

It is true that Harlan County is so situated as to bear high transportation costs for the coal mined there, which is one factor creating the present condition. But by far the most important cause is the increasing automation of coal mining which has been introduced and furthered by large coal companies in mines in other areas.

While the big mines where the continuous miner has been installed have not closed down, there has been a drastic reduction in the working force, with about two-thirds of the men working at the face being laid off when the machines came in.

With the continuous miner, as much, if not more, coal is produced with one-third the previous production force, which in turn means the coal can be produced much more cheaply, undercutting operators who do not or can not have the

Breaking Down Discrimination

WEST VA.—I've got some good news on the committee working to desegregate the restaurants in Morgantown. They changed their tactics and they are making progress. They call themselves the "Morgantown Committee for the Practice of Democracy." They have an interviewing committee whose job is to go around to the different restaurants and approach the owners to see what they say. If they say there is no segregation then the testing committee sends some of the colored people out to see if they were telling the truth.

There is also another committee whose purpose is to gather information and put it in the form of a bulletin which is sent out to members. The box score so far is:

- No Discrimination 7
- Promise to desegregate in near future 1
- Vacillating policy 3
- Absolute refusal to desegregate 1

new machines, such as those in Harlan County.

Mines in Harlan County are not mechanized, so the miners there see no future for themselves — particularly when they see tipples being torn down and sold for junk at the closed mines.

MINERS' FAMILIES STARVING

The coal operators are not concerned with the suffering of human beings, so Harlan miners and their families cannot look to them for aid. The union can only say what it has in the past

—mechanize or go out of business. And when the operators go out of business, as they are in Harlan County, the union will sympathize with the miners and their families, as it sympathizes with the miners and their families who are thrown out of work when mines are mechanized.

But since workers everywhere, and particularly the miners, have had to engage in life and death struggles to achieve anything they have won, the present conditions are indicating with increasing clarity that a new struggle is beginning to form to change society into one which will provide conditions based on the needs of the people.

SCOTTISH COALFIELDS

"Nationalization" Brings "More Exploitation More Bureaucrats and Officials"

London, Eng.—"The Yorkshire miners' sense of being banded together as an army remains. It is a splendid sense; but who is the enemy?" wrote Mr. J. R. L. Anderson recently.

The short answer to Mr. Anderson's question is: the colliery (mine) managers, oversmen, deputies and full-time union officials are the real enemies of the miners. It is very significant, for example, that coal strikes have accounted for two-thirds of the strikes in the country as a whole since the advent of nationalisation.

OFFICIAL ATTACKS ACTION

A few months ago Mr. Abe Moffat, Stalinist president of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers, strongly criticized unofficial strikers in the union's monthly paper, "The Scottish Miner."

During the first six months of 1958 there were 699 unofficial strikes in the Scottish coalfields, which resulted in "a loss of 246,238 tons in coal production, over 29,000 tons more than last year."

Mr. Moffat said the loss of coal was bad enough, but worse still was the fact that 95% of these strikes took place "without the union officials being consulted." (He omits to mention, by the way, that union officials did not support even the other 5% of the unofficial strikes.)

"Some of our members might consider that this is fighting the boss," he wrote, "but it is quite the opposite and could do considerable harm to the Scottish miners and their union if it is not checked immediately."

MINERS REPLY

That is the role Scottish Stalinists are now playing in workers' struggles. The miners, on the other hand, are hitting back by using the only effective weapon in their armoury: the strike weapon.

When I interviewed miners at Shotts Colliery, in Lanarkshire, they were very annoyed over Mr. Moffat's attacks on them. Here are some of their answers.

"The full-time union officials and the deputies are our worst enemies nowadays. They are more interested in 'the country's economy' than in our working conditions."

SAME STORY IN NORTH ENGLAND

"Less pay, more rent, equals starvation. We must not go back to this," were the words on a banner carried by Doncaster branch of the miners' union at a recent miners' rally in the North of England.

The revolt of Yorkshire miners against the new bureaucracy of colliery (mine) managers, oversmen, deputies and full-time union officials is graphically shown in the number of unofficial strikes that have taken place. 454 unofficial strikes during the first half of 1958 "cost Yorkshire an estimated output of 297,799 tons."

The miners are not so backward that they cannot understand what has happened in the mining industry. As one miner told me:

"Our labor is still exploited. We still have to ca' our guts out for the masters; so why the hell should we vote Labor?"

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

INTEGRATION

The condition this world is in today should make everyone alive tremble with fear, but the hatred and the brutal inhuman treatment towards the colored race throughout the world should make every Negro's blood boil and give him a determination to stick it out to the end.

When people see the attitude and the actions by the Detroit Police Force taken because Negro police are supposed to ride in the same scout car with the whites, any one knows without a doubt of their hatred towards the Negro people in this city. They are supposed to uphold the law and protect every citizen of this city.

Some months ago the Detroit Bar Association proved that 46% of the arrests made by this same police force were unlawful. You can bet your life they were Negroes who were arrested. That is why some leading Negroes felt that if the police were integrated some of this would be eliminated. I was surprised to know that there are only a few Negroes on the police force. They are assigned to 3 or 4 stations only.

On the front page of the last week's issue of the Pittsburgh Courier, a Negro man, supposedly a bandit living in the streets, was shown shot full of holes, handcuffed, with a white po-

liceman standing on him with his feet on his chest. When I saw this and read the story that this man is out of work and robbed a gas station because he was hungry, what the police did to him made my blood boil. To me he is not a bandit. I am against robbing, but when a human being is hungry he or she is desperate. As if it wasn't inhuman enough, after shooting him down, handcuffing, standing on his chest, they wanted to shoot the Negro man who took the picture.

We have Faubuses, Eastlands and Talmadges everywhere in the U.S. And how far "advanced" are we over South Africa's white supremacists?

SOUTH AFRICA

I read another article by Laura Longmore, a white woman who is writing of what the white men have done to African Negro women. She writes that before the white man came to South Africa, under the old tribal laws, virginity was sacred. Sure punishment was meted out to seducers. Moral standards were higher than in any civilized country today.

There are no accommodations for the families of the 400,000 Africans working in 33 gold mines. The majority live in vast bachelor barracks. The few thousand women in domestic work have no room or place for their husbands because it is forbidden by law for an African and white to live in the same area. Millions have no jobs and for this reason every Negro woman who has her own room is a prostitute. No Negro girl above 15 years old is a virgin. The majority at that age are mothers.

But to get back to the question of integrating the police force in Detroit. It seems that, in protest, the white cops did not ticket cars for minor violations. I was glad. That meant that that much money would not have to come out of the Negro people's pocket.

Considering that some policemen recently have been involved in everything from robbery to rape, what exactly is it that the police object to in being in the same car with Negro policemen — being caught at it earlier?

could prove with the evidence I've got is that the doctor is a liar or doesn't know his business. But I don't think that will get me a job.

Negro Worker

DISCRIMINATION DETROIT STYLE

Detroit—I've been laid off for 15 months: I have a wife and four children. I'm 29 years old.

I finally got a telegram to report to work at one of the shops that was hiring in the city. I reported right away, and took the physical they give you. I passed all their tests, but at the end they told me I was turned down because my blood pressure was high.

I never had any trouble like that in my life, and I felt fine, so I went to Receiving Hospital and had a doctor there check me over. He said there wasn't a thing wrong with me, and when I told him what had happened at the shop he gave me a statement to take back there.

But when I went back to the shop they wouldn't even talk to me. We had a few hot words and they finally called the guard and put me out.

I was mad and I went to see if I could have something done about discriminating like that, but when I talked to the man at the Industrial Labor Relations Board he said I'd have to prove discrimination and sent me to another place to write out my complaint. That man said that would be hard to do since that shop does hire some colored. The only thing I guess I

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

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LOCAL 212 U.A.W.

Labor Bureaucrats Railroad Agreement

Detroit — Our union very seldom calls a union meeting but on March 8, a meeting was called. Several days before the meeting, a leaflet was posted in the plant. It read: Ratification Meeting (Hourly Rate) — 1. Strike issue; 2. Production Seniority; 3. Skilled Trades will vote separately.

Workers in the shop could not understand the leaflet. We had voted on ratification of the contract several months before. Now we were to vote on an appendix to the contract, already a very thick document.

After the President reported on the Appendix, he concluded by saying that 8 workers who had been fired for 5 months would be put to work if we ratified this agreement: but if we didn't it meant we didn't want our fellow brothers back on their jobs.

It is the first time in the history of our union that the grievance of discharged workers was a part of the contract. The union officers were playing upon the sympathy of the production workers to get them back, saying that if we voted against this agreement, we were the cause of the fired workers having no jobs.

WORKERS WANT SOMETHING DONE

It was the largest union meeting ever held in our local, with 3,000 to 4,000 workers there. The only solution the union offered to speedup was a union time-study along with the company's time-study. An opposition committeeman pointed out that when the watches are accurate, both will come out the same. He said he had experienced this sort of dual time-study and the best you could get was one-tenth of a second less.

The next speaker was an ex-President, now an International Representative. He said that what was wrong was that workers have it too easy; that they double up on work while another sits; and that all have a 20 minute break out of each hour. He was booed so loud you could not hear, and so long that he finally sat down after pleading 10 to 15 minutes to let him finish. These leaders have nothing to say unless the blame can be thrown at workers. No matter how militantly they start, they always wind up blaming the production workers.

WHAT KIND OF LABOR?

Another worker cried out that in the contract today, the company has all rights of setting, adjusting and controlling production; all rights to fire and hire. This means that the union has given them all rights over every worker's life in the shop. They are using it against us to the fullest extent. That is why the union cannot support us, and is

forced to fight against us when we fight the company by strike action. They are the ones that sold us out through bargaining.

We are supposed to have plant-wide seniority. Before, you could bump another worker with one day less than you. In the new appendix, to bump in another division you must have 18 months more in the same plant.

There had been preferential seniority for workers who had been hurt, such as losing a hand, fingers, foot, or an eye. They used to be assured of a job. In this new agreement, we do not have that any more.

They call them rehabilitation cases. A committeeman said they had begun to lay these workers off and some were crying, saying it was impossible to get another job and they might not even get compensation because they could not say they were available to do any work. One worker said he felt worse than he did when he saw his fingers lying crushed in the press.

The best speech was made by a rank and file Negro, at the meeting itself. He said, "What are we here for? What in the hell is this meeting for?" The chairman tried to interrupt him, and he finally said, "If you have the answer, I'll shut up." The chairman tried to take the mike from him. Workers yelled, "Let him talk."

The worker said, "We signed the contract 3 months ago. We have thousands unemployed. The others are working 9 hours a day. You cannot do a thing about it. You did not pass out any leaflet explaining this agreement. You said someone is playing politics. Who is the someone? Politics to you is when someone disagrees with you. You're the only one playing politics — for Reuther, who is on a sunny beach in Puerto Rico, having his picture taken riding some mule up a mountain. I hope he falls off that mule and breaks his neck." The ovation seemed to shake the hall.

The officers rushed a Negro preacher to the mike. He talked about respect for one another, etiquette, and following parliamentary procedures. But it did not take away what was said by the worker. Then I realized how frightened they were of these workers. I am absolutely certain they were not expecting that many to attend.

The meeting started at 1:30 and lasted until 5 p.m. The vote was taken and it seemed to be defeated but the chair said it was in doubt; then a hand vote was taken and the chair said it was carried. The way it was done, many workers didn't know how they were voting.

Every worker said they should have had a week to study the appendix, the union should have clarified it, and we should have voted by secret ballot.

A ROTTEN APPLE

When the President had finished going through the appendix, he said you cannot accept this in parts; accept all or reject all. The next day a worker said, "It's like telling me he has an apple with a rotten spot on it, but I must eat the rotten spot or I can't have the edible portion. To me that's trying to poison me. I feel the same about this appendix. It's poison to us workers. We should have rejected it."

VETERAN UNABLE TO GET HELP

Detroit — I'd do most any kind of work rather than go to Welfare for help. A man wants to work for what he gets. But unless there's some big change it seems impossible to even think in terms of having a steady job anymore.

And it's not so easy to get the help when you finally do have to ask for it.

The Veterans' Trust Fund is supposed to be for emergency aid to veterans, but believe me, mighty few are actually being helped. I did not have one penny coming in from anywhere when I went to them. But I didn't get a thing. They said I was eligible to draw compensation so I wasn't eligible for them.

I was eligible for unemployment compensation, but they had cut me off because of some mix-up in their records. It took them eight weeks to get it straightened out, and I didn't have a penny coming in to feed my family during the whole time. I had to make a loan on my car to live on, which means more to pay back on top of everything else.

That's when I went to the Veterans' Trust Fund to see what they could do. You go down and stay all day and then they tell you to come back a second day. The second day you state your case. The next time they process you. Then later they call you back to tell you there's nothing they can do for you. They make you come back three or four times just to tell you that.

We want to work for what we get, but one thing is for sure—nobody seems to care what happens to us.

—Unemployed

DETROIT EDITING COMMITTEE MEETS EVERY SUNDAY EVENING 7 TO 9 P.M. AT 8751 GRAND RIVER (1 FLIGHT UP)

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

STUDENT DEFENDS LONDON TRIBUNE

What follows is a letter from a British student who takes issue with an article by one of our British correspondents, J.Y. (See January issue, Vol. 4, No. 1.)

"J. Y. says he would be kicked out of the Labour Party if he told us who refused to admit six West Indians into Party membership.

"I, as a rebel in the Labour Party—and a member of the campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—suspect that J.Y. invented his story. If he had told the truth, as a Socialist he should certainly be presented to produce the facts for us to see, and disclose the undemocratic prejudice in the Labour Party. He says he would be kicked out. Why is he so worried about that, if he deplores the Labour Party so much? Anyone who reads *Tribune* knows quite well that they would be only too delighted to take up J.Y.'s case for him, if he is telling the truth. In the last few weeks, they have devoted much space to this very subject!

"J.Y. then accuses Richard Clements of hypocrisy. What nonsense. *Tribune* uses pen names not because they are afraid of anyone knowing who writes the articles (the pen names are a quite open secret) but because they cannot afford to employ as many journalists as the capitalist press. If Michael Foote were to sign his name after the half dozen articles he writes every week, the paper would appear rather a one man job.

"J.Y. then claims that *Tribune* is not prepared to attack Labour politicians and Trade Union bureaucrats. Week after week they do just this. Not enough perhaps but they still do it.

"He then says that a Socialist paper or a Socialist journalist should stand by the working class everywhere, all the time. How idiotic can you get! The working class is not infallible. They make mistakes. Many of them are guided

solely by selfish self interested motives of achieving more wages for themselves without consideration for the millions of others who are even worse off. Dockers get paid often over 20 pounds a week. They are working class. They have a powerful union. Should they always be supported by Socialists when there are many people earning less than 2½ pounds each week? This is the Socialist hypocrisy of J.Y. When J.Y. accuses *Tribune* and Labour of supporting State Capitalism rather than socialization and workers control, he is quite justified. Let him concentrate on this and stop suggesting *Tribune* should lead 'a raging tearing propaganda for straight revolutionary international socialism.' He ought to know that England is not interested in dogmatic propaganda. They will only be convinced by reasoning, not by J.Y.'s prejudices.

Sincerely yours,
Mark Lillingston.

The situation that is faced by the West Indian workers in Britain in relation to the Labour Party seems to be the same as many workers face here. Principles are one thing, practice another.

The trade unions in this country are supposedly for complete freedom and integration and job rights of the Negro. However, you can work in union ships that are lily white. In the auto shops there are many departments Negro workers cannot get into.

Witness the U.A.W. convention over a year ago that went along with 2 white southern delegates in refusing to seat a Negro alternate in place of a 3rd white delegate that had died. That is a dirty blot that will be on the U.A.W. for a long time to come.

The point on support or non support of the British dockers is just so much nonsense and not worth dealing with.

—A. T.

STEEL WORKERS SEE LONG STRIKE AHEAD

Pittsburgh — I sit and think about what is going to happen when the men in the mills are all laid off. My husband says they are stocking up steel in the warehouses all over the states. They called all the men back to work to do this. If they would only stop and think about what they are doing to themselves. The only ones they are helping are the steel companies.

Some of them have been out of work so long that they can only think that maybe they can catch up on some of their bills, and of how good it will be to have a little extra money around the house. Besides that, they know that if they don't do it there are so many others

out of work who will.

This is going to be a long strike from what I read in the papers and, if it is, the company won't lose a cent because they already have the steel and all they have to do is raise the price on it.

There are so many people on the Welfare here already that I wonder how the government expects to take care of them all. The only thing they can see that would help them would be a war, and they know we don't want that! I just keep wondering what's going to happen.

Stores are going out of business all around us, in all of the cities. It seems funny to walk past stores that have been in business ever since you can remember and see them all dark. They call this a "recession," but during the depression the stores survived. In my mind, the recession must be a lot worse than the depression.

—Steelworker's Wife

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EDITORIAL THE RANK & FILE SPEAK

(Continued from Page 1)

It would take a bunch of Philadelphia lawyers—in the employ of Chrysler and the UAW—to wade through the 77 pages of agreement. The same is true of the supplemental 11 pages of the Seniority agreement plus another 9 pages of "Appendix A." This Appendix takes away in one paragraph what it supposedly gives in another. For example, Paragraph E supposedly recognizes the long established right that an employee can bump another employee if he has a single day's more seniority. It then adds "except as otherwise provided in 'Special Bumping Provisions' Section 3, Paragraph G." You have to read 3 more pages before you reach that provision. Then you find out that a single day's seniority holds good only if it is in the same "occupational division," but that an employee cannot bump an employee of a different occupational division unless he has 18 months more seniority, and "providing he can do the job."

It is not by accident that the skilled workers voted separately from the production workers, for they got advantages at the expense of the production workers. For example, while "in general" a skilled worker cannot bump a production worker, this does not hold in the many cases where a skilled worker had "once" been a production worker. The clincher comes in the fact that a foreman can also take away the production worker's job for he now retains all the seniority he had as production worker plus all the time since he left the workers' ranks and became a pusher.

OVERTIME AND UNEMPLOYMENT

As for conditions in the shop, which concern the worker most, they are worse than when the CIO was organized. Under Automation, and with management having "the exclusive right to . . . direct its affairs and working forces," the speedup of the line is positively inhuman. Yet so corrupt has the union become that, as a committeeman put it, the union time-study man finds no more than "one-tenth of a second's difference" to that made by management!

Finally, the employed workers were as angry as the unemployed against having to work 9 hours a day 6 days a week when thousands are unemployed. Reuther talks big at unemployed meetings against overtime but he does nothing at the negotiating table.

Thus the very conditions that gave rise to the CIO—insecurity, speed-up, abominable job conditions and inadequate wages—have not only not been eliminated but they have been intensified.

The primary consideration of the workers in establishing the CIO was not the question of wages, but rather the struggle for control of production and the conditions of employment. Once the question of how production was to be run was left to contract negotiations, a labor bureaucracy arose.

If the labor bureaucracy only failed to do anything about working conditions, it would be bad enough. What is worse is that they actually help the corporations to increase production and discipline the workers.

The payoff in the present agreement is that if the workers strike, the company can cancel the contract. The labor bureaucracy therefore supports the company and directly intervenes to make possible the smooth functioning of the contract.

HOW LONG?

The question therefore is: How long will this state of affairs remain and what form will the new struggles take? Only the workers themselves can answer that question. News & Letters will publish what you say, what you do, what you think, what you aspire to—and will do all it can to help you in your struggles.

That the labor bureaucracy feels the blows that you thus deliver to it is seen from its attacks on News & Letters. In this concerted attack against the voice of the rank and file, it has now been joined by the Communist Worker (See p. 7). But the last word will be said neither by the labor bureaucrats nor by the Communists, but by the mass of the rank and file workers when they will have taken their destiny into their own hands.

What you can do to help News & Letters keep up its work is: 1) SUBSCRIBE for yourself and your friends—12 issues only \$1. 2) TELL US your stories for publication. 3) CONTRIBUTE by giving a monthly pledge. 4) SEND IN NAMES and addresses of friends you think will be interested. We will send each one 3 free issues of the paper. Fill in the blank on p. 2.

News & Letters

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Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second class mail privileges authorized at Detroit, Michigan.

Readers'

UNEMPLOYMENT

There are 75 to 85 families right in the one office where I sign up for unemployment who are running out of their compensation each week. I don't know what they expect a man to do. They've already started about cutting off the single ones from welfare. Are they supposed to just lay down and die?

Take a man like me. I've got five kids, so they're not threatening to throw people like me off the welfare rolls. But I've got to sell my used car, my TV, everything I've got, and I don't have much. I worked 38 years for the little few conveniences I have, and heaven knows I didn't get many even in all those 38 years of working. Do they think they can just take all that away from me, in order to give me a piece of bread for my kids?

Father of Five
Detroit

It makes my blood boil to see the blaring headlines in the daily papers here attacking those on welfare. Instead of using the word "welfare" they make it even more insulting, by calling it a "dole." What makes it worse is that most of the people now on those rolls have been paying taxes through the nose all the time they have been working before.

One headline screamed about 449 people "on dole" who still own cars, as if it was some shocking, horrible thing that was about to wreck our system. They claim one out of ten in Detroit have received surplus food already. The situation can be that bad, and the papers can still be so insulting.

Teacher
Detroit

Thank you for the sheet music to "Recession Blues." It really hit the nail on the head. Whether that auto worker was musically inclined before or not, when he went into work and got his walking papers he put the way he really felt to music. Every word of his song is really true.

Miner's Wife
Osage, W. Va.

It just shocks me that Ike hasn't done one thing to ease the unemployment situation, even from the standpoint of being a politician. The worst of them would always do something "for the record".

Unemployed
New York

When I read in one of the daily papers here that one of the things they hope will ease the unemployment situation is for the workers who came here in the early 50's to go on back home again, I could not help thinking that it's exactly the way they started out in the Depression of '29. They finally wound up paying your way back home.

Everything seems to be following that same pattern except one thing. We still have inflation with the depression today. In the 30's you could take a quarter and live a day. You could get a full-course meal for 15 cents then. Today you can't get a loaf of bread for that.

Production Worker
Detroit

When people talk about the progress we've made in education they're right in saying we've come a long, long way. We've come so far, in fact, that a lot of us are out of a job!

Unemployed
Detroit

I don't think a man is normal who doesn't want a job to provide for his family. It's true that we don't want to be dominated in our lives, but we want to feed our families. And that's a hard fact to do today.

We have to work together. If we build on the foundation of the working people, we're building on a house of stone. We workers can turn any automation machine they come up with to our own benefit, if we pull together. We're not against progress, but we're against one-sided "progress," the kind of progress that sees a machine coming into the shop and throwing human beings out on the street. Unless we fight Automation in a human way, we'll be lost.

Unemployed
Detroit

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

A man jumped in front of a truck on the Freeway here the other day in an attempt to kill himself. He gave as his reason that he was unemployed and couldn't find work.

So Reuther suggests a 2 year study on unemployment, and when that trick fails, tries to grab the credit for thinking up the March on Washington!

What happens to the unemployed men and women in the meantime?

Wife of Unemployed
Worker, Los Angeles

Reuther knew he couldn't back out on the March on Washington. But I believe that he thinks if he goes through with it, we'll take it easy on him at the Convention. We're not letting him off that easy. We're going to have a voice at that Convention and we've got plenty to say.

Unemployed
Detroit

It seems to me that what Reuther is doing by calling this conference in Washington is that he at one and the same time gives the workers "something to do" and, on the other hand, sees that nothing will be done there.

Writer
Detroit

LEADERS & RANKS

I find your material from England very interesting. When workers over there write you what conditions are actually like under their "Labor Party" you can see that the only real function of the Labor Party has been to slough off the revolutionary instincts of workers to make a fundamental change in their lives.

It is obvious to you when you see what has actually happened over there, yet this lesson staring everyone in the face doesn't seem to have made a dent on all the so-called "radicals" who continue to shout for building a Labor Party to solve everything, and who seem bent on diverting all the strength and energy of serious workers into a thing like that.

Caretaker's Wife
Detroit

It's a shame the way they have the elections set up for the President of the union. You can vote him in but you can't vote him out.

Ford Worker
Detroit

Martin Luther King, who is now in India, says that America will be fully integrated by the year 2000. He says he is there to study the non-violent resistance methods of Gandhi.

I believe the fight for integration will be won here, not in India. Why study the techniques of a different country, when there is so much to do in this one? Besides, as I recall, King only joined in the methods that the bus-boycotters invented themselves. He didn't have to introduce the method. I think it shows just how far from the struggle King

Views

has strayed, when he wishes to "bring back the word" to people who didn't have a chance to go to India, but stayed here and fought.

Housewife
Los Angeles

* * *

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

Ethel Dunbar deserves a medal because she has revealed a sentiment that cries from the hearts of most Negroes. That is to say, the fact that Negro history is kept hidden and not taught to our children so that they might not know the trials and tribulations that they have given to the building of America. But I'm so glad to say, whether it is kept hidden or not, it is coming to light and sooner than later the "liberals" won't be able to keep our people down any more. I'll be glad to see that great day.

Miner's Wife
Morgantown, W. Va.

* * *

There is a higher percentage of Negro workers hit by the lay-offs, I think, than whites, simply because it is only since 1941 or so that a Negro could get a job anywhere beyond the foundry. That means that his seniority is lower in most places than the white worker.

Negro Worker
Detroit

* * *

A local Negro judge dismissed 25 Negroes brought in on gambling charges in order to call attention to the discrimination against Negroes by the police.

The judge contends that the percentage of Negroes arrested and convicted of gambling far outweighs the proportion of Negroes in Los Angeles, and the police would have the public believe that Negroes are responsible for 90 per cent of the gambling here.

Reader
Los Angeles

* * *

They are planning on a redevelopment of the Hill from town to Oakland. Can you tell me where all the colored people who live in the Hill are going?

It is supposed to take ten years. Maybe they will give us a city all our own, since they don't want us in the white neighborhoods!

Steelworker's Wife
Pittsburgh, Penna.

* * *

The Free Press printed a whole letter sent from the South to the President, about freedom of association. It was nothing but a long argument

about why there should be segregation.

"Freedom of association" to me is the right for any individual to go to any public institution that exists. The way I feel about it, if you don't want to attend, then just leave. But don't pretend that gives you the right to prevent others from attending.

Albert Jeffers
Detroit

* * *

You can't really "sympathize" with an unemployed worker, unless you know how it feels to see your own family in want. And it's the same about "sympathizing" with the colored for the way they're treated, I guess. Brotherhood Week is a big front. You either believe in that every day or you don't believe it at all.

Southern White Worker
Detroit

THE WORLD AROUND US

Automation is neither an American nor a European problem, but a world wide one. Behind the Berlin crisis lies the struggle between America and Russia for world domination. Just as conditions of labor and mass unemployment produced, first Fascism, and then World War II, so the totality of the crisis today, on the production line and off it, pushes capitalism into the only "solution" it knows—war. Only where, in World War II, the two main contending powers were Nazi Germany and America, it is now Russia and America.

Journalist
Chicago

* * *

I believe that Khrushchev is going to take over all those little countries.

The way I understand the papers, MacMillan went over and they agreed to something. They didn't put into the papers what they agreed on—he's supposed to come and tell Ike what they did.

But Khrushchev doesn't pull any punches. If they agreed on something, Khrushchev probably got what he wanted.

Detroit
Veteran

* * *

Allow me to state to your readers that I am publishing a monthly Bulletin in Yiddish, which advocates justice to the Arabs. Maybe there will be a few readers of your publication who are able to read Yiddish, and want mercy and justice for the million human beings wasting their lives away on the sands of Arabia.

D. B.
Bronx, N. Y.
(Editors Note: Readers interested write to News & Letters for address.)

MARXIST HUMANISM

I think that sometimes those who have been familiar with the ideas in News and Letters for a long time are liable to forget the impact of them on their fellow human beings. For it is the humanness of these ideas which makes them so appealing to people, and they are such a natural set of ideas that once inside them it is difficult to remember being outside them. Indeed, we never were really outside them; they are what is human in people.

We have in Marxist Humanism a total outlook, a philosophy which points toward the total development of people, with an end to the divided, rushed, and worried existence which today keeps us from living and developing as human beings.

I am sure that one of the effects of the class in Marxism and Freedom has been this kind of development, just as there is a sense of development and satisfaction in the work of News and Letters.

New Friend
Los Angeles

* * *

Someone said Lenin left us "What Is To Be Done." This was Lenin's conception of a vanguard party that would teach socialism to the working class. The workers will give their muscles and the leaders of the vanguard party the brains and knowledge to make the revolution—this was 1903. But when the 1905 Revolution came, Lenin saw how wrong he was. He wanted thousands of workers to join his party because he saw that they not only had muscles, they had brains also and used them so well together that they naturally were socialists. Nobody had to bring socialism to them. When Marxists criticize capitalist society theoretically because it uses only the muscles of the workers, but then turn around and try to build a vanguard party, they do just what the capitalists do—separate muscles and brains.

Steady Reader
Los Angeles

* * *

I like the layout of your paper, the reviews, or rather letters, from worker readers. No penthouse socialist or parlor reds, but workers who are anxious to do something and see the necessity for united action. It is wonderful to see that they are wise to the bureaucracy in the unions.

New Reader
New York

TWO WORLDS

I give over my column this issue to a letter of protest the Editor sent to Advance.—R.D.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN RUSSIA

I must strongly object to the publication of my article, "Labor and Automation in the United States" in an issue of Advance which carries your fantastic editorial whitewash of labor conditions in Russia, entitled "Russia Marches On," thus giving the impression that Automation in Russia has had different effects on conditions of labor in the factory than it has had in America. Nothing could be further from the truth. Had I known that that was the purpose to which you would put my attack on American capitalism—trying to transform it into a whitewash of Russian state capitalism—I would never have consented to this fraternal exchange of articles on conditions of labor in each country.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN RUSSIA

In MARXISM AND FREEDOM, to which my article referred, labor conditions in Russia are seen to be no better, but rather worse, than in advanced private capitalist economies. Under Russian state capitalism the exploitative conditions in the factory co-exist with actual forced labor. The whole world, and particularly so the working class world, should have learned from the revolt of the Russian workers inside the forced labor camps in Vorkuta in 1953, a short month after the great East German Revolt in opposition to Russian imperialist rule there, what, exactly, Russian state capitalism is.

You could not have read the original report of Khrushchev to the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party, for you could not then have hailed the "achievements" of that land. All your facts—all without exception—are wrong. First and foremost, the workweek in Russia is not shorter than it is presently in America—it is 48 hours in Russia against 40 in America. What Khrushchev promised for 1965 (how patient you seem to be on that count!) would not give the Russian workers anything they did not already have before the Stalin Five Year Plans were initiated. The Russian workers had achieved the 7 hour day in 1927; it was taken away from them as a "war measure" and never restored to them. That is what that loudmouth imperialist called the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, is promising them as a result of seven more years of hard work at low pay, provided World War III does not break out in the meantime. And he is certainly as adept at warmongering as is Eisenhower.

The minimum pay of a Russian worker, said Khrushchev, will be \$140 a month—in 1965. This isn't a mere bureaucratic distortion of an essentially workers' state; this is the "superiority" of Russian state capitalism. Is that what you wish the British workers to follow as an example? As for Automation—sure, it is highly advanced technology, but it produces, exactly as in other capitalist countries, missiles and sputniks and H-bombs and not, as you put it (but even Khrushchev did not), "flats for all workers."

THE ABC'S OF SOCIALISM

Of course Russia has achieved a high degree of industrialization. So in the last century was the American technological development superior to England, "the mother country." So in this century, in the 1930's, did feudal Japan parallel "socialist" Russia in its rate of industrial development. Is that what socialism has gotten to mean—industrialization? Have we all forgotten our ABC's, that a new social order begins with workers' control of production, continues to entirely new human relations ending in the breakdown of the division of mental and manual labor so that the freedom and full development of "the individual is the basis of the freedom for all." (Incidentally, why not read the lead article, CONFLICT BEHIND PEACE TALKS, back in August 19, 1955, in News & Letters, for a description of Automation from original Russian sources?)

This confusion on your part—where, on the one hand, you wish to be in a new, truly revolutionary regroupment of Marxist organizations, and, on the other hand, follow the Trotskyist whitewash analysis of Russia because it was once a workers' state—this confusion, if you will permit me to say so from this side of the Atlantic, is in no small measure due to the fact that you have not begun from the basic Marxist standpoint of where the worker is in production and thus not grasped that planning without workers' control of production can only lead to state capitalist tyranny.

RUSSIAN STATE CAPITALISM

That is why Raya Dunayevskaya, in her exhaustive study of the Russian economy as well as profound restatement of Marxist fundamentals for our day, wrote in MARXISM AND FREEDOM:

"The fundamental error of those who cannot understand that a single capitalist society is governed by the same laws as a society composed of individual capitalists is that they simply will not understand that what happens in the market is merely the result and the con-

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

The Youth March for Integrated Schools

The Youth March for Intergrated Schools Committee which last October led a march of 10,000 strong from all parts of the country down Constitution Avenue in Washington, D. C., to the Lincoln Memorial, is organizing another march to take place April 18.

At the last march the committee headed by such prominent figures as A. Phillip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Jackie Robinson and Harry Belafonte were snubbed by President Eisenhower. They vowed to return to Washington with petitions in support of school integration bearing a million signatures.

This time the Youth March is getting even broader support from "distinguished individuals" as the Youth March News bulletin calls them. Labor leaders like Walter Reuther, George Meany and Mike Quill have given their support together with others like Adam Clayton Powell, Charles Diggs and Reinhold Neibuhr.

Unfortunately the Youth March committee is already top heavy with these prominent pillars of American society who are certainly not risking their respectability by supporting the Supreme Court decision, already five years old. They can scarcely by any stretch of the imagination be called youth.

PETITIONS GET RESPONSE

The effect the petition campaign has had in publicizing among youth the march and the Negro struggle has been very good from what I have seen and heard. American high school and college students have again shown that they are not above

supporting a cause, beating to the contrary. It has captured the imaginations of many Negro and white students who have never before been involved in this kind of activity.

BUS BOYCOTT

The youth of Montgomery, Alabama, who were largely responsible for sparking the bus boycott there and whose energy and exuberance made it triumphant, proved to all who looked that this generation does not have to be led around by the nose.

It is a sad fact that many of the youth newly awakened by news of the coming march have had their spirits dampened by the date of the march already having been fixed, and find their own plans and suggestions shunted aside by older heads for reasons of expediency. The national headquarters' preoccupation with "Money, money, money!" has not helped one bit.

Let the oldsters with the means concern themselves with securing transportation for the trip to Washington. They should attempt to free the real youth of the financial burden to enable them to discuss with their fellows the problems posed by racial segregation and discrimination.

The response the Youth March is getting is encouraging. It is hoped that this bright spot on the American scene isn't eclipsed on April 18 but that the Negro and white youth who have found each other continue their association.

All those interested in more information about the march and petitions can write to Youth March For Integrated Schools, 312 West 125th St., N. Y. 27, N. Y.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR "LOYAL" STUDENTS

Los Angeles — I have heard that the federal government is generously providing money for students to borrow in order to go through college. The student repays the loan after he finishes school, and, of course, pays interest on the money that he borrows (the interest rate is, happily enough, lower than normal).

Naturally, there are a few restrictions involved in this worthwhile program; it would be a waste of money to help students who don't really need the help, or who won't cooperate by getting good grades. The most natural of these few restrictions, from the administration's point of view, is the loyalty oath. Never tired of being the true representative of American business, the administration once again gets its money's worth by buy-

ing up not nations, but people. I am afraid that in this case, as often happened with Foreign Aid, there is liable to be suspicion in the minds of the recipients that someone is trying to buy them.

I am rather disappointed that they should still be using such methods as loyalty oaths; I thought that they would, by now, be using more subtle methods. For instance, in the case of student loans, they might be subtle enough to have an Un-American (very Un-American) Committee investigate all applicants for such loans — this would be typical of their subtlety.

I think that this present "business venture" in the "student market," along with the system which inspires such perversion of the basic desire of human beings to help each other, is doomed

WELFARE?

I have a daughter at home who will soon be 20 years old. When I had to go on welfare and they questioned me about my family, they told me they couldn't accept anyone over 20 as part of my budget. I asked what they thought I should do, put her out in the alley?

She has applications for work all over the city but can't find a thing. She still has to eat the same as we do. She is still my child. She has no one else to look after her.

They told me they were sorry, but that was the rule, and I'd have to drop her off my budget regardless. I wonder what they want me to do about her, just forget she was born?

Father
Detroit

CIVILIZED

San Francisco — I have often wondered what "civilized" meant, so I have looked it up in *The American College Dictionary* and it says that civilized means "advanced in science, social living, and arts." I was thinking about this, and I see that we are very civilized.

If you would just observe the nuclear warheads we have developed, the rockets, atomic submarines, and nerve gas which can kill painlessly within seconds, you can see how scientifically advanced we are.

Our social culture is moving forward very fast. Just look at Governor Faubus and the White Citizens Councils and you will see how advanced in social matters we are.

If anyone ever says "civilized" to me again I'm sure I will know what they are talking about and be confident!

REBEL CAUSE (FIDEL CASTRO)

Ill blows the wind from across the sea

Bearing the stench of artillery

The rebel cause kneels in defeat

On ignoble battlefield shall

they meet

They beat their breasts and rant and rave

and weep into the trough-like

grave

of fathers, brothers, and comrades dear

And stare beyond with eyes-glazed-fear

The dead eyes of enemies reflect

Images of lines they can't forget.

to ultimate failure. I do not know any serious students who would be inspired to loyalty toward a government which seeks to buy that loyalty.

—College Student

AS OTHERS SEE US

From England

Reprinted from *Universities and Left Review*, Oxford, England, Autumn 1958. Excerpts from Alastair MacIntyre's review of *Marxism and Freedom*—"The Algebra of the Revolution."

"When would-be Marxists talk like this" (Ed. note: MacIntyre begins by quoting Zhdanov, "The question of Hegel was settled long ago. There is no reason whatsoever to pose it anew.") "it is usually a sign that the freeing of human nature is no longer the central goal of their socialism."

"This is perhaps the most important theme in Raya Dunayevskaya's *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*. Miss Dunayevskaya was at one time Trotsky's secretary. When Trotsky declared in the last war that Russia was a genuinely workers' state which ought to be defended, she broke with him, and since then has played her own very individual part in the American labour movement. She only wrote the final draft of her book after earlier drafts had been discussed and criticised by groups of miners, steel workers, auto-workers and students. A book that is the product of an interest in Hegel on the one hand and participation in a miners' strike in West Virginia on the other promises to have unusual qualities. And this book is unusual.

"It has 3 great merits. The 1st is that she had tried to write a history of Marxist theory in which the development of the theory is linked at every point to the corresponding developments both in society and in the political experience of socialists. The 2nd is that she has utilised some of the source material of Marxism more fully than any previous commentator. I have spoken already of her Hegelian concern. In this connection she has included in appendices translations of a major part of Marx's *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* and of those portions of Lenin's philosophical notebooks which deal with Hegel. But she has also been in a position to make use of the stenographic reports of the early congresses of the Russian party

and especially those of the 9th Party congress of 1921 when the crucial debates on the role of the trade unions in a socialist society took place. The 3rd merit of this book, and it arises out of the other two, is that it provides a frame-work for a re-evaluation of Lenin in which a change can be noted from an emphasis on the party as the revolutionary manipulator of a passive working class to an emphasis on the potential revolutionary spontaneity of the working class. And this change goes along with what we may call Lenin's Hegelian conversion.

"It will be already clear that this book is an important contribution to socialist thought. What has to be said in addition is that it is a book in which important insights and scholarly research are often sacrificed to a new framework of dogma. For Miss Dunayevskaya this is the age of state capitalism, a form of economy common to both USA and USSR. This leads her into a fantastic undervaluation of socialist achievement in the Soviet Union. She writes of the Soviet state as though the Moscow trials, Vorkuta and Hungary were its supreme and authentic expressions. And because of this standpoint she tends to treat as Soviet crimes and heresies what are in fact at least attempts to face the problems of a socialist society. Miss Dunayevskaya criticizes Soviet industrialisation; she says nothing of how industrialisation ought to proceed in a socialist society. She attacks Soviet collectivisation of agriculture; she says nothing of what socialist agriculture should be. And the result is that this portion of her book is negative and sterile. She sees no more hope in Yugoslavia than in Russia. Her only hope is in the world-wide working class. And the suspicion grows as one reads that she has an entirely idealised view of that class..."

From Japan

I read the review of "Marxism and Freedom" that appeared in the "Universities & Left Review." The reviewer doesn't estimate the worth of your book, I felt, because your book is anti-Communist Marxist Humanist. If you would write a special introduction to the Japanese edition this would help us very much

... Write a rather long introduction concerning the American movement or, if possible, from the period of the great October revolution to the post-war period of the opposition of U.S.A. and Russia from the anti-Communist Marxist Humanist viewpoint. Reply soon please.

—Reader, Tokyo, Japan

From Scotland

"Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 till today, by Raya Dunayevskaya, presents documents by Marx and Lenin never before translated into English. This is a book of powerful and original thinking. It costs \$5 a copy.

"The trouble is that many workers, for whom this book is

written, may not be able to spend so much money on one book. Yet it is a work of great research and well worth the price.

"... Every library in the English speaking world should have more than one copy on its shelves for the use of readers and students."

—The Word, Glasgow

SPECIAL OFFER

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Order Your Copy from News & Letters

"KISSING CASE" LEADER TELLS OF CAROLINA NEGROES' STRUGGLE

Detroit, March 6—Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, North Carolina, NAACP and chairman of the Committee to Combat Racial Injustice spoke to a gathering of 125 people at the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church this evening.

He reported on the progress of the "North Carolina Kissing Case." The two Negro boys, James Thompson, age 10, and David Simpson, age 8, who were jailed for being the recipients of a little white girl's kiss have been released from the reformatory to which they were sent, but the fight continues to clear them of having committed any crime.

Mr. Williams, who has been intimately connected with the case from the start, attributed the freeing of the children to the international indignation that arose over the persecution. He scored the U.S. Information Service, who he said misrepresented the facts of the case to those abroad. He reported the USIS actually denied that race prejudice was at issue.

Williams expressed his hostility toward the Southern talented tenth whom he felt weakened the Negroes' fight. He told how the Union County NAACP, in existence 18 years prior to his presidency, had accomplished little, and how after the Supreme Court ruled that the schools be desegregated, membership and leadership fell away, the victims of white reactionary threats. It was at this juncture that he took office and found that he had to go into the pool rooms to enlist the Negroes who would stand up to the white supremacists.

KLAN RAIDS HALTED

He told of the Ku Klux Klan terror, and how the Union County Negroes defended the home of the NAACP vice president from a Klan attack by digging fox holes, stacking sandbags and returning Klan gunfire with their own. He said this was the only kind of argument the Klan understood, and after that things were more peaceful.

WORK IN A LAUNDRY

I started working in laundries in 1933 and continued up to a few years ago. I spent 20 years in one place. When I left I was making 40c an hour.

The laundries have machines now. Before these new machines they had eight girls on a shirt line. Now they have only four doing the same amount of work. I stood in front of one of these places one day when I was looking for work but I didn't go in. I decided I wasn't going to jump around from one machine to the other like the girls in there were doing.

ASSEMBLY LINE LAUNDRY STYLE

Where I used to work, each girl had her own operation. One girl used to do collar and cuffs and pass it to the next girl who did the bosom and so on down the line. Now each job is doubled up. The girl that did the collar and cuffs also does the bosom and the girl that does the sleeves has to button up and fold.

I was marking and sorting, finishing shirts and wrapping. That is hard work. The conditions were terrible. At one time the girls had talked about joining the union and then the boss came around and said that if we joined the union he would have to go out of business because he couldn't pay union wages. The union scale is 45c an hour. We told him if any one came around from the union we would join. No one ever came around but he went out of business anyway.

After the war during a coal strike he was trying to buy some coal and couldn't. Everytime he called a place they would ask him if he belonged to a union. He used up all the coal he had and then the pipes froze and busted and he decided to go out of business. He had plenty of money.

HEALTH ENDANGERED

To work in a laundry during the summer is terrible. It is so hot. Women aren't allowed by the health department to work in the wash rooms. The men have to lift 50 pounds of wet clothes. They have to stand in the water that the machines throw off.

Some one is always coming down with pneumonia. The men got 50c an hour, and we got our clothes laundered free.

You could have a break when you got too hot. That is one thing the Labor Relations Board got on them for. They don't give physical examinations when they hire but they ask if you have high blood pressure. They don't want you then because if you fall sick they are held responsible. If you have diabetes it is no good because heat is hard on the diabetic.

The only thing I would do in these laundries now is marking and sorting. The speed up is so terrific I wouldn't do anything else.

—Esther Douglass

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

TO MAKE A WHOLE MAN

Official leaders of American society are today eagerly turning to science for answers to problems that confront us. It is amazing to see how confidently they look for and find "solutions" there. In the field of medicine, for example, a remarkable era of drug discoveries has opened, and daily new chemicals are offered to combat disease. The index of success can be measured by the increasing value of stocks issued by the large pharmaceutical organizations. Unfortunately the cure of many illnesses still eludes us. There is no decrease in the number of mentally disturbed and disorganized individuals cropping up everywhere. A different type of discovery, of understanding, is obviously required here.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Great success in attacking the physical world around us has made many people believe that even the science of human behavior—the social sciences—are to be resolved primarily in the path of physics and chemistry. Politics becomes merely a matter of how power is to be achieved, held or lost; and economics, how a man should act to increase his income to the greatest extent. The question of what kind of a man will emerge is hardly even asked.

Man is looked upon as something to be molded and shaped by the new discoveries and others to come, material to be acted upon. To these people the fuller application of atomic energy, the introducing of greater automation is the primary answer. Man himself is secondary.

On the other hand there are some among us who look at the human being and say that science can do little to change him basically. The evidence of man's evolution through ages past means little to them. Since the behavior of people is not as predictable as other physical bodies, these people have a lot to say about man's "nature."

Man not coming from one mold, and having therefore different preferences, can never agree, they say, on what ends to strive for, or what is right or wrong. No total human philosophy is therefore possible. Even the striving for happiness is not an answer for it is a different thing to different persons. They ask: Is it to be the happiness of Southern Negroes or Southern whites? Truth becomes simply an individual preference, and the claim is made that it may be natural and normal for men to hate one another. While the vulgar materialists keep looking outside of man, these followers of the mystical spirit are surely gazing outside the universe.

MAN'S MUSCLES AND BRAINS

The kind of human being that must come forth will fit into neither of the above categories. Such a person is now in the making. There is life in human beings: life which demands unity of mind and matter of the highest degree. And this means that man cannot just be an object to be acted upon but must be a subject as well. This is the continual awareness—a self activating, dynamic process which determines his relationship to his environment and to other men. It is uniting his thinking and doing; his theory and practice, that will make man whole.

Life must be its own unfolding, depending neither on the superman nor the supernatural. It is self-development that brings forth the creativity that is the true source of strength and health in each of us. Instead of being the obstetrician to the whole man, both the spiritualist and vulgar materialist can only act as his undertaker.

I believe there can never be found the "right" drug to cure mental ills; and it is equally true that the social ills of men cannot be removed by doing things to men.

CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN RUSSIA

(Continued from Page 5)

sequence of production itself . . . They seem to think that a single capitalist society will have a limitless market. The single capitalist—call him 'Collective Leadership under Khrushchev, Inc.' if you will—will have, at a certain stage, a magnificent plant, completely automated, or a jet bomber, but he cannot stop to raise the standard of masses of workers . . . That is why Marx, throughout CAPITAL, insists that either you have the self-activity of the workers, the plan of freely associated labor, or you have the hierarchic structure of relations in the factory and the despotic Plan. There is no in-between."

Because I myself am a production worker, and therefore associate socialism with new relations of production, I took for granted that you, on the British side, who have broken with Stalinism and Trotskyism, see it that way too. That is why I spoke only against American capitalism and the American labor bureaucracy, but the struggle against them is certainly also the struggle against Russian state capitalism and the totalitarian bureaucrats. These two poles of world capital—America and Russia—are presently fighting for world domination and threatening the very existence of humanity itself. Surely the socialist road is opposed to both camps.

LABOR BUREAUCRATS AND COMMUNISTS ATTACK NEWS & LETTERS

I'd like to hear your answer to brother Gus Scholle, International Representative of the UAW-CIO. I'm sure you heard of the criticism he made of "News & Letters" from the platform during his speech to the unemployed mass meeting at the Labor Temple on January 20th. He thought he gave the paper a black eye for its attack on Reuther in the front page article of the issue (Vol. 4, No. 1) that you distributed at that meeting, but I think he might have done you a favor, because after he spoke about it everybody searched around to find a copy to read.

Later in the meeting Edith Van Horne called "News & Letters" a paper put out by a bunch of "screwballs." I'd like the workers who heard them to hear what you have to say in reply.

Unemployed Detroit

The February issue of the "Worker" carries an attack on "News & Letters" for "disrupting unity behind Reuther." Significantly, Edith Van Horne, along with Gus Scholle, are singled out for praise. If the Communists and labor bureaucrats unite to attack you, you must have hit the right spot. Keep up the good work!

Union Member New York

Editor's reply:

The article that Gus Scholle attacked was a report of statements made by a rank and file UAW auto worker against Reuther for signing auto contracts under which currently unemployed workers were practically eliminated from the auto industry, permanently, regardless of seniority. The labor bureaucrats — and presently the Communists — call this type of reporting "disrupting the unity behind Reuther." The point is, is it a fact or is it not? Every worker, employed as well as unemployed, knows what we

reported to be the truth.

"News & Letters" does not print gossip or lies. We rely on workers for articles, comments and criticisms. We do not limit them to so called "constructive" criticism, which is the line the UAW bureaucracy uses to keep workers from criticizing Reuther, and which Edith Van Horne was trying to force down the throats of the unemployed workers at that same meeting. What worries the labor bureaucrats is that workers can think for themselves.

"News & Letters" is well acquainted with Edith Van Horne's past record. So is Walter Reuther. Their present alliance is as temporary as it is unholy. At the first cool breeze from Moscow, it will fall apart. Many workers, employed and unemployed, know it. We are confident that the workers can do very well without the "leadership" of Reuther, Scholle, and Van Horne.

At that meeting in the Labor Temple, Edith Van Horne also blasted Mayor Miriani. Ask her who helped elect him. It was the UAW leadership. Ask workers who they think is a "screwball." Van Horne should try to listen to rank and file workers for once and she will hear plenty of criticism of Reuther. Even now when Reuther is supposedly doing something on the unemployed situation, it is clear that he is trying to do all in his power to see that the delegates to the Conference of Unemployed in Washington are handpicked and, above all, controlled.

A line like Gus Scholle's or the Communists' does not pay one bill nor feed one hungry family. Nor does it help the workers presently in their struggle against the labor bureaucracy. We believe that the unemployed will, without a "line" from self-appointed bureaucrats, best work out their own future.

UNEMPLOYED TO MEET IN WASHINGTON

(Continued from Page 1)

hour day and work on Saturdays. One production line worker told News and Letters that the men were so angry that they were ready to pull a wildcat strike.

"How can Reuther stand by and do nothing when so many are unemployed? What have we got a union for?" a worker asked. Another worker said, "I hear that Reuther is calling on Eisenhower for a study of unemployment. It is not study that we need, but action that is required."

Reuther is so intent on a controlled conference rather than a mass demonstration of protest that he is ready to run it through the channels of the Democratic Party rather than through the ranks of labor. He joins in the conspiracy of silence that hides the fact that a Full Employment Act of 1946 already exists. When the law was passed, the public understanding was that Congress would act if unemployment reached over 2% of the working force. Now, with official figures showing 6% "general" unemployment, a "distressed area" must prove better than 8% unemployment to get federal aid. In Harlan County, Ky., fully 50% of the labor force is unemployed!

The present figure of 4,800,000 unemployed represents only those drawing unemployment compensation, ignoring those whose benefits have expired, women who have been compelled to leave the labor market to become housewives, those with part time or temporary jobs and the youth who are ready and must work but cannot find employment. A true count would show that fully one-eighth of the total labor force is unemployed.

THE CRISIS IS WORLD WIDE

Automation and unemployment are an international issue with ramifications abroad having a deep effect here. Basic machine tools, dies, fixtures and many stamped auto parts are now manufactured in Germany, which gives the lie to those who claim that the worker replaced by Automation will be put to work making the Automation machines. When the auto manufacturers think of a smaller car they think in terms of its being manufactured in Europe. Witness the recent purchase of the Simca manufacturing facilities in France by the Chrysler Corp.

When the Pittsburgh glass workers were on strike, glass was imported from Belgium to fill the gap. There has been a strong reaction in England to coal imported from the U.S. The Belgian coal miners recently struck against being forced to compete with American coal dug by Automation machines. Canada is in a crisis due to competition of American automated industry.

THE WORKWEEK AND THE KIND OF WORK

The demand for the 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay has been converted by Reu-

ther into a 35 hour week with overtime pay starting in the 36th hour. He is ready to give up the struggle for the shorter working week before it has even started. Where the employed worker tries to refuse to do overtime work in a plant where many are unemployed, Reuther tells them that it would violate this contract, and he will renegotiate it in some "future" contract. Whatever the worker wants is always in some "future" contract, never in this one.

Obviously, the 30 hour workweek, by itself, will not solve the unemployment problem. The workers therefore wish to tie the demand for a shorter workweek to the question of the kind of work man should perform. They are tired of being bossed around by people who run the country into crisis after crisis, who do away with their jobs without providing a means for them to make a living in any other way. They feel themselves perfectly capable of doing their own thinking, planning and organizing, provided they could get the exploiters, and the labor bureaucrats who do their bidding, off their backs.

In opposition to the headlong rush to war, the American workers, both in their wildcatting and in the present projected march on Washington by the unemployed, are pointing to a road out of the perennial crisis. They see the problem as a dual one: (1) The question of a shorter workweek, and (2) the question of what kind of work man shall perform. In this day of Automation these questions go hand in hand.

When the worker asks: "When should my day start and when end?" he is also asking, "What kind of work should man perform and what kind is better left to the machine?" Surely it is not idle to ask, "What good is more leisure if I have no money to spend and spend the leisure worrying about food and clothing for my family?" Surely the real question about inflation is not the one Eisenhower asks, but the one the worker poses, "What good is a bigger paycheck if higher prices take it all away?" Surely the so-called labor leadership should, instead of sending the unemployed "to confer with their Congressmen," grapple with the questions the worker asks: "When man is the only animal that both works and thinks, why is thinking left to the machine and all the work to the man?"

If these questions are aired out at the National Conference of unemployed, there will be no doubt at all that the workers will find the answers to them. If Reuther succeeds in stifling all such discussions, and instead keeps the delegates running from one congressional office to another, hat in hand, then upon their return home, the workers will find the same problems that they left

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

Nyasaland

Thirty-nine Africans have been killed, 71 wounded, 249 arrested and 136 deported, including the only African doctor and lawyer in Nyasaland who could have helped these victims of white segregationist terrorism. No whites were molested, killed or hurt.

The evidence in the case shows that the segregationist whites of Rhodesia, under Sir Roy Welensky, who are trying to annex Nyasaland over the strong objections of the African population, plotted and conspired to create a fake crisis so that they could use armed force to behead the African Nationalist movement headed by Dr. Hastings Banda. On the pretense that "a massacre was being planned," Governor Sir Robert Armitage ordered his troops out and started the slaughter and deportation. The African National Congress has been outlawed, and its president, Dr. Banda, flown to a South Rhodesian jail while the troops of Armitage continue to ravage the countryside.

"We want independence. There we can't compromise — troops or no troops," said Oraton Chirwa, legal adviser of the now outlawed African National Congress.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the creation of the British Government, which allegedly differs from Boer-ruled apartheid South Africa because Rhodesia espouses a "multiracial" policy. Actually, the multiracial policy is another name for white minority over the black majority — 6,000 whites over 3 million blacks of Nyasaland. Dr. Banda, the leader of the Nyasaland struggle for independence, has therefore fought against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland ever since it was proposed in 1951, and established in 1953.

When he returned from his exile to his native Nyasaland last year, he was met with the cry of "Kwacka! Kwacka! Kwacka!" which means the dawn or beginning of freedom. When he shouted, "We are not going to be bullied by Rhodesian white settlers. To hell with the Federation!" he was met with a roar of "Ufulu! Ufulu! Ufulu!" — Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!

in order to march on Washington. There is no doubt whatever that that master of substitution — Reuther — is out to transform a budding movement into a lobbying conference. But the workers have it in their power to stop Reuther from transforming the Conference into a talking shop. On April 8th all eyes will be on Washington, D. C.

A week before the white conspiracy started its slaughter, the Africans held most of the territory peacefully as a demonstration of their strength. As Dr. Banda put it, "In Nyasaland we mean to be masters, and if that is treason make the most of it." Now Dr. Banda is in jail, and the African struggle for freedom continues.

Kenya

Jomo Kenyatta, a leader of the Africans of Kenya, has spent the last 6 years in British jails. He is due to be released next month. Kenyatta's lawyer has produced evidence that some of the witnesses at his trial were paid by the British government to lie.

Now a witness that had been paid to lie has been put on trial by the British. Kenyatta has been called as a witness and is being hailed everywhere he goes.

The brutal suppression of the Mau Mau and the compromise with the Africans to the extent of giving them some representation has not in any way daunted the continuing struggle for independence. So the British, with all their power, are once again moving to further abridgment of the civil rights of the Kenyans. They have presently suppressed Tom Mboya's newspaper, Freedom, and they have also suppressed one white newspaper, for the proof of bribery by Government does not make British rule popular there even among the liberal whites.

Nasser's Egypt

Nasser seems to have settled his affair with England, is releasing his \$210 million in frozen funds, has arranged a \$5 million deal with DeGaulle, is considering a \$50 million offer on the Aswan Dam from West Germany, has received a friendly visit from Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and seems to be sitting pretty. The people of Egypt however, are no better off than they were before he established his dictatorship.

Cambodia

One of the guerilla leaders in the struggle against the French in Indo-China was Dap Chhuon. After the French were defeated, he turned his forces against the Communists. Under Prince Sihanouk he has ruled an area of Cambodia. But the Prince has recently been playing ball with the Chinese Communists. When urged by the Chinese Communists, he ordered Dap Chhuon killed. When Dap Chhuon fled into the jungle, the Communists captured and killed him. Then they produced a

"confession" which was supposed to implicate him in an "American plot" to overthrow the Prince.

The only trouble with the Communist story is that the Prince and the U.S. State Dept. are old buddies.

Bolivia

Luce's publication, Time, carried a story in its Latin edition that an American diplomat said the only way out of the economic crisis in Bolivia is to carve up the country and divide it among its neighbors. This bit of imperialist arrogance was enough to start mass demonstrations against America. The demonstrators, carrying signs "Down With American Imperialism," marched on the American Embassy. The Bolivian police were under orders from its own government, which is currying favor with the American rulers, to shoot into the crowd. Two were killed. The student demonstrations continued for two more days. Then the tin miners went out on strike protesting the closing of government subsidized commissaries where they bought their food at cost. The commissaries had been closed at the insistence of the International Monetary Fund, which threatened to cut off economic aid if the government did not "stop coddling the miners."

The Bolivian economy is bankrupt due to years of exploitation of its resources by foreign American interests. Those same interests still dictate its government.

Hawaii and Alaska

The entry of Hawaii as the 50th state and Alaska as the 49th raises the question of why they were not admitted long ago. The reason lies, not between Democrats and Republicans but in the overwhelming majorities that the Democratic Party has held for more years than most of us can remember.

Segregationist Democrats have always controlled the Democratic Party. Ku Klux Klanner Eastland, of Mississippi, has been for years in charge of "civil rights." The majority of Senate Chairmanships, without which nothing can become law, are in the hands of Southern Democrats. For 40 years they have refused to approve statehood. Now they have made a deal with the "liberals" who have traded off Negro rights in return for statehood, which can be used as a weapon against Russia in the cold war.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska is welcomed, but that does not hide the fakery, double dealing and unprincipled behavior of the U.S. Senate in the matter.