

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

VOL. 6—NO. 7

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1961

10c A Copy  
6d in Great Britain

## Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves

### WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

#### "... No Place to Go"

We were laid off the last of June for a model change. Every worker in my department was ready to have some time off. During the months of May and June we had been on a six-day week, and with trying to keep pace with the Automation machines and the production standards, we were beat to a frazzle. The company was yelling that we had to finish by the 30th of June or bust. Workers thought we would be laid off from five to six weeks as has happened in previous model changes.

A week or so before the deadline, the company said that every laid off worker would be permanently laid off. This meant clearing out, turning in everything, tool checks and badges. It means that you may get called back to some other department or some other plant. It may also mean that you may not get called back at all. When workers got this news a feeling of depression struck everyone. One worker said, "I feel like I'm being evicted from my home, with no place to go. The union which is supposed to give us protection, let the company force us to go a six-day week so the company could throw us out on the street earlier. When we questioned the union, they said we would be back by the end of September and some would be back in August."

"This department had close to 500 workers a year ago. Now there are just 130 welders. They told all the workers laid off ahead of us, that they would be back in a month or two and they are not back yet. They are putting in new machines and devices everyday to eliminate manpower. Model changes have always meant speed-up and the elimination of workers, and this one is no different."

#### CLEARING OUT

"When we were clearing out, you could hear many workers saying that in their fifteen and twenty years, this was the first time that they had been told to clear out. It is a different feeling when you are laid off and keep your badge and tool checks. You know that as long as you have these you have a job with the company and can say that you are on the payroll."

He said, "I need some time off, but the thought of not knowing whether you will return or not, makes me feel bad."

Another worker began telling about the food checks, that is part of Kennedy's "revolutionary" program for the unemployed. He said workers have to pay cash before they can get the stamps, and if they have the cash to buy the stamps they can just as well buy food with the money. He said, "The big deal is supposed to be that you can get \$25 worth of food stamps for \$20. But there are certain things you can't buy with the stamps and a lot of stores won't take them."

#### PLANT RELOCATION

I read in the daily newspaper that the UAW is advising workers to move South with their jobs. They say this is the only way to prevent the companies from moving South, when they know for the workers it means moving to work in a scab shop. Every worker, especially the Negro worker hates the thought of going back South where they are subject to all sorts of inhuman treatment and abuses. In many industries Negroes work for lower wages while performing the same operations as the whites. Yet this is the only solution the union offers to those men getting laid off because the company they work for chooses to relocate.

#### THE NEW CONTRACT

The daily papers report that the union leaders have gotten down to specifics in the demands they are making for the new contracts. The union suggested that a program for transferring all hourly workers to salaries be worked out during the forthcoming union-management contract by a permanent committee. During this period the union proposes that hourly rate workers who put in a short workweek be paid 65% of their regular take home pay. This is what the union calls getting something for the workers. Many of us worked short weeks during the past year. Sometimes we worked only 2 1/2 to 3 days a week. The salary we drew was less than we would have gotten from unemployment compensation and SUB if we had been fully unemployed. Workers yelled loud and long to their union leaders about this. By seeking to put production workers on salary the union is merely asking that a partially employed worker get as much money as a fully unemployed worker, yet they call this a step toward an annual wage.

#### WHAT THE MEN WANT

The union bureaucrats now claim that the men have a deep desire to work, rather than draw pay for not working. Some years back when the workers were wildcatting and closing down plants over issues of speed-up and working conditions, these same union fakers told the workers that what was wrong with them was that they didn't want to work. They always told the strikers out on unauthorized strikes to go back to work because they were taking milk and food from the mouths of their co-workers' babies.

Today with the union giving back to the company all the gains made by the workers, practically all the workers with young children are laid off. It is mainly the older workers that are left. Their main concern in this coming contract is working conditions and job security, not some fake salary, or annual wage promises and plans that would puzzle the best brains in the country to figure out.

#### INSIDE

### INTELLECTUALS IN THE AGE of STATE CAPITALISM

Two Worlds . . . . . Page 5

News and Letters is honored to let the world read the story of the Freedom Riders in their own words. The following letters from several Riders for Freedom are printed just as they were received—first, the letters from New Orleans before they started for Jackson, Mississippi; and second, the letters from Jackson jail itself.



#### 6 Month Sentences

NEW ORLEANS—We arrived in New Orleans yesterday. We will have a session in non-violent technique tomorrow and leave for Jackson the next day. So this is the last time I will have an opportunity to use a typewriter in six months. That is the easiest way I could think of to tell you that this is the sentence we are expecting.

There is a possibility that our group will be the first bus or train which would get through Jackson. If we do, CORE expects the very worst.

We are meeting the finest young people in the world. The New Orleans CORE is magnificent. They are all very young—from about 17 to 23. And they are mostly girls, only about a half-dozen men.

What a difference between here and up North. These youngsters are so conscious, aware and mature that they make me sick to my stomach at those who do more talking than doing.

They have been picketing Woolworth's here for about three months, every day from 2 to closing. They are spat upon, jeered at, and worse. When they come to picket carrying the signs they are run at by cars as they cross the streets. They have a quiet courage that is indescribable.

Those who have been on the rides are some of the same ones who have picketed every day, and they are the real core of CORE. And they are all girls, if you will allow me a bit of feminism.

In contrast to our contingent of Freedom Riders who come with a bit more feeling of adventure (but still very seriously and with deep convictions), those who have ridden from New Orleans can only be described as having an added new dimension of complete and utter dedication.

#### A New Added Dimension

I don't mean to tear our group down, but these young women have lived in the South all their lives, and know that this is where they will return to live when the ride is done. That is a qualitative difference which I feel as a Northerner immediately upon meeting them, and of which they are also aware.

I have no doubt that every Freedom Rider will come back with a new added dimension, and that this "spirit of adventure" I have mentioned is also a cover for nervousness at the prospect of possibly being lynched if we get past Jackson. I have no doubt that most of us would feel some relief if we don't get past that fair city, including me, but I feel that this must happen soon, and if it happens to be our group, it must be done.

—L.

NEW ORLEANS.—Greetings and salutations from the Crew (Continued on Page 8)

#### EDITORIAL

### THE STATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS, USA, 1961

Two events, one in the Deep South, and the other in the capital, disclose the shocking state of civil liberties in the United States, marking us as a nation on the road to totalitarianism.

#### IN THE SOUTH

The jailing of 227 Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi (See the lead article, "Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves") has focused the world spotlight on the jungle law that rules the South. It reveals equally clearly the willful impotence of the Federal Government to enforce the law of the land on desegregated interstate travel. The Federal officials claimed that they were "helpless" in the present situation. At the same time the Attorney General had the effrontery to ask for a "cooling off period" by the Freedom Riders who were brave enough to challenge the Southern bigots. We suggest that the Attorney General test for himself the coolness of a Mississippi jail during the long, hot summer.

#### IN THE CAPITAL

Allegedly, at the opposite pole from the white supremacists, stands the U. S. Supreme Court. Nearly 200 years after the Declaration of Independence, 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, the Supreme Court at long last ruled for desegregation in education. As was clear, however, from its "due despatch" loophole, the South was granted enormous leeway to disregard the ruling. Far from charting a course for human rights, the present Supreme Court differs in no fundamental respect from the nine old men who sat on those benches in order to waylay much of the New Deal legislation.

The shaky majority (5-4), by which some liberal rulings are handed down, is quickly dissipated the moment the atmosphere emanating from the White House changes, at which time the majority shifts to the opposite end.

This has been the case ever since the President of the United States, at the time of the invasion of Cuba, had declared that "the deeper struggle" is not with arms, but with "subversion." He promptly tried to subvert the freedom of the press. The majority of these nine old men on the Supreme Court caught the spirit at once, and they tried to subvert our constitutional freedom of thought with the new rulings on the Smith and McCarran Acts.

Thus, from both the side of the bigoted states righters, and the United States Supreme Court a course of action is established; by failure to enforce federal law in the face of local prejudice, and by legal decision in face of presidential ire, the machinery of totalitarianism is set in motion, and the demo-

(Continued on Page 4)

## In Maritime Battle

# Administration Is Strike-Breaker

When the Kennedy administration forced striking American seamen back to work by injunction, at the beginning of July, it marked the eighteenth time the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act was used in the 14 years it has been in force.

Over 80,000 sea-going workers struck against U.S. shipping lines, on June 16, to eliminate scab conditions on "runaway ships." This is the term applied to American-owned vessels which fly foreign flags in order to pay starvation wages and maintain sweatshop conditions.

The "runaways" number over 450 of the 1,400 active merchant ships controlled by U.S. companies. Most of them are tankers under the domination of the oil monopolies.

As a result of such scab operations, the number of jobs aboard American-flag vessels, which are virtually 100 per cent unionized, has fallen from over 120,000 to somewhat over 40,000 in the last 15 years.

## How Safe Can These Cars Be?

Every year there are more changes in the auto factory. There is nothing new in that. With every change that is made, the work gets harder for the men to keep up with. And by now this is an old story, too.

With these changes, there are less and less men in the factories. Nobody is safe, of course, from the men on the production line to foremen, and even more highly placed men. You never know whose name is going to be put on the lists of changes and lay-offs.

Some jobs are impossible to keep up with. Everybody knows it—from the man on the line to the inspectors to the production manager.

In the shop where I work, we put out wheel drums. The tolerance that is supposed to be allowed is .001 of an inch off of the engineering specifications. But the line is just too fast and there's no time to do the right kind of job. So the production foreman says that the drums are o.k. if they are off .003 of an inch.

The thing I always worry about is that people are buying these cars and are depending on them to operate right. Some of them just can't with the kind of parts put on them.

### EX-FORMAN NIXES JOB

The other thing is that the floor inspectors have been cut. Where there were three of them on a line about three blocks long, now there is just one. No man can cover that line by himself and do any kind of a decent job. But that's what they have. The job is so tough that a boss that was put back on production because of a cut-back refused to take the floor inspector's job. He said he'd rather go back on a bench, and he did.

The guy they have on the job now has been lucky so far. He doesn't even try to put on that he is checking the line—every one knows it's impossible. But the pieces have been coming along all right and there is not a whole lot of them that have had to be reworked.

He doesn't bother anybody on the line, though, and maybe this is the answer. He isn't trying to push the men and they probably appreciate him and are putting out good work for him.

### UNEMPLOYMENT UNITES ACTION

Despite the fact that the striking seamen are represented by six different unions with a long history of bitter rivalry, the major issue — combatting unemployment by organizing the unorganized — unified the action. The massive walkout was on the verge of achieving a shutdown of all U.S. shipping from Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific ports, when Kennedy and his labor secretary Goldberg cracked down with the strike-breaking injunction.

The unions involved in the strike are: the National Maritime Union; the Seafarers International Union; the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; the Masters, Mates and Pilots; the American Radio Association; and the Radio Officers Union. The first two, the N.M.U. and the S.I.U., represent the majority of the strikers—37,000 and 22,000 respectively. These are the unlicensed seamen, the equivalent of production and semi-skilled workers in factories.

It is this rank-and-file strength which alone has so far prevented the Taft-Hartley Act from destroying the unions. It is this rank-and-file strength which remains the main target of the Act, and which every administration since Truman's has tried to destroy. It is this rank-and-file strength which Kennedy and his stooge Goldberg, one-time hired mouthpiece for the steel union bureaucracy, wish to shackle.

Six days after the strike began, Goldberg issued an ultimatum to the striking unions to agree to a 60-day cooling off period within two days, which didn't even leave enough time to poll the membership.

### USE SLAVE LABOR ACT

Not only did the union leaders turn down the Goldberg plan because it would still permit the administration to stretch it to 140 days by adding an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction to the "voluntary" 60-day period; but the determination of the rank and file is such that nothing short of federal coercion could force them back. Under the circumstances, Kennedy and Goldberg found that the sailors' demands were "endangering" the nation's "health and welfare." "Reluctantly" they invoked the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley Act which they "oppose."

The temporary injunction was issued on July 3. The full 80-day injunction was issued July 10. So anxious was Federal Judge Ryan in New York to do the administration's bidding that he issued the injunction two days earlier than it was expected. In doing so, he had the effrontery to say that not only would it provide a "cooling off" period, in the interests of the shipping lines, of course, but that it would "serve to encourage" free collective bargaining.

The only free collective bargaining the American worker has ever known has been as a result of his power

to strike. This, the Taft-Hartley Act can only postpone, it cannot prevent.

As in the case of the steel strike in 1959-1960, so, it is felt, in the present maritime strike, the walkout will resume in force after the injunction expires in September.

This is the basis of the Kennedy-Goldberg opposition to Taft-Hartley. The fact that it can only hamper but not prohibit rank-and-file action is the "defect" Kennedy will try to "rectify" in the new broad labor law he will seek.

### INJUNCTION AIDS SHIPPERS

In the meantime, the present injunction serves the two-fold anti-labor aim of aiding the shipping companies during a peak season, and warning all of American labor at the very time that auto negotiations are going on.

As the steel workers showed, and as it is expected that the maritime workers will show—indeed, as the rank-and-file have shown since Taft-Hartley was enacted in 1947—their opposition is the only force which can keep the unions from being shackled to the administration's will, and the worker from being shackled to his job—and to his unemployment.

## Partial Payment Being Welcomed

Homestead, Penna. — When we were on strike in the steel mills two years ago, the union was offering us food, but a lot of people in the mill wouldn't go down and get it. They were too proud.

But a lot of men are laid off now, and everybody knows it. They're not only laid off, they've been off for quite some time. You won't find many of these guys turning down anything they can get to keep food on the table.

### EARMARK EVERY CENT

In steel we have SUB; we get two checks, our regular unemployment check and the supplemental check from the company. When you go to collect and stand in line, you can hear them saying:

"This check is for the insurance man; this one is for rent and utilities and the doctor bill." They've got it all earmarked.

People who owe on cars or houses—those they owe money to are trying to go along with them to a certain extent. They haven't been foreclosing because they keep thinking every month that they'll be picking up, or the man will attempt to get them a little more in payments, and they've been trying to cushion this unemployment for a lot of people.

### WILL GET WORSE

But they feel that in the near future the mortgage holders are really going to start to pinch them, foreclose on them, and then we'll really feel it here. They've been accepting partial payments from the checks the unemployed are getting. Few have anything except cars taken away, but here if you don't pay up in a few months the car goes.

I know one guy with seven kids. His real estate man cut his rent from \$75 to \$40 a month so he could feed his family on the rest. I guess the real estate man figured the \$40 was better than putting him out and getting nothing at all.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### These Walls Will Crumble, Too

When I read in the paper that 227 people have been arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, since May 24 for trying to carry out the law of the United States, it made cold chills run up and down my spine. One group I know spent eight minutes in the train station, three minutes in the Jackson Kangaroo Court and ended up with six month jail sentences.

I listen to the president and other governmental officials saying that this country stands for freedom and democracy and that we stand ready to defend any small country from aggression. But these people do nothing about the unlawful arrests and treatment of our own citizens in those jungle courts of Mississippi.

### "COOL OFF" FROM LAW

I remember clearly the Laos situation, when Kennedy gave the rebels a 24-hour cease fire order. But he does not give any orders to stop the arrests in Mississippi. Instead, his brother, the Attorney General of these United States, tells Negroes to cool off from abiding by a law of his government. If it were the other way around, and it was the Negroes and their supporters who were not abiding by the law, you can imagine what the consequences would be.

### THEN AND NOW

During the Kennedy campaign for the Presidency, Rev. King was arrested on a trumped-up charge in Atlanta, Georgia, and was sentenced to four months. Kennedy needed the colored people's votes to get elected, so he called the state officials in Georgia and had Rev. King released.

Kennedy does not need votes today. Rev. King was one man, today there are 227 in Mississippi jails. The President has not tried to get them out.

Since the President, his

brother and other government officials are not trying to stop it, other Southern states have joined Mississippi in arresting Freedom Riders. As this is being written, four more have been arrested in Little Rock, Arkansas. The two Negroes and two whites were threatened with a \$500 fine or six months in prison or both. I read that they were arrested under a 1959 state law which makes it a misdemeanor to act in any way that threatens or causes a breach of the peace.

In practice this means a person can be arrested anywhere at anytime on such a trumped-up charge. I wonder how many people can really say this is democracy.

### FOR RESPECT, DIGNITY

All my sympathy goes to the Freedom Riders, and especially to the whites that do not have to live and face the same oppression and abuses. The Negroes are forced to endure here in America. My whole heart is with those Negroes who are risking all they have, including their lives, in the hope that they will make it possible for the rest of the 20 million Negroes in this country to live and travel throughout the land with as much respect and dignity as any other human being.

It takes hardship and suffering, and those Freedom Riders in jail in Mississippi are facing it day by day, being sent off to prison camps with hardened criminals.

Some day, somewhere I hope I can meet all these Freedom Riders and more fully express my support of them in this struggle. I hope by then the wall of segregation in the South, North, West and East will come crumbling down as it is stated in the Bible about the walls of Jericho that came tumbling down.

## Ironworkers Strike, Power Wasted; Main Needs Unmet

NEW YORK—At the beginning of July, members of Local 455 of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Ironworkers (Shopmen) went on strike against the 55 shops that are members of Allied Metal Industries, an employer organization.

Few of the men, who went out to back up the demands the union is making in a new contract, doubt that the union will not get what it is asking: a few cents raise in pay, a few days paid sick leave and perhaps an extra holiday.

### BOSSSES WEAK

The bosses here are in a much weaker position than the union. Most of them are hand-to-mouth operators, who bid against one another for construction contracts. Any work stoppage, no matter how brief, threatens them with the loss of contracts, which can often mean the collapse of the business. Few of the iron shops have enough capital to ride out adversities that would be considered minor in other industries. On the other hand ironworkers are a mobile lot and move from shop to shop in the area, to whatever firm has the contracts and the work.

It's a shame, with the strength the men have, more hasn't been accomplished. Iron shops are notorious for the safety hazards

that prevail, the unclean washrooms and sanitary facilities. There is an amazing lack of proper first-aid provisions, that often sees one of the office girls administering to an injured worker with a dime-store first-aid kit.

### JOB SECURITY

Many of the men are worried about changes in construction, the more frequent use of poured cement, for instance, that threaten their jobs. More and more steel constructions are being brought in from out of the state, where workers are paid lower wages.

Outside ironworkers have protected themselves by forcing all builders who want to construct in New York to use New York ironworkers. Shopmen would like to have the same kind of protection, or to see to it that all ironworkers' wages are brought up to the New York scale, so workers would not be pitted against workers.

The union bureaucracy, which seems riveted in position, avoids the questions which are the constant concern of the men and still deals over the heads and behind the backs of the membership.

—Old Ironworker

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# BRITISH LABOUR NEWS

WRITTEN AND EDITED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEES

## Welcome to New Readers

The millionaire press is becoming concentrated into fewer hands. The monopoly newspapers coin news out of rape, child murder, "red scares," and summit conferences. Anything but what the workers are themselves doing to free themselves from this nightmare political climate, and exploitative production relations.

This paper, *News & Letters*, will never be taken over by the monopoly press. This paper aims to mirror the revolt of the production worker against the life imposed on him and his family. As a Ford worker said recently, "Workers Battle Automation should be in the pocket of every Shop Steward."

When 2,000 workers downed tools at Smiths M.A.1, recently, in defiance of the union officials, the British press released a flood of gratuitous condemnation. When the Ford workers did the same they got the same treatment.

The rank and file today are so conscious that they are on their own, that their first reaction at Smiths, on seeing *News & Letters*, was to ask if it was a Communist paper. They refuse to have their struggle taken over by false friends. The fact that *News & Letters* is completely independent, and at their disposal, seemed too good to be true. But it's about time such a paper materialised, is it not?

This paper gets to working people all over the English-speaking world by many ways; nearly always by the personal initiative of people like you. One sure way of getting subsequent issues is to let us know if you agree or disagree with what is printed. We are always very pleased to send sample copies for your friends and workmates, and to make space for their views, too.

In this way, together, by open and honest discussion, the workers can begin to solve the problems of our time. —F. W.

## 32,000 Wildcat at Fords; Protest Company Ultimatum

S.E. ESSEX—As June ended, the Ford bosses at Dagenham replied to union demands by posting an ultimatum: they demanded a probationary period of three months free of wildcats before entering into any negotiations on pay.

This was the Ford answer to the joint demands of 22 unions calling for all-round pay increases, a reduction in the work-week from 41¼ to 40 hours without loss of earnings, and a guaranteed 5-day week to safeguard against future short-time work.

The company's ultimatum was pinned on the bulletin boards on a Monday night. When the night shift workers read the notices, 2,000 walked out. 12,500 day shift men, who clocked in on Tuesday morning, followed suit. Foundry, chassis, and assembly buildings were deserted.

By Thursday, 32,000 workers had stopped.

A shop steward said: "This is a spontaneous feeling from the men on the floor. Shop stew-

ards did threaten immediate strike action if the claims were not granted, but so far they have not given any direction to the men."

### Notebook of An Auto Worker

I was speaking to a new man who started at Fords last week. He said, "I'll give it another week and then I'll chuck it in. When I came to Fords I thought the wages would be good, but they are the lowest I ever got in England: 6s.7d. an hour to start! At Vauxhalls they start at 6s.11d."

"I never saw another firm as rough as Fords. Last Wednesday they speeded up the line. We were on our feet all the time, sweating our guts out. At the last hour, the line broke down. We all flopped down on boxes and benches.

"Next thing we knew, the foreman was running down the line foully insulting the men and ordering us to get on our feet. One group of four or five men, who didn't spring up instantly, were told they were going to get three days suspension. They told him to make up their cards. They refused to be treated like convicts."

At the lunch break we went our different ways. On the notice board I read that another director had resigned from the Board. This makes three in four months. The other two were replaced by Americans. The betting is that the Detroit office is carrying out a purge and putting their own men in.

—Dick

## War Danger Over Berlin

By HARRY McSHANE

If war comes, the Labour Movement will be split three ways. One section will want Russia to win, another will want to see Russia defeated, and another will raise the banner of International Socialism and oppose war by every possible means.

We must decide where we intend to stand, because at present we are moving towards the precipice.

Khrushchev has made it clear that if his latest proposals regarding a German peace treaty are rejected, Russia will make a separate treaty with East Germany and the status of West Berlin will be changed accordingly.

America, West Germany, France and Britain have all declared that they will oppose any change in the status of West Berlin, even if such opposition means war.

### YALTA AND POTSDAM

When the victorious powers met at Potsdam in 1945, the Russian leaders had good reason to be optimistic. During the period from September 1939, Russia had secured control of vast territories, including three whole nations. In addition, her allies had agreed at Yalta to let her have more territory — to take the Polish border up to the

Niesse and the Oder at the expense of Germany.

The first major political event in post-war Germany occurred in April 1946, when the Communist and Social Democratic Parties in East Germany merged and became the Socialist Unity Party. This was far from clever, but its purpose was indicated in a speech by Walter Ulbricht. "From today," he said, "there are no longer Communists or Social Democrats, but only Socialists. From the capital of our German fatherland, from Berlin, the banner of unity is raised for the whole German people . . ."

Germans were being deported from territory occupied by Poland and Czechoslovakia. It is not surprising that there was no response in West Germany to the call of Ulbricht who, incidentally, had been in Russia from the time Hitler had seized power.

### THE COLD WAR

A number of countries in Eastern Europe had come under Communist Party rule, and it looked as if the Communist Parties were about to determine policy in France and Italy. Britain took action in Greece to check the Communist advance, while America staged a display of military preparedness off the Italian coast during an election period.

By her exclusive possession of the atom bomb, and her ability to launch the Marshall Plan, America stemmed the tide.

It was inevitable that this conflict should affect the situation in Germany. Russia kept pressing for a peace treaty to endorse the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The other powers brought their respective zones together, authorised a new currency, and sanctioned the drawing up of a constitution. The Federal Republic of Germany was set up in September 1949. The German Democratic Republic was established a month later.

West Berlin, the territory

occupied by the Western powers although situated 110 miles away, and surrounded by Russian-occupied territory, was claimed by the Federal Republic. East Berlin became the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

### PEACE TREATY

Khrushchev says that both German states should be asked to sign a peace treaty. If America is not prepared to sign a treaty with East Germany, then two treaties should be drawn up containing the same main provisions for a peace settlement.

He proposes that the two German states be urged to meet and discuss the position, and, if they fail to agree on the signing of a single treaty, steps should be taken for the signing of separate treaties.

The two states should be given six months in which to reach agreement. If agreement is not reached, Russia will sign a separate treaty with the German Democratic Republic. Berlin will be made a 'free city'.

This means that West Berlin will not be considered part of the Federal Republic of Germany. Questions of land, water and air communications will require to be negotiated with the German Democratic Republic. Those Germans who have been escaping to the West via West Berlin will find their way barred. Ulbricht has come out very strongly on this.

West Germany is lined up in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization alongside other Western powers, and East Germany is lined up with Russia and a number of Eastern European states in the Warsaw Pact. Both Russia and America are ready to supply their respective allies with nuclear weapons for the struggle.

The problems of the world can be solved by the workers of the world. Capitalism in every shape and form will be destroyed when the workers, on their own initiative, go into action. Their emancipation will be their own achievement. It will not be decided by Labour Party Conferences. They will build a new society without instructions from above. Having got rid of their chains they must, and will, retain their freedom. That is the road for revolutionary socialists.

## ETU Shakes Grip of CP

LONDON—John Byrne, full-time Glasgow official of the Electrical Trades Union, won his legal battle against the Communist Party members of the Executive (see this page last month). He has taken his place as new General Secretary. This is also a victory for Catholic Action who vie with the Communists for leading jobs in the trades unions.

A closed meeting of Labour Party MPs heard Byrne, and his colleague Frank Chapple, at the House of Commons. The fact that Catholic Action members are also in the Labour Party is a great help to them.

Byrne can as yet count on the support of only three of the E.T.U. 11-man executive.

Further hearings against the E.T.U. leadership are pending, called by militants Les Cannon and Dick Reno. We will summarise these in due course.

## Sternes CND Is Threatened

GLASGOW — Between 400 and 500 workers are to be paid off at the factory of Messrs. Sternes Ltd., Hillington Estate, near Glasgow.

For the past months, all the workers there have been laid off on alternate weeks.

The point is that this is the only factory in Scotland which has a committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. It has about 40 members. They have taken part in every C.N.D. action to date.

It is earnestly hoped that the committee will remain in being, and that those members who are paid off will keep in touch with the factory committee while trying to form new ones at their new work places.

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NATIONALISM, COMMUNISM,  
MARXIST-HUMANISM

and the

A FRO-ASIA REVOLUTIONS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

With a NEW INTRODUCTION by the Author

Published by THE LEFT GROUP

Cambridge University Labour Club One Shilling

25c In the United States

Order Through NEWS & LETTERS

## Editorial

### THE STATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS, U.S.A., 1961

(Continued from Page 1)

cratic processes of the United States and precious liberties under the Constitution are made a dead letter. The United States is rushing headlong to be the "equal" of Russia—in thought control.

Justice Douglas said in his dissent:

"Nothing but beliefs are on trial in this case. They are unpopular and to most of us revolting. But they are nonetheless ideas of dogmas or faith within the broad framework of the First Amendment.

"What we lose by majority vote today may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity no longer cast a shadow over us."

The learned justice didn't specify when, in the future, "the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity" will go no longer "cast a shadow over us." Unfortunately Supreme Court decisions are not easily reversed unless the people show in no uncertain terms that they do not mean to have their freedom tampered with.

#### IN THE PRESS

The majority of the bourgeois press noisily approved the reactionary Supreme Court rulings. The few papers that dissented—and the powerful New York Times did mildly dissent—still misled the American public as to the facts about the Smith Act. The impression was given that the issue at stake is "Communism." The Smith Act does not single out Communists and defines "forcible overthrow" so loosely that no act is required to set it into motion. It can, and in fact is, applied to any opponent of the ideas of the powers that be. Thus both in Arkansas and Louisiana it was used to try to compel the N.A.A.C.P. to turn over its membership list to KKK-inspired rulers, if not to lynch-bent mobs.

The paper that lays claim to covering "all the news that is fit to print" didn't see fit to print the facts about the first application of the Smith Act. It cited 1948 as the year, whereas in fact it was 1941. It talked of its use against the Communist Party whereas, in fact, the Smith Act was first used not against the Communists. On the contrary, with the connivance of the Communists, it was used against the Trotskyists and militant trade unionists clearing out corruption and do-nothingness on the part of their bureaucratic overlords in the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544.

Clearly, the 7 years that The New York Times is willing to bury in its morgue are not for purposes of "letting the dead bury the dead," but for purposes of letting the dead bury the living. The living were not informed either of the facts of the first application of the Smith Act, or of the fact that it was under the "inspiration" of Dan Tobin's gangster leadership of the Teamsters Union who resented and feared democratization, that the Roosevelt Administration railroaded the Trotskyists and teamster militant trade unionists to jail. So much for the first application of the Smith Act.

The Trotskyists were not powerful enough to compel the Supreme Court to review their case. The Communists, when it was applied to them, were powerful enough to win a Supreme Court ruling. At that time (1957) the Court tried to limit its approval of the Act, by interpreting "advocacy of violent overthrow" to mean not "the mere abstract doctrine of forcible overthrow," but actual "incitement to action." The New York Times of June 7th, 1961, accepts the claim at face value, adding however:

"The sustaining of the Smith Act's membership clause, and the setting in motion of the ponderous Internal Security Act, can only serve again to divert public attention to the virtually non-existent internal Communist threat. The real Communist challenge is from abroad; and the sooner Americans get over the idea that we can solve the problem by persecuting the tattered remnants of American communism at home, the better able we will all be to face the really hard decisions and hard problems posed by the genuine menace of communism pushing outward from China and the Soviet Union."

This linking of the Smith Act, which has nothing to say of "the Communist challenge from abroad," with the McCarran (Internal Security) Act, which does, in its Preamble, mention Russian Communism, is once again to mislead the public. We do not mean to say that the McCarran Act is any less a perversion of Amendment I to the Constitution than is the Smith Act.

We are disentangling the two in order to prove why, with what malice aforethought, the American Communists were not tried under the McCarran Act, but under the Smith Act. This was done in order to set a precedent against genuine working class opponents of capitalist ideas, or even against those who stand for equal rights for American Negroes, as was the case with the Southern states' use of the Smith Act against the N.A.A.C.P. The Supreme Court was compelled to throw that case out. In the present instance, however, the F.B.I., the Administration, the Supreme Court (and, not so incidentally, the press) did all in their power to force an identity between the Marxist theory of liberation, and its opposite, the Communist practice of enslavement.

Thereby, they achieved a veritable conspiracy with Russian Communism, which for its own purposes, has usurped the name of Marxism.

#### THE PRESIDENT

President Kennedy likes words, moving words that speak of freedom. He likes them for ceremonial occasions, like July 4th prerogations; he likes them at summit meetings to compete with the Communist use of them; and he likes them for luring the newly emergent African nations into the "Western" camp. On such occasions he speaks of our nation as one "born of revolution." He becomes so passionate an advocate of the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, that he becomes audacious enough to quote from the great American Abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, who, in fighting the Government and the paid press for tolerating slavery, had declared in his LIBERATOR: "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

The one thing that President Kennedy failed to say was the truth about himself—that he was tolerating the jailing of Freedom Riders; that he had created the atmosphere for the new reactionary Supreme Court rulings subverting the First Amendment to the Constitution; that his brother, far from asking for a "cooling off period" when these decisions were handed down, hastened to announce their immediate application. He was stayed from this course only by the restraint, hypocritical though that was, of Justice Felix Frankfurter, who granted the Communist Party petition for a rehearing in the fall.

Obviously, all too obviously, President Kennedy liked only the "sound" of the words of freedom, not their practice.

# Readers'

## Riders For Freedom

I was privileged to see a letter that the parents of one of the white Freedom Riders from here received from a Negro woman in Jackson. If anything exposed the calculated lie of the press—both North and South—that the Negro people in the South are not in support of the Freedom Riders, this does.

This woman wrote that two local groups of Negroes visit the jail every day with toiletries, cigarettes, candy, gum and reading materials. They even tried to put a radio and TV in the cells, but of course, couldn't get permission. A women's committee there has raised money to buy each girl in jail a pair of pedal pushers and a shirt in order to save their own clothing. She assured the parents that they had plenty of food even though the food they are served is coarse (beans, cornbread and the like); and that they had sent in juices to the youngsters when they were on a hunger strike earlier.

What was so moving was the way this Negro woman told this Freedom Rider's parents that someday when everything was all straightened out she wanted to write to the parents of each of these wonderful boys and girls and somehow let them know how their presence there had made the Negroes in Mississippi feel that they were humans and Americans.

She said, "Here in the Deep South, we cannot communicate with people of other races. It is very easy to feel that we are alone in this fight." She said it was wonderful to know that they were not the only ones who love this country.

I am sure that they are doing everything they can to help the Freedom Rider movement.

Supporter  
Chicago

I read in Newsweek in my dentist's office that when non-violent CORE Freedom Riders were being beaten up by a white mob outside the Montgomery bus station, a Negro truck-driver who saw it got out of his truck and said "If you want to fight somebody, fight me."

Anybody who says Southern Negroes "aren't for" the Freedom Riders must be crazy or a liar.

Hand Trucker  
Detroit

The deprivation of our Civil Rights, North and South, and the shackling of free minds have nothing whatever to do with the fight against "Communism." On the contrary, it is the true breeding ground of all totalitarianisms—Communist, Hitlerite, or K.K.K. inspired private enterprisers. When private capitalism begins to compete with Communist state-capitalism in devising ever-new ways of thought control, it can be only because the foundation of both is the same and so is their purpose: to repress the working people.

Capitalism, private or state, has been moving from crisis to wars and back again ever since its birth. In our age of one-worldedness, it has the added purpose of single world domination even at the insane expense of a nuclear holocaust that may spell out the end of civilization altogether. Beware then of those who would fight against totalitarianism abroad by embarking on totalitarian ways at home.

The fight against totalitarianism can be won only by Freedom Fighters, who "do not equivocate" in their struggles against discrimination and exploitation, and therefore can exorcise "the shadow cast" over our land. The Freedom Fighters of our epoch, as of the epoch of William Lloyd Garrison, will be heard.  
July 4, 1961

—Raya Dunayevskaya

There is tremendous pressure being applied to stop the Freedom Rides. This stems mainly from the Administration, but is being applied by every possible means.

But the rides are continuing and will continue, even though the resources of a capitalist government like ours are nearly as all-encompassing as those of a state-capitalist one like Russia, when it wants to stop a movement for freedom.

Activist  
New York

It was with the greatest disgust that I discovered that the story the New York Times had had the gall to print, with obvious malice aforethought, on the front page in its June 25 Sunday edition, had completely slandered the Negro Protest movement by printing (as "disclosures from persons attending the 18th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University") the isolated opinions of some Uncle Toms who wanted to halt the Freedom Rides, as if that were the majority opinion.

The immediate denial by CORE, which stated emphatically that the motion which had passed by an overwhelming majority was the exact opposite—a motion to continue the Rides—never even got into their paper, much less in a front page display!

Journalist  
New York

Mass action to demonstrate solidarity with the Freedom Riders is essential. In New York, CORE is planning a public fast in solidarity with the Riders at the Statue of Liberty. Similar demonstrations should be held in as many places as possible. The demand should be for Federal action to end segregation.

Larry Cusick  
New York

CORE must be congratulated for doing a terrific job both in sponsoring the Freedom Riders and in resisting pressure from the Kennedy Administration and its Uncle Toms who tried to halt the Freedom Rides. However, I just cannot see why they seem to think that the way to win desegregation is by "filling up the jails."

I think the only way to win is for all of us, whether we are in trade unions, or on college campuses, or anywhere else, to involve our-

selves in mass actions in the North and in the South both, in support of the Freedom Riders. I cannot see why the courageous young people who took their ride into Jackson should simply rot in jail for six months—or for that matter, even for two months.

In my experience, once you challenge the law, you yourself have to be free to fight. That means fighting in the courts, but certainly not limiting yourself to that. You're fighting also by telling your story to all the people who have not experienced jail, and to all those who simply don't know about the jungle justice in Mississippi. Certainly that sort of activity is of a great deal higher significance than the fight in the courts. And to do it, you must be out of jail.

I say: Send the more than 200 who have been jailed (most of whom are still there) on national and international tours, and a great deal more will be accomplished than by arguing with some barbarian Mississippi jailers.

R. D.  
Detroit

Six months is a long time to spend in any jail, much less in a jail in the Murder State.

Correspondent  
New York

When I got my first letter from one of the Freedom Riders in jail I almost cried. I have been very disturbed with the six months' sentence the Riders are now getting. CORE better do something quickly. There are a lot of meetings—but I want to see meetings where the Freedom Riders themselves are present, out of jail.

Worried  
Chicago

If there is nothing going to be done about the people in jail, what's the use of having them in jail?

Auto Worker  
Los Angeles

CORE is the only one doing the job, and it is a magnificent job they are doing—but that doesn't mean that we cannot do other work to bring Mississippi back into the Union by compelling them to obey its laws.

Lawyer  
New York

Is there anything at all we can do to help the Freedom Riders who are already in jail and who have been given six months sentences just for sitting in a waiting room?

I have been reading about the Eichmann trial and the horrible things he did to the Jews—and so far, as I am concerned the Mississippi governor, the judges down there, the cops, and the prison guards belong in that box with him. They should ALL be on trial together. They are all of one kind.

Steelworkers' Wife  
Pittsburgh

# Views

Our neighbor, a middle-class white man, who was born here and lived South most of his life was called back to Montgomery, Ala., because of serious illness in his family. Here is the letter I got from him the other day.

"Slipped off into Montgomery for church last Sunday. That being the day after Bloody Saturday, by N.Y. state license plates got plenty of frowns and fist shakes. Must say this is all a new experience for this community. I have the feeling that some report the news (as they want), some write the news (as they want), and some create the news (as they want). Never saw city police, sheriffs, F.B.I., marshalls and national guards all in one huddle before. All this fluttering and zipping about to absolute silence reminds me of a triple delay dynamite shot when you lose count. It certainly gives for heart aches."

Subscriber  
Albany

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I was glad to read that the NAACP was staging a "march" to Washington. But I think it might be more effective to stage a real march on Jackson, Mississippi, instead.

Professional  
Pittsburgh

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Rev. King got a standing ovation at the Freedom Rally here to honor the Freedom Riders.

He made a good speech, and the 12,000 people who were there (there were very few whites) liked it and gave him a big ovation — but I don't believe it really touched them, to the point that they would do anything.

Rev. King was here before and told the preachers that they could stop segregation here by standing up in their churches and telling their congregations how to act. They did start a boycott against both Iron City Beer and Meadow Gold Milk because of their discriminatory hiring practices—and it got such good results that both of those companies were eventually forced to change their policies. That just shows you what could be done. But there are so many even bigger things that they could do in the same way, and don't even touch.

As just one example, there has been a lot of talk about trying to get a colored inspector for the Police Force here but nothing has ever been done about it, except talk. I feel that if Rev. King's talk really means anything, it has to mean that people in Pittsburgh begin to do something, too.

Negro Housewife  
Pittsburgh

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In May when our papers were speaking of Algeria, negotiations and independence, and when about once a week the "Jeunesse Communist" (Young Communists) or the Jeunesse Socialistes Unificées (Young Unified Socialists) engaged in a demonstration, we learned that on the other side of the ocean men were also demonstrating, were fighting with policemen, and were sent to

jail because of racial segregation, exactly like us.

In fact, in France as in the United States, some races are called superior and other races inferior. Here even if the Negroes are treated like whites, the North Africans are not. It's usual to see police cars stop North Africans, without any reason, and take them to the police station. Or to hear among the French population sentences like, "For them it is not the same. They are not like everyone else. They like to live ten to a room; they like dirtiness..."

As long as capitalism remains, the racial problem will stay. People who think that it will disappear because of a small independent fight are wrong. Capitalism needs men who are called inferior and who do the most difficult labor for the lowest wages. Then they can ask other workers, "What are you complaining about? You are like kings compared to them."

High School Student  
France

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(Ed. Note: We excerpt the following from a long open letter to Harry Belafonte.)

I would like to help... the Freedom Riders and Sit-ins in their struggle to forevermore remove from the human mind the insane, grotesque, ridiculous, ludicrous concept that any one human being is inferior and unequal as a human being to any other human being...

You have made a good start but you haven't gone nearly as far as you will have to go before you are free. The Ghandi idea is noble but it is far from Humanitarian and will never get the job done. The East Indians proved that. They got the British out but the great mass of the people are just as much slaves as they ever were. We will never get anywhere except to more slavery by pleading with some other human being to give us freedom. We will have to take it and hold it.

You people are the only ones on earth at the present time doing anything concrete toward the establishment of freedom. Keep up the good work. Only you will ever get you freedom!

Edgar Leslie  
California

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Eight young people came out of jail today and they were simply wonderful. Their spirits were high. When they went to the train, they went through the "White" section of the station and no-one said anything. Brave young people—I just can't praise them enough.

Observer  
Mississippi

## KENNEDY'S CHOICE

The front page article last issue was magnificent. It is not just that it is so concrete, but that one can at once see through Kennedy's choice of Europe as the battle ground.

Professional Woman  
Los Angeles

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I was very interested in your remark in the June-July lead article to the effect that Kennedy's diplomacy "had as its aim the re-establishment of capitalistic Europe as the key to the world situation." I am certain that this is correct and have thought so for some time. It is interesting that the Dillon Plan was dropped. Clearly, the last few months have seen an agonizing reappraisal in high places and a decision to move in on the Common Market in a big way. It also means that if Europe is the capitalist key it is also ours. We need an epidemic of internationalism on our side of the fence!

Reader  
London

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Who could possibly deny your ringing statement that "present-day peace is war by other means" and that Kennedy and Khrushchev alike "in order better to prepare for war abroad will impose 'class peace' at home?"

It is not so easy for all of us to have at our fingertips the impressive mass of facts and data you published to show Russia's internal state of affairs—but anybody who reads the headlines of any daily paper here can see how the stage is being set-up in America.

How else could anyone possibly explain the concerted efforts of the Administration and its "free" press to stop the Freedom Rides—and to intimate that anyone who demands the Federal Government DO something about Civil Rights, is disloyal because we can't afford to fight for such things during such "critical times."

You have to scrounge for news of the Freedom Riders in the same papers that are headlining the Berlin Crisis and prominently printing reports of polls that are supposed to show that most Americans are not afraid of risking a nuclear war. If this is not "peace that is war by other means" and "preparation for war abroad by imposing class peace at home" I'd like to know what is.

Technician  
Detroit

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

## Intellectuals In The Age Of State Capitalism

(Note: Below is the continuation and conclusion of "Intellectuals in the Age of State Capitalism," begun in the previous issue. It is, in the main, concerned with Herbert Marcuse's "Soviet Marxism," reviewing and contrasting the 1961 and 1958 editions. Page references below are all to the original edition.)

(3) While none of Lenin's castigation of the Communists' "passion for bossing" now that they had power comes through in Prof. Marcuse's "Soviet Marxism," Stalin comes off with fairly clean hands. Even the reign of terror is very nearly justified: "The height of Stalinist terror coincided with the consolidation of the Hitler regime." (p. 75)

This, in this writer's view, is an inaccuracy. The height of Stalin's terror came during the First Five Year Plan which began with the expulsion of the Left Opposition and the exile of Leon Trotsky, and ended with forced collectivization, the institution of forced labor camps, the ruin of millions of human beings who, in turn, slaughtered thousands of heads of cattle and brought such havoc on the countryside and actual famine conditions that the whole regime nearly collapsed. At the same time Stalin's international policies did nothing to stop the coming of fascism. Insofar, however, as the Stalin period was one continuous reign of terror one could, in truth, designate very nearly any year as "the height of terror."

Obviously Prof. Marcuse prefers to substitute for the years, 1930-33, the period of 1936-39. But in that case the "immanent critique" must come face to face with the Stalin-Hitler Pact as something inherent in, not "outside of" Russia. But there is no time for a critique when the over-riding compulsion is "to prove" the thesis stated in the Introduction (missing from the 1961 edition): "There is theoretical continuity from the early Marxian notion of the Proletariat as objective truth of capitalist society to Soviet Marxist conception of partinost (partisanship)." (p. 9)

### THE PARTY, THE PARTY

The loose translation of the word, partinost, party-ism, as "partisanship" is inexcusable in the crucial content of the Stalinist concept of the Party, the Party, which is alleged to be synonymous with Marx's concept of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capitalist society. To the extent that Marx developed any concept of a proletarian party it was, (and Prof. Marcuse admits this) of a party as the self-organization of the proletariat. The proletariat was the historic force which would establish "an association of free men." Under the circumstances how could Marcuse become party to the Stalinist sleight of hand substitution of their monolithic monstrosity for "the self-organization of the proletariat?" Yet this is the inescapable consequence of this method of blaming everybody—Marx, Lenin, the proletariat, above all, the proletariat—in order to avoid facing the reality of the new stage of world capitalism—state capitalism—which manifested itself first on the historical stage in the Stalinist counter-revolution in Russia.

No wonder the promise of the "immanent critique" to reveal "the historic direction" just "perished" to use a Hegelian phrase. In the explosive contradictions of the new rationality. The reader of the new as of the old edition must be content with the last paragraph: "Ideological pressure there seems to tend in the same direction as technical-economic pressure, namely, toward the relaxation of repression... these forces, though unformed and unorganized, may well determine, to a considerable extent, the course of Soviet developments."

Truly the mountain has labored and given birth to...

### THE FLEXIBLE DIALECTIC

Although Prof. Marcuse admitted that "The difference between the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution and the fully developed Stalinist state are obvious," (p. 74), he has refused to admit that Stalinism, far from being a "continuation" of Marxism-Leninism is a break from it. (1) Indeed he puts the word, break, in quotation marks, and explains: "But if the dialectical law of turn from quantity to quality was ever applicable, it was the transition from Leninism (after the October Revolution) to Stalinism." (p. 74) (2)

Obviously, Prof. Marcuse has been greatly influenced by the irrational becoming rational "within" a certain context. Here he is doing nothing less magical than equating counter-revolution with revolution!

Nothing can stop him now. He concludes the one chapter ("Dialectic and Its Vicissitudes" which still shines with some fine Hegelian-Marxian perceptions with this astounding statement: "The Soviet Marxist 'revision' is 'orthodox.' Since Soviet Marxists maintain that Soviet society is a socialist society, they consistently invest it with the corresponding dialectical characteristics. What is involved is not so much a revision of dialectic as the claim of socialism for a non-socialist society." (p. 154)

In a word, all that is wrong are the facts! Prof. Marcuse might at least have remembered what Hegel called the method of assuming what one should prove. The word was "barbarous." The method hasn't improved with age. Barbarous it is.

Jean Paul Sartre has recently "Critique of Dialectical Reason" shown anew that which has long characterized Existentialism—that all is fair not only in war and love, but also in the use to which the dialectic is put. But even a Sartre had to separate himself from Russia's brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, and hail the Hungarian Freedom Fighters for breaking loose from all brainwashing. Not so Marcuse. So organic is his conception of the backwardness of the proletariat that, where he does admit that Russian rulers have "arrested" the dialectic in its classical Marxist sense of liberating "the subjective factor," he concludes that "the ruled tend not only to submit to the rulers but also to reproduce in themselves their subordination." (p. 191)

### THE MAJESTY OF "THE RULED"

This villification of the masses appears nearly a decade after the forced laborers struck in Vorkuta inside Russia itself, following the June 17, 1953 East German Revolt against Russian imperialistic rule there, and 5 years after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 had demonstrated for all the world, even "the learned", to see that the courage, the fortitude, the humanism of "the ruled" can break through not only Russian brainwashing but Russian steel tanks!

Though the ivory towers remain impervious to the self-activity of the masses, the majesty of "the ruled" beckons for all to join their life-and-death struggles for freedom.

Note: The footnote references appear on pg. 8.

## News & Letters

VOL 6, No. 7

August-September, 1961

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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# YOUTH VIOLENCE IN ALABAMA

Since much of the Freedom Riders' news these days is coming from Mississippi, I would like to concentrate on events in Montgomery, Ala., the home of the magnificent Bus Boycott of 1956. A friend in Montgomery wrote the day after what the people there call "Bloody Saturday" (when a white mob brutally beat Negro and white Freedom Riders while police deliberately stayed away):

"Well for Montgomery things have cooled down. I'm sending you the papers so you can see for yourself. Actually I didn't attend any meetings because the street where I live had National Guards to guard Rev. Abernathy's house. The white boys were rough; they threw bottles out of windows and broke a colored friend's car glasses out of his car. They lived three streets from here."

If this is "cooled down" in Montgomery, I'd hate to be there when it's hot. He goes on to say that "the students (some of whom had been jailed in sit-ins and suspended from schools) had no comments. They feared not graduating in August."

### NO "COVER UP"

The Alabama white-supremacist papers he sent have one virtue: they do not try to "cover-up" the ugly truth of the Southern Way of Life because they are for it. The Northern so-called "liberal" papers which expressed shock when open violence broke out, can now safely ignore 227 Freedom Riders still suffering every day in brutal Southern jails for the crime of riding interstate transport. They are not shocked by this prison violence or by the legal and illegal violence which exists permanently in order to keep Negroes down in this country. Now that the blood has stopped flowing, these Northern papers dare to slur the heroic Freedom Riders by referring to them as self-styled."

Here are some examples of what Alabama newspapers don't even bother to hide:

1) While non-violent teenage Riders are kept in prison, six white teenagers, arrested for having shot and wounded the Negro Rev. Seay in front of his own home, are simply released in their parents' custody.

2) The Alabama State Advisory Committee reports to the Federal Civil Rights Commission that a large percentage of their policemen belong to the KKK and other racist terrorist organizations, at the same time that the U.S. Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee cooperates with Alabama's Attorney General in branding the CORE and the NAACP as "Communist fronts."

3) A poll among responsible middle-class Negroes showed that "they fear the police more than anything the police could protect them from."

4) Bull Conner, the Police Chief, is on the Democratic Party's National Committee that selected Kennedy. When 21 year-old Divinity student Jim Zwerg lay unconscious and badly hurt for thirty minutes in a police car, Conner refused to call for an ambulance. He told reporters: "He didn't ask for one."

5) There are printed signs all over Montgomery saying: "Have You Fired Your N-----?"

6) Although warned a day in advance by the FBI about the approaching Freedom Riders and the violence that would follow, the police were "unaware" of what was going on and managed to stay away from the bus station long enough to give a racist mob armed with bats, lead-pipes, and bottles (some of whom had been waiting there since the night before a chance to beat-up integrated bus-riders. Two policemen were seen quietly holding a girl

under arrest while people pummelled her.

### PLANNED VIOLENCE

These reports show that violence could have been avoided. It was not avoided because it was planned. Planned with the knowledge of police authorities and with the blessings of the state governor, Patterson, who whipped his people into a frenzy of race hatred in his speeches and then gave a green light to the mob at the bus station. Yet Alabama's governor and police continue to blame everything on "outside agitators," and the Kennedys, both the President and the Attorney-General, are in implicit agreement with them when they talk of Riders who "provoke" violence when they exercise their constitutional rights, and thus excuse the Federal Government's attempt to suppress the Negroes' freedom-struggle with "cooling-off periods, etc."

Thus we see that Negroes, when they ask for their legal rights in this country, come up against not simply the fury of an ignorant racist mob, but the organized, repressive violence of society as a whole.

Tremendous pressure is quietly put on CORE and its members by the Federal Government, at the same time they are threatened, bombed, and shot at by White Citizens Councils.

The whole combined weight of state and federal government,

### ATTEMPT SWIM-IN

## Picket Line At Crystal Pool

Youthful members of the Congress Of Racial Equality and the Detroit Brotherhood Youth Council began picketing against the discriminatory policy of Crystal Pool in Oak Park, Michigan, a Detroit suburb, on July 9th. A leaflet issued jointly by the two organizations states:

"For fifteen years, the management of Crystal Pool has refused to allow Negroes to swim there. We believe that this policy is morally wrong. Anyone, regardless of race, color or religion, should be admitted to the pool if he is polite and not rowdy."

### "PRIVATE CLUB"

The management of Crystal Pool has contended that swimming facilities are available to club members only. This, however, is an obvious sham, since whites wanting to swim can readily obtain "membership" on the spot. The few Negroes who turned up with membership cards to test the pool were turned away because the management claimed they came by the cards illegally.

This same device was attempted by the Arcadia skating rink in Detroit, that was successfully challenged by DBY-CORE some months ago. (News & Letters, April, 1961).

Besides the peaceful picketing, CORE and DBYC also initiated a stand-in in the lobby of the pool. The management of the pool sought and got an injunction from the court restraining the white and Negro youth from demonstrating on Crystal Pool property. A hearing is scheduled for July 24th.

### PICKETS CONTINUE

Undaunted by the court ac-

civic organizations, the press, employers, school officials, police, and finally terrorist organizations is brought down on their heads.

This violence exists in our society permanently. Although race-riots may be made to appear as "incidents," they are simply an expression of the permanent organized violence of a society based on "keeping them down." When a society is repressive, it will always use violence—legal or illegal—to maintain itself, and the fact that the law of the land is on the side of Freedom Riders in this case seems to make little difference.

### PERMANENT RESISTANCE

There is one thing, however, that even the Montgomery papers didn't want to face. Everyone has tried to present the Freedom Riders as "self-styled," isolated individuals, on their own. They "forget" that Montgomery is the home of a mass bus-boycott that involved almost the entire Negro population. The Freedom Riders would have been impossible without the sympathy, and, where it was possible, the aid of these Negro masses.

It is against them that the repressive violence of society is permanently employed, as could be seen in our friend's letter from Montgomery. But the aid and support they were still able to give to the heroic Freedom Riders and their permanent resistance to society's permanent violence make a bright note in an otherwise sad story.

—Herman Bear

## "We Know We're Right"

On the coach on our way to Jackson, we were all a bit nervous, but none of us was really scared. Because we knew that we all stood together for what we believed in, and knew we were doing it because it was right.

On the way we picked up some white people who sat in the same coach as the Freedom Riders. They didn't say anything to us, but we could tell they hated what we were doing. Their eyes were always staring at us. They looked like they'd like to kill us . . .

On my way home, after leaving jail, a white man from Texas told me that he was for integration and that there's a lot of white people in the South who feel the same but are afraid to stand up for this because of the other white people there . . .

Freedom Rider  
California

tion, picketers, sometimes as many as fifty at a time, resumed their picketing just off pool property. On July 16th they decided to suspend their week day picketing and aim for an all out effort on Sunday, July 23rd, the day before the hearing in court.

The activity of these young Freedom Fighters has already sharply curtailed the swimming at Crystal Pool. They have won many supporters and focused the attention of the public on race discrimination in the North which must also be combatted along with the Southern barbarism.

—Robert Ellery

# The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

During a recent visit to New York City I spoke to L. Cusick who is participating in a CORE picket line. I am happy to give this column over to that story. —A.T.

NEW YORK CITY.—About a month ago, a young Negro civil engineer came to N.Y. CORE with a complaint that he had been refused the right even to inspect an apartment at Clinton Hill, a large private development in Brooklyn. CORE sent both Negro and white testers to the project and the issue turned out to be clear-cut. Apartments were available for whites, but were not available for Negroes.

When the project management refused to negotiate with CORE, a picket-line was set up on several successive weekends. When it was obvious that this had no more than nuisance value, more direct methods were decided on.

### PICKET LINE SET UP

Saturday, July 1, CORE mobilized about 30 people for action at Clinton Hill. After a white couple had made certain that apartments were available, the Negro applicant walked in. When he was told that no apartments were available, he and four CORE members sat in the rental office of the Clinton Hill development and a picket line was thrown up outside.

The police were called and told CORE that they would not give it any publicity by arresting the sit-ins. Unfriendly at first, the police were soon converted to a benevolent neutrality. Not only were they impressed by the fortitude of the CORE sit-ins; but since refusal to rent apartments on the basis of race is illegal in New York, CORE was on the side of the law and the building management was not.

The Clinton Hill management attempted to sweat the sit-ins out by locking the windows, cutting off the electricity, and

locking the bathroom of the rental office. The temperature that day was 95°.

When the pickets outside heard what was happening to their friends inside, they decided to keep the line going all through the 4th of July weekend. This and the sit-ins apparently put enough pressure on the authorities to cause the Deputy Police Commissioner in charge of Brooklyn to visit the Clinton Hill rental office trying to persuade the sit-ins to leave. They refused to leave unless the commissioner agreed to call the building management before the N.Y. Commission on Intergroup Relations, the rather powerless enforcement agency for the N.Y. City anti-discrimination housing law. After over 12 hours without air, without light and without use of a bathroom, the "Freedom Housers" ("Freedom Renters") left the Clinton Hill rental office. It was decided, however, lest the police forget their promise, to keep up the picket-line through-out the long weekend.

With difficulty and sore feet, CORE kept picketing. The job fell on a mere hand-full of people. On a 4th of July weekend, nearly everyone is out of town and those of CORE who were left had to do double duty on the picket-line. Towards the end of the weekend, people joined the line from the street and from the neighborhood.

The hearing before the Commission on Intergroup Relations was interesting due to the ranting of the building manager, an unpleasant, fat old woman, who called the CORE members, among other epithets, "trouble-makers," "fellow-travellers," "bleeding-hearts." She so irked the hearing officer, that he ordered her to offer an apartment to the Negro applicant.

### VICTORY—

So the action ended in a victory. The owners of Clinton Hill will certainly drag their feet on renting to Negroes and undoubtedly further action will be necessary to assure Negro occupancy at Clinton Hill, but it is merely a matter of time.

Segregation by custom in the North is only a bit less strong than segregation by law in the South. The fight against one is the fight against both. The Freedom Riders and sit-ins in the South must be backed up by direct action, if possible by mass action, in the North. Here the fight is easier, but it is no less essential.

### EDITOR'S NOTE

Due to this special issue on the Freedom Riders M. D. Speaks and Thinking It Out do not appear. They will be in the next issue.

Our Life & Times which is usually on page 8 is on page 7 this issue.

### CRYSTAL POOL

## "Last Laugh"

Detroit—We had about 50 kids out to picket today. We met at 9 o'clock at our usual meeting place, held our meeting and began to picket around 10 o'clock.

We usually meet across the street from Crystal Pool but today the Northland Police made us move saying, "We don't want you on Northland property."

A lot of people in passing cars got vulgar and called us names. Three or four threw lighted cigarettes at us. I got burnt on my arm by one and hit by a cup cake thrown from another car.

These people better watch out or the same thing might happen to them that happened to some wise guy last week. He was going by with thumbs down yelling "Go Home . . ." when all of a sudden he crashed into the back of a police car that was standing still. We had the last laugh on him.

—Picketeer

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**Book Review**

**MARX'S CONCEPT OF MAN**

By ERICH FROMM  
(Ungar Publishing Co., N.Y., \$1.75)

Erich Fromm, the noted psycho-analyst, has written this book with the aim of demonstrating and affirming the essential humanism which is both the basis and the end of the thought of Karl Marx. This is a thesis that is commonly accepted in French and German writing on Marx—Fromm refers to a number of examples—but is really little-known in English. Before this work, there were only two that I know of published in America that studied Marx as the humanist he was. These two, however, were classics. They are Herbert Marcuse's "Reason and Revolution,"\* and Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marxism And Freedom." The latter one is the only one that treats Marxist Humanism not only as philosophy, but as the practice of the proletariat. It is concrete at all levels. Fromm's both is neither concrete nor as original as either of the above books. Yet it is excellent as an introduction to Marx's philosophic thought.

\* \* \*

I must confess that my first reaction on finishing the book was, however, the paradoxical one of annoyance: annoyance that a book so good should have a number of flaws. One of the best assets of "Marx's Concept of Man" is that it publishes Marx's philosophical manuscripts of 1844, which are essential for an understanding of Marxian philosophy. More, they are published in an excellent translation by T. B. Bottemore, a British scholar, and are available for the first time in a cheap edition. Yet when Fromm claims in his preface that these works were "published for the first time in the United States," he is, to put it gently, exaggerating. Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marxism and Freedom," published in 1958, contains the most important parts of the 1844 manuscripts. This kind of we-got-there-first attitude is scarcely worthy of a man like Erich Fromm, especially when it is scarcely true.

\* \* \*

The other flaws in the book are more serious. They stem from characteristics of Fromm's thought that recur in all of his

(Editor's Note: Because this is a special FREEDOM RIDER issue it has been rushed to press in July rather than August).

**FREEDOM PICNIC**  
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works—his abstractness and his sentimentality.

Marx's humanism is not so much deduced from abstract concepts as it is rooted in the concrete self-activity of man. This is one of the major differences between Marx and Hegel. Marx lives and thinks in the existing world of things, Hegel in the world of ideas.

Fromm doesn't seem to realize this. He recognizes that Marx's work is based on existent reality, but to Fromm existent reality is a metaphysical concept, an abstraction. To Marx it is concrete; it is man's efforts to free himself from alienation. Indeed, throughout his life it was the struggles of the workers that were of paramount importance in forming Marx's thought. This was true of his philosophical concepts as well as of his political-economical and sociological ideas.

Fromm's lack of concreteness also seems to lead him to ignore that fact that Marx was a practicing revolutionary. To Marx, his ideas has consequences. One of his famous theses on Feuerbach summed up much of his teaching: "Philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

It may be a bit unjust to accuse Fromm of ignoring Marx as revolutionary since that is not what the book is about. But without this, the thought and life of Marx is inconceivable. Fromm's ignoring it, added to his sentimentality causes him to make of Marx a sort of bearded Norman Thomas with a philosophical background.

The author's sentimentality shows in other ways too. In his chapter on Marx's concept of socialism, he tries to connect Marx's philosophy with Zen Buddhism, "prophetic Messianism, Christian Chiliastic sectarianism, thirteenth-century Thomism, Renaissance Utopianism, and eighteenth-century enlightenment." Elsewhere Fromm connects Marx with Goethe and Kirkegaard. In short, nearly every philosophical current in which Fromm is interested, he found in Marx. Fromm thus both spreads his net too far, and cuts Marx to his own interests.

Although these errors make Fromm's conception of Marx's humanism incomplete, they do not invalidate it. "Marx's Concept of Man" is really an excellent work. The very fact that it includes such extensive selections from Marx's 1844 Manuscripts makes it of major importance; and Fromm's essay on Marxist humanism serves as an excellent preface to these selections. Fromm presents very lucid explanations of historical materialism and Marx's concept of the problem of consciousness. If his study of alienation suffers by being too abstract, his exposition of the continuity of Marx's thought, in refutation of Daniel Bell—who claims that Marx rejected the humanism of his youth as he grew older—is masterly.

"Marx's Concept of Man" is a paper-back reasonably priced and well-printed. The highest praise a reviewer can give to the book reviewed is to urge his audience to read it. I hereby do so. Read it. With all its faults it is worth it.

—Larry Cusick

\* \* \*  
\*I am sorry to note that Marcuse's latest book Soviet Marxism, is neither as original nor as valuable as his "Reason and Revolution"; for a review of the former see TWO WORLDS, p. 5.

**Our Life and Times**

By PETER MALLORY

**CUBA AND WASHINGTON**

The birth and death of the Tractors For Freedom Committee, set up on Kennedy's suggestions, has proven to be as fraudulent as the offer to exchange Cubans for the machines. Neither side seems to care very much about what happens now to the 1,200 captives, they have served the cause of Cuban and American capitalism and will now, presumably, be set to work for Castro.

The fact that the Reuther Committee did not even open any of the 70,000 letters they received is sufficient indication that they had no intention of doing so, and the size of the tractors demanded has nothing to do with the issue.

On the other hand, the fact that Castro even priced 1,200 human lives in terms of their monetary value is something that previously characterized only a Hitler.

**ALGERIA AND FRANCE**

After seven years of bloody war, the hopes of Frenchmen and Algerians were focused on the Evian peace talks last month, where for the first time, the French government officially recognized the ALN-FLN, the Algerian revolution's political-military organization.

Such hopes, however, were soon crushed when the French negotiators, acting in bad faith, forced a breaking-off of negotiations, and threatened a partition of Algeria. The FLN responded with a call for a one-day general strike and demonstrations in Algeria. Even the French Press officer there had to admit that the Moslem population turned out 100%.

88 Moslems, mostly civilians, lost their lives when the French Army attempted to quash the mass street demonstration. The strike of all Moslems, including workers, servants, clerks, cooks, and mechanics totally paralyzed all cities and showed once more that it is the oppressed Moslems who do all the work in Algeria.

The mass entry of the city-people into the anti-imperialist struggle marks a new stage in a revolution which had been fought mostly on military and terrorist lines. This new, higher stage in the Algerians' struggle was mirrored among the French workers by the resistance of

common soldiers to their officers and the mass mobilization of the workers against Fascism, even if de Gaulle managed to grab the credit.

De Gaulle, who had voted himself further "special powers" during the military coup directed against himself, used these powers, not against the generals who had revolted, but against the workers who had saved France. In crushing the strike of city and transport workers, as well as in the latest recall of a division of French soldiers from Algeria to be used in a possible showdown over Berlin which might lead to World War III, once again the class struggles in France are more than ever tied to the progress of the Algerian war and the struggles of the Moslem population for independence and freedom.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**

The long promised plan for independence of Northern Rhodesia has come out of the office of Colonial Secretary Ian MacLeod and has been called "A dog's breakfast" by a Labour M.P. and heartily condemned by Kenneth Kaunda, leader of 95% of the population of the territory.

MacLeod had been promising Kaunda independence and a majority of the new legislature, but under the pressure of the small reactionary and powerful white minority led by Welensky, set up such a hodge-podge of a constitution that no one understands it.

"We control the kitchens, the mines, the shops, the airways—everything," Kaunda declared on his return home. "We will not lift a stone, a panga, a club or a spear." But through the power of the general strike, Kaunda plans to show the white minority who holds the real power in Rhodesia. His plan is to call the strike, call it off and recall it as many times as are necessary to get a democratic constitution for his people.

White Welensky, a former labor leader, is using government money to create an army of 50,000 whites, drafting every white male between the ages of 17 and 50.

On Kaunda's side are 2,400,000 Africans who are determined to get their independence.

**MOSCOW**

The recent Moscow air show which publicly displayed 10 new type aircraft, fully developed and presumably in full production, caught the American military with their pants down again. Washington seemed to believe Khrushchev when he told them that aircraft was obsolete. The types shown by Russia are not yet on the drafting boards here, which means at least a three year lag in this field.

Along with the display came the Russian announcement that it was cancelling military cuts and increasing the military budget. The Kennedy camp held a hasty meeting at the seashore and will come up with another demand for an increase over the \$42 billion already being spent this year for war.

With all the talk of "peace" you would think they were going to beat each other with olive branches but unfortunately it is atomic destruction that we face.

**THE H.U.A.C.**

For 23 years the "temporary" House Un-American Activities Committee has conducted an illegal witch hunt, applied thought control, used eaves-dropping, electronic snooping, wire tapping, blacklisting and job discrimination against all who fail to answer any question put to them, or to answer "satisfactorily." That their activities are not directed against "Communists" alone can be seen from the latest reports that put their file of personal dossiers at over a million individuals and 12,000 organizations. The Communists wish they had that many people.

If not Communists, then what? It is quite clear that hundreds of thousands of non-Communists are in their files and that this information, gathered from stool pigeons and from 6,000 F.B.I. agents is available illegally to blackmail and threaten hundreds of thousands of American citizens, none of whom have committed any crime.

This 23 year old farce has grown into a monster that Congressmen dare not oppose although its very existence is a threat to every American citizen. Presently the Southern bigots are using these files to persecute every Freedom Fighter and all organizations, including NAACP as "Communist."

**CONGO**

The murderer of Patrice Lumumba, Moise Tshombe, has again betrayed, this time his former "captors" Kasavubu and the toy soldier Mobutu. Once out of palace arrest and back among his Belgian and South African officers, he repudiated the agreement he signed before the U.N. to send the delegates of Katanga to the Congo Parliament.

Antoine Gizenga, who controls the Eastern and Kivu provinces agreed, and still agrees, to send the members of Parliament from his districts to the U.N.-sponsored meeting. But, with the defection of the Belgian stooges of Tshombe, the Kasavubu gang are not so sure they will have a majority of Parliament.

**PROTEST**

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# Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves

(Continued from Page 1)

cent City. The girls I have met in the CORE group here are human beings such as I have never met before in my life! They live and breathe this movement. They have told us, "I'm not only fighting this battle for my children, but for myself. I'm not waiting until I have kids to stamp out segregation," and "I would rather die than see segregation continue."

While on the picket line there can be only 4 to a line, and then the line must walk on only a very narrow strip of the outer sidewalk, next to the street, and must not stop at any time, but continue walking. This is according to local law. Also they are not allowed to distribute leaflets at the entrance or on the side-walk. Everything possible is done to prevent the activity. They have, of course, devised ways of overcoming this, one being to have people go into the store and inconspicuously whisper to the Negro patrons why they should not be there.

On the line I was spat upon (I managed to step out of the way, however), was cursed at, stared at by groups. Some people took pictures and films of the line. A Danish tourist, hitch-hiking across the U.S. (he has also hitch-hiked across Africa) took our pictures and talked a great deal to us. He said that he would submit the pictures to the Danish newspapers. He was in complete agreement with us.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. — We're waiting out our time in Jackson County Jail until we're shipped to Parchman. We are in dire need of stamps, envelopes, notebooks, etc. But some of the things do not find their way to us. If you send any stamps, mention it in the letter so that I'll know you sent it, in case they get lost.

When we get to Parchman, we are allowed only two letters a week of two pages each, to close relatives. No visitors as I'll be in a maximum security cell. I don't think I can even have any of my books. I haven't been able to get to them here, and I don't expect any better there. We are all very cheerful and morale is high.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. — I have been hoarding my stamps for my first letter from Parchman State Penitentiary, but we suddenly got a bonanza and a church group brought me some extra stamps so I can write this letter now and still keep the stamps I had for Parchman.

We sing very well now, and sing all our Freedom Ride songs every night. "The men" sing to us first, and then "we girls" answer. One of the men is from Jackson, and he is studying to be a minister. He

has a gorgeous voice and sings hymns beautifully.

We think we will leave for Parchman today, so I don't know when I can write to you again. Please share this letter with all my friends.

### Treated Worse Than Criminals

In the several weeks since these Freedom Riders entered Parchman no further word has been heard from them. CORE representatives feel that the Riders are evidently being punished for something and therefore lost writing privileges. Relatives of other Freedom Riders report that it has taken as much as two weeks for a letter to come the normal two days' distance from Mississippi to California, when the point of origin in Mississippi is Parchman Penitentiary.

It is clear also that all letters from the jails are subject to rigid censorship, and while much can be read between the lines, much more can never be told until the jailed Freedom Riders are out and can talk freely.

The mother of one Freedom Rider, so worried for her daughter's safety that she traveled to Jackson herself, was finally granted special permission to visit Parchman to see her daughter. She saw her for exactly one and a half minutes, after waiting outside the prison for one and a half hours. The two guards who brought the girl out stood within three feet of them and had evidently instructed her not to say anything. All the mother got to say was, "How are you?"

### Jailer Brutality

The actual brutality that goes on behind those prison walls has been attested to by nearly all who have come out on bail. James Farmer, national director of CORE, who posted a \$500 appeal bond after spending three weeks in jail accused officials of "trying to turn Freedom Riders into animals," and said they were allowed fewer privileges than murderers.

He reported that he and other Riders were forced to sleep for three nights in their underwear "on hard cold steel floors, with fans going full blast to freeze us out. The fans were then turned completely off for three days, making the heat unbearable and the stench stifling. It was difficult to breathe." The Prison Superintendent confirmed that punishment had been meted out because the group "was hollering and carrying on." The "hollering and carrying on," said Farmer, was nothing more or less than the Freedom Riders' unpardonable crime of singing.

An Episcopal minister, one of the most recent Riders released, after 23 days in jail, said that at Parchman, where he spent half his time, jailers used a type of handcuff called a wristbreaker and goaded Free-

dom Rider prisoners with rods charged with electricity. He reported that they existed entirely on cornbread, beans and chunks of pork fat with 2 or 3 inch bristles on them.

The following report is from a Negro youth who rode for Freedom and has returned:

When we got into our cell there were about 10 bunks, but only 5 mattresses. There were no sheets, nothing to wash with, nothing to drink out of. It was just a big marble room. That night, we had only our suits and didn't want to sleep in those, so we took off our clothes and almost froze to death. That evening they gave us some cold spaghetti with potatoes mixed in, and corn bread.

Later that night they moved the Negro girls into the cell next to ours. There's a little window, and a little slot where they can slide your food through. The girls told us that while they were downstairs there was a colored girl from Jackson who was in the jail. Since they don't have any women matrons, the guards are the ones who search them. The girl protested the guard searching her and the guard got angry because she protested and snatched all the clothes off her.

While the Freedom Rider girls were in their cell they didn't have anything to sleep in either, and the guards would come in all through the night to sightsee. One of the girls protested and they threatened to kill her.

### Southern Justice A 2 1/2 Minute Trial

The trial was about 2 1/2 minutes long, before all of us were convicted, and got 4 months and \$200 fine. To work off the fine, you have to work in the prison for \$3 a day, and this adds up to six months.

The Government—Robert Kennedy, hasn't done anything to help the Freedom Riders yet. He condones the government in Jackson by letting the Freedom

### "They Can't Stand Our Singing"

The police officers who arrested us in Jackson told us not to sing anything in the paddy wagon—that they could stand anything but our singing. At the jail, they called us one by one into a little room where they searched us and took all our personal belongings from our pockets. After that we were photographed and had our fingerprints taken . . .

They asked me questions like was I a Communist and did I know I belonged to a Communist organization — and even said that the organization sending us down there would just let us go to jail and forget about us . . .

They asked me if I had ever been in the South before, and I told them, no, I hadn't. They said, "Well, then, it's none of your business what goes on down here, is it?" I said, "Yes, it is," because I feel that I'm not free unless by brothers are free . . .

I really believe that if we keep sending more Freedom Riders down there, we can break Jackson. They're tired of us now. They told us that. They wish we would stop coming. The more we send the better. If we keep sending them time after time, they'll have to do something.

Freedom Rider  
California

Riders stay in jail for six months. He hasn't done one thing to help them.

The reason I went on a Freedom Ride is because I feel I belong to a generation which won't live with segregation—and we're not the ones who are illegal. It's the government in Jackson that should be arrested. They're not supposed to give anyone six months just for sitting in a waiting room. It's illegal, and THEY should be put behind the bars. Not the Freedom Riders.

The problem concerns everyone, all over the United States and all over the world for that matter. There's no one who can say that he's completely free, as long as people are getting arrested just for sitting in waiting rooms or being in "white places."

### The Slander Of the Press

The courage and persistence of the Freedom Riders who have resisted every effort of the Administration to bring them to a halt, has inspired Freedom Fighters throughout the whole world. It has raised the struggle in this country to entirely new heights by the number and consistency with which whites, some of whom have stood up to be counted at every stage, have participated.

The press, in the North and in the South alike, as part of the obvious campaign to stop the movement, has not only buried news of Freedom Riders—while giving prominence to false rumors that the Riders are going to end—but has kept up a relentless effort to slander the Southern Negroes by picturing them as unsympathetic to the Riders. A public accusation by the executive committee of the Student Non-violent Cooperation Committee, meeting in Baltimore, has termed this "deliberately distorting the facts."

The truth of the matter is that not only have the Southern Negroes launched simultaneous new sit-ins, swim-ins and the like to back up the Riders—but in Jackson have organized in many church groups and other

organizations one of which is called, significantly, "Woman-power Unlimited" to directly aid the Freedom Riders in prison in whatever way they can. (See Readers' Views).

### Betrayal of J.F.K.

The entire NAACP convention—some 12,000 delegates in all — meeting in Philadelphia the week after Independence Day, rode en masse to Washington, D. C. from their convention, to meet with their Congressmen and demonstrate the seriousness of their demands for Civil Rights. The man who owes his presidency in large part to the vote of the minorities of this country, but who obviously prefers to pay his allegiance instead to the white supremacist Southern Democrats, had the gall to tell the NAACP delegates who called on him that they should be content with the legislation they already had, and that the world crisis would not permit any squabble over Civil Rights now. He did not even make a pretense of being "for" them.

The tide of history, however, cannot be stopped by the President of the United States, or by his brother the Attorney General, any more than it can be stopped by the KKK, the White Citizen's Councils, the Governor of Mississippi, Senator Eastland or the brutal Mississippi prison guards.

### End Segregation Now

On August 5, the Los Angeles CORE plans a mass meeting to express their solidarity with the Freedom Riders and to protest the excessive jail sentences which have been meted out to them. In New York, CORE plans a public fast. Elsewhere throughout the country, other demonstrations are being prepared as well.

It becomes increasingly clear that only mass action such as this can hope to achieve what the Freedom Riders are aiming at — the end of segregation NOW.

(See Also "Violence In Alabama" Page 6.)

## Footnotes to TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

- (1) Professor Marcuse has much to say on Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," which gave the green light to vulgar materialism and which is now used as "the" philosophic text, without once mentioning Lenin's break with his own philosophic past emanating from his later, profound "Philosophic Notebooks." Yet this quintessential work is available in Russian, German, French and Italian, and, in an abbreviated version, appears in a first English translation as an appendix to my MARXISM AND FREEDOM. We saw above, that Prof. Marcuse also failed to consider the Trotsky-Stalin controversy over "socialism in one country." One other word must be stated on Prof. Marcuse's selection of sources in the war and post-war periods. He makes a reference to the "spectacular public controversies" which are supposed to be less cogent than the more fundamental analysis he makes. But, while he manages not to make a single mention of either the 1943 reversal of all previous teachings of the Marxian law of value, or of the 1955 attack on the humanist essays of Marx, he does find space for the lesser linguistic controversy.
- (2) Here too there is a looseness of expression. It is true that, after quality is transformed into quantity, the analysis continues "conversely." In strict Hegelian terminology, however, transcended quality is quantity, but transcended quantity is measure. Is Stalin now to be taken as "the measure" of the "new" society?

## Let The Freedom Riders Speak Out

If you want these Freedom Riders' stories and many other evidences of the self-activity of youth, white and Negro, that have come on the current historic scene ever since the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956, the Sit-Ins in 1960, and now the Ride-Ins, Swim-Ins, Wait-Ins, do help us put out a pamphlet on "Freedom Fighters Speak For Themselves."

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