

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Freedom Rides—A New Beginning

I have just finished reading "Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves." It has some of the most profound ideas I have ever seen in print. It represents to me the same ideas as when Marx wrote in 1860, "In my opinion the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of slaves in America started by the death of John Brown and, on the other, the movement of the serfs in Russia . . ."

We can see since 1960 the new beginnings with the student sit-ins throughout the country to the Freedom Riders of today. Since 1960 we have seen new nations bursting out all over Africa, and a few short years before the Hungarian Freedom Fighters and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Workers all over America are carrying on a struggle against management and their union leaders to change the conditions of work.

The Negro people, the youth both Negro and white have served notice that the degrading brutal conditions that face Negro citizens every day of their life have to be changed now.

#### "A SHOCKING STORY"

"Freedom Riders Speak . . ." is a shocking story. I have kept up with all the struggles, of the Negroes and their white allies, for human rights throughout this country. I have read reports from all sources, some were interesting, some shocking, but nothing compared with the story of the Freedom Rides as told by Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram and other Freedom Riders. Their brutal and inhuman treatment in those Mississippi jails falls just short of being as shocking as the lynching and murder of Negroes that have taken place throughout the South.

#### WANT TO PRACTICE FREEDOM

From the self-organization of those student Sit-inners to the self-activity of the Montgomery Negro Freedom Fighters that continued to go in to get service at the bus and train stations until they were successful to the 30,000 youth who demonstrated at the National Capital a few years ago for school integration, all point to the dissatisfaction of peoples from all walks of life, with this hollow democracy. As one youth said "we are not rebels without a cause." They want to practice some of that freedom that is being talked about for the rest of the world.

#### "THIS WORD FREEDOM"

When I hear this word Freedom I cannot help but think of a white manager of a bus terminal in Birmingham, Ala. who has been arrested four times for serving Negroes.

When I hear this word Freedom, I cannot help but think of politicians, of State Department officials yelling to the whole world that the American people are free and all those behind the Iron Curtain are enslaved. I cannot help but think of the Negro troops in West Berlin, told to be ready to give their lives to free the slaves from behind the iron curtain of East Berlin, or other parts of the world. Why don't they let the Negro troops stand ready to preserve freedom in South, U.S.A.

Upon the banner of War will be inscribed that word "Freedom." Governor Patterson of Alabama and Governor Barnett of Mississippi will be among the first to wave that banner to protect their way of life. As though the Negroes should have no way of life other than the one designated by these Southern champions of the "Southern way of life." Patterson, Barnett and the people that support them do not want Negroes and other minorities to be free. Their way of life is in total opposition to Freedom.

#### NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEGRO AND WHITE

The shocking stories of the seventeen year old Negro youth from California that was not allowed to be a Freedom Fighter by the state of Mississippi and the white youth from Texas that was brutally beaten by white Southern justice for being on the side of Negro, stands for the new relationship that has sprung up between white and Negro in the deep South. A relationship that fascist minded whites cannot understand.

These ideas permeate all the discussions of the Freedom Riders while in prison.

Negroes and whites who believe in freedom for all and other minorities are looking for a way to free themselves. The Africans are looking for a way to free themselves without the domination of the United States or Russia. They are searching for Freedom on their own. They and the Negro American are looking for a new beginning.

SEE SPECIAL OFFER FOR FREEDOM RIDERS PAMPHLET

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Eye-Witness Account From McComb, Miss.

## CRISIS OVER BERLIN

# K. AND K. AT THE WALL

Nikita Khrushchev has removed the December 31 deadline set by him for the "settlement" of the Berlin situation and the signing of a separate peace treaty with East Germany, thus nullifying the alleged four power rule in Berlin. The threat of nuclear war over Berlin has lessened, but by no means ended. On the contrary, each side is readying itself for "any emergency".

Khrushchev has attained his major goal without firing a shot. By erecting his wall, cutting off the flow of refugees from the East, imposing his norms on East Germany, he has effective-

ly destroyed West Berlin as a showplace and is placing a stranglehold on the artificial economy that has been subsidized by the West. By holding

East German workers in their prison factories, he is restoring the production norms.

At the same time Khrushchev has helped Kennedy to re-arouse support for military spending in the United States, which reached a low point during the Eisenhower administration and the blundering U-2 incident. The United States has been brought back to a war footing with hundreds of thousands of youth added to the armed forces and a 24-hour alert being maintained throughout the United States.

The two Berlins, meanwhile, are passing through a great crisis, not only as a part of the greater "German Problem" but as a class struggle between the rulers and the ruled on both sides of the wall.

With the wall in place the suicide rate in East Berlin has jumped to 25 a day from an average of one a day before the wall. 23 forced labor camps have been established in East Germany to punish those absent from work or who oppose the government. Daily struggles take place around the wall with the people on both sides fighting "their own" police to tear the wall down. 1200 West Berlin families left the city in three weeks time. 220 moving vans are booked months in advance as the exodus from West Berlin gets underway.

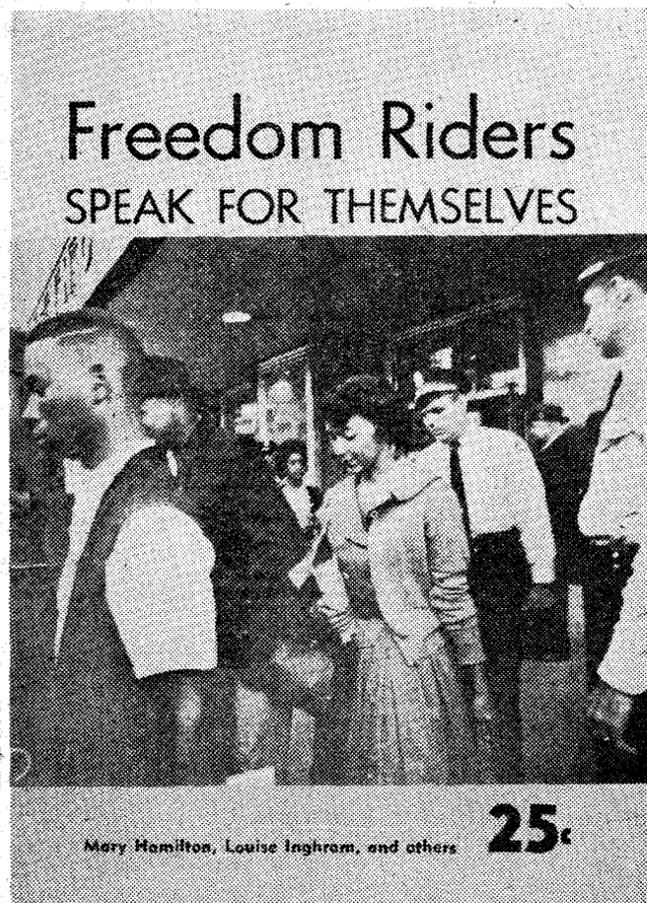
#### FROM THE BLOCKADE TO THE U-2

This is not the first time a deadline has been set by Khrushchev, rescinded—and set again. A "six months deadline" was set back in 1958 and then modified on the promise of a meeting "at the summit". The U-2 spy flight in 1960 over Russia was then used by Khrushchev to scuttle the summit meeting.

The first major crisis over Berlin occurred in 1948 when Stalin, in opposition to the establishment of the Marshall Plan, cut off access routes to West Berlin. This threat was met by the famous air-lift which overcame the immediate threat and deepened the divisions not alone in Berlin and in Germany, but throughout Western Europe. When in 1953, on June 17, the East German workers did revolt against communist rule, "the West" watched them being slaughtered in silence, then sent the relatives CARE packages.

The truth is that what unites the rulers of both East and West is the fear of the working people taking destiny into their own hands. Yet it is the only way to resolve the crisis. The fact that force is in the hands of those on both sides of the Iron Curtain who oppose a working class solution—the self-determination of a German people freed of Adenauer, Ulbricht, Khrushchev and Ken-

(Continued on Page 8)



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## Workers Jam Local 212 Meeting, Blast Contract

Detroit — Over 1,000 Chrysler Local 212 workers jammed their union hall on Sunday, Nov. 19 to get the report then vote, on their new contract as it applied nationally and to the local union.

In an unprecedented action the Sunday before, Nov. 12, the workers had refused to vote on the contract. At that meeting, only the national contract terms were reported; the union bureaucrats said the local terms were not available. As soon as this was said, all hell broke loose. The workers demanded that the terms of the contract as they affected the local be made available to them; that another meeting be held to hear the local report in a week; and then, over the objections of the bureaucrats, adjourned the meeting.

During the week the contract's local terms were printed in the union paper, and the rank-and-file were ready for the Nov. 19 meeting.

### CONTRACT REPORTED

For one hour, local President E. Bruce went over the local provisions, and was followed for another hour by UAW International Representative Bluestone, an economist, who went over the national agreement.

Bluestone made at least three mistakes. The first was to speak in praise of the contract, the second was to talk too long, and the third was to mention UAW President Walter Reuther's name.

During the course of the one-

### Chrysler Present To Men—Layoff

On Nov. 30, five days before they would have been eligible to draw compensation, 85 workers were laid off at Chrysler Mack plant. The next day, seven more were laid off, and nobody knew when it would stop.

These workers laid off were from every department in the plant, and were mostly those who had been laid off before and had been called back after the model changeover.

A real shocker for these workers was that their slips were stamped for permanent layoff. Often layoff slips are marked for temporary layoff or for making a production adjustment, offering hope of recall. No such hope is offered now.

At lunch time on Dec. 1, a committeeman who was at the Local 212 union hall said that about 40 of the laid off workers were there, looking for the union officers. They were all very angry. They said the union and company both knew the layoff was coming, but didn't say anything because they knew if the workers knew they would never have ratified the contract.

Another thing the workers felt deeply was that these workers were getting the ax just before Christmas. "I don't know why we should be so surprised though," noted one worker. "Last year they closed the whole plant down and laid every one of us off just before Christmas. And the rumors are going around that we'll all get the same treatment this year, while the company makes some production changes."

Another worker asked bitterly, "Wonder how this Christmas is going to affect Reuther?"

hour speech he gave, he got a response only once: when he mentioned Reuther's name, thunderous boos rattled the windows of the union hall. It was the first and last time that Reuther's name was mentioned at the meeting.

He did, however, draw an occasional snicker from the workers. These came when he told of how hard up Chrysler Corporation was, and again when he spoke of how great the contract was and the many "benefits" Chrysler workers would get from it.

In the discussion that followed, every worker who got up spoke against the contract and urged that it be voted down.

When one worker asked what would be involved if the contract was rejected, Emil Mazey, UAW executive board member, took the floor to make his big pitch and pulled out the crying towel.

### MAZEY URGES APPROVAL

He spoke of how bad things were before the union; how much better they are now; how he had gone to work for the union for \$10 a week; how he had negotiated many good contracts for the local; and how great the new contract was, especially in terms of the work standards clause.

"The GM and Ford contract," Mazey stated, "can't compare with the one you got on work standards. Why the GM and Ford workers would give their right arm to have the work standards provision we got for Chrysler workers."

### 'WE ARE NOTHING'

Then a worker took the floor, directing his first remarks to Bluestone:

"I'm happy to see an economist here," he said, "but I expected to hear some basic economics. You know, economists long ago discovered that labor was the source of all value, and divided labor into two parts: living labor, or the worker, and dead labor, or machines.

"From the time that machines first appeared, everything was geared to put more and more into the machines and take more and more out of the workers. And today we've reached the point where we are completely dominated by the machines—where we are nothing.

"Rather than shedding crocodile tears over the \$20 million dollars that Chrysler is supposed to have lost, if we have any tears they should be for the thousands of workers who have been displaced, laid off and are now in the streets."

### WORK NEVER LIKE THIS

Then, turning to Mazey, he said, "You talk about how bad conditions were before the union and how good they are now. We've just heard how we've been cut down from 135,000 workers a few years ago to 50,000 today. But this is only part of it. I've been working in auto plants here since 1924, and

I have never in my life worked under such speeded-up, completely inhuman and oppressive conditions such as we have with Automation in the plant today.

"You say our work standards provision is better than what the GM and Ford workers have. If that's true, their conditions are worse than ours are, and the only thing I can say is: God help them!"

### GETS OVATION

"I remember a few years ago when Mazey was right in this hall trying to put across the dues increase. He said that paying the dues increase was the best investment that the workers could make. I ask him, I ask anyone, to go to any auto worker—GM, Ford or Chrysler—and ask him how much returns he got on his investment."

During the time this worker spoke, he was interrupted by applause at least four times, and when he finished, the workers gave him an ovation.

### WHO VOTED FOR?

Then another worker took the microphone, and for about 15 minutes spelled out the complete inadequacies of the contract. The many serious problems the workers faced, he noted, problems of automation, seniority, the unemployed, overtime work and other matters, still remained. He said to vote against the contract.

The next day, the vote on the new contract was reported as 500 against and 577 for ratification. One worker said of the results, "I don't know where they got the 577 for the contract, they sure couldn't have come from the people who were at the contract meeting."

## 'I Work Like The Weather'

At the contract ratification meeting of Chrysler Local 212, all during the time the union bureaucrats were talking, a worker kept pacing back and forth in the back of the hall, shaking his fist at the bureaucrats.

He stopped to talk to a guy near me, who he apparently had worked with at some time in the past.

"You working anyplace?" he asked?

"Naw," the other guy answered. "I've been off for 13 months. I've been at Dodge Main. Just this last month they called some guys back, but they only worked for a week, then were laid off again. It's a real mess."

"That's what I'm raising so much hell about," the other worker said. "Those guys up front have as much right to be called our leaders as the man in the moon. We've been listening to them for two hours and they haven't said anything that's going to help me—not one word about the unemployed or overtime work.

"I know my seniority doesn't amount to a hill of beans. I've only got 19 years, and that means I work like the weather. Every time it rains I'm laid off. They just told us that we've been knocked down from 135,000 to 50,000 working at Chrysler. They've got figures to tell us how many are walking the streets, but they don't have a word to say about doing something about it. They're pussy-footing around and want to sit on us, when what we need is action."

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### All Need Peace and Freedom

Who can we trust to be a leader in this crooked American society? Who can lead us to get freedom and peace for all—black and white? We can't have it for one and not the other. It means so much for both the Negroes and the working people.

We can see for ourselves that someone who is running to become President of the U.S. or some other organization can say some of the greatest things you ever heard of. If you just vote for them, they would turn the world upside down for you if only they had the chance.

But we workers and Negroes know better. We know everything they say they will do has to go through the hands of the old leaders in the Congress, and they will never pass laws to get peace and freedom for all.

### MUST STICK TOGETHER

Freedom and peace is something that the white workers and Negroes will have to join together to fight for, because the rich white men are still holding onto the way they want the world to be: down on the worker and the Negro.

The new leaders who come up to fight will have to understand that they have to stick together to win this battle for freedom and peace, which is needed so much for now.

Just look what happened to President Kennedy, who said he was for white people and Negroes having an education so that working people could get a job anywhere to make a better way to live.

### WORSE, NOT BETTER

But instead of making things better for the poor, it is getting worse. In the South, Negro teachers have not received pay for the last month in 1960 and nothing since then. They are still going on teaching without any pay in order for Negroes to get an education. They are asking each child's parents to pay only \$2 a month, just to have enough money to pay

their way back and forth to school.

And when the Freedom Riders wrote and asked the President to do something about them eating in public places down South, this was the answer they got: cool off and wait until I go and see about the Congo problem.

Do you think he will be back to settle these black peoples' problems with those white Southerners? No! Because the white Southerners are allowed to have their way in running the states in the South. And nothing has been done about it.

### NO HELP FROM REUTHER

A second big leader is UAW President Walter Reuther, who was elected to help the workers take care of their problems. So he went and built Solidarity House to care for the business of the workers against the company.

Only I was told that Reuther and Emil Mazey, another union big shot, are stock owners in the GM and Chrysler plants. No wonder Reuther and Mazey don't want the workers to strike, because it will be hurting them too.

Too many of these leaders have been in office too long.

### ACTION NEEDED

Today you can pick up most any paper and listen to the radio and you can hear people talking about teaching Marxism and having their freedom. In a recent issue of the *Detroit Courier*, most of the articles written said something about being free.

But today people all over this country are talking about what bad leadership they have. They have seen the people in the government and the labor bureaucrats mess up the worker's life completely.

Something has got to be done, because no one can stand this kind of treatment for long without taking some kind of direct action.

## NALC Holds Convention

Chicago, Nov. 11—The Negro American Labor Council is pro-labor. Its members are committed to support labor, but not as second-class members. We want to serve on all bodies, hold any office in the House of Labor and wipe clean its slate of racial bias.

To accomplish this goal, the NALC realizes that it needs the support of their white brothers in the labor movement and it recommends to the local chapters to solicit this support.

Edwin Berry, head of the Chicago Urban League, also emphasized this point by stating that what happens in the next decade depends on what the Negro does for himself and what others do in joining us.

A. Philip Randolph stated that the fate of white workers are being divided in the South, Randolph said, is by telling the black workers that white workers think themselves superior, and telling the white workers the black workers think they are just as good.

He also said that in this fight, you get what you take, and keep what you can hold on to. If you don't take anything, you don't get anything.

On Meany's attacking Randolph by saying that Randolph

had not made any efforts to integrate his union, Randolph stated why should he do that when there hasn't been a single case of discrimination in his union, and that his union is integrated because there are Mexicans and Canadians in it.

The Council plans to send a delegation of the NALC membership in full force to Miami to support Randolph's attack on the AFL-CIO, and to show President Meany that Randolph is the spokesman for the Negro working class and that they are solidly behind him.

Resolutions are also being sent by some labor unions to the convention, supporting Randolph.

The Council has also eliminated trade union membership as an eligibility requirement for joining the NALC.

Norman Thomas, the Socialist, also attended the convention and raised a protest against George Meany's attack on A. Philip Randolph.

William Hart, NALC delegate from Madison and a member of the typographical union, spoke for the white workers who are aware that they will not walk into labor's promised land until their black brothers are free.

—Delegate

## Workers Battle Automation 25c

By Charles Denby  
Orders: News & Letters  
8751 Grand River  
Detroit 4, Mich.

# BRITISH LABOUR NEWS

WRITTEN AND EDITED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEES

## A New Stage Begins

This issue completes two years of the British Page of News & Letters. It has presented to readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and among the emergent Afro-Asian peoples part of the pattern of life of the British workers in their opposition to modern state-capitalism, and their search for a new unity of theory and practice in a form which will change the present course of history.

Thanks to the National Editorial Board of News & Letters who so generously placed this space unreservedly at our disposal over two years ago, a fund of good will, understanding, and support for the principles on which we and this paper stand has been built up in Britain.

In our first Editorial we wrote of the world-circling urge for freedom, not the sputnik, as the hallmark of the age. It is profoundly inspiring to see this verified concretely by the loyalty of the growing band of News & Letters readers here. Even the occasional strong criticisms we receive are themselves symptomatic of this struggle for a New Society.

We now end one small obstacle to the faster growth of this unity of outlook by ending, with this issue, the division of the British Labour News from the rest of the paper. (See col. 5).

It is a sign of the maturity of the common people today that to them it is impossible to separate economics from politics, or politics from philosophy, or either from their daily lives. Lenin said: Every cook must learn to rule the State! Ever since Hiroshima, the grim necessity for this has been borne into the minds of millions.

To the masses, ideas relate to practice. The results of the new unity of outlook when it shows itself fully will produce the fastest chain-reaction the world has ever seen, and history, diverted from exploitative channels, will march with seven-league boots.

I think extension of the international content of the paper as a whole, with regular permeation of co-thinkers' articles, and direct news reportage and readers' views as a unified editorial whole, and not split into one "British Page" and seven mainly U.S., is a very wise decision of the Editorial Board, and will result in the international role of the paper, as the medium of a total world outlook, being seen much more clearly by all.

— F.W.

### Discussion Article:

## Against All Nuclear Politics

May I comment on your editorial "War or Peace?" (Oct. 1961). You say that "because the British pacifists, targets are the American missile bases the concentration is of necessity anti-American . . ."

This is not a correct or fair statement about the position in Britain. The greatest demonstration of all, and the one that has made political history, was the one that took place not at any kind of base but in Trafalgar Square on September 17th.

Since then there has been a series of demonstrations at the Russian Embassy, and the Committee of 100, which now makes the pace in the campaign, goes to very considerable lengths to make it plain that what we are up against is all nuclear power-politics. The leaflet that carries the Appeal to Trade Unionists begins: "The Great Powers are caught in a rat race that can only end in atomic war. Working people have nothing to gain from such a conflict. They can be a party no longer to the quarrels of their rulers."

It is true that we do demonstrate at American bases. This is only right and proper since they are part of the NATO system, and we are as much opposed to NATO as we are to the Warsaw Pact. If there were

Russian bases in Britain we should demonstrate at those as well. The fact is that we are starved of suitable anti-Kremlin demo-targets in Britain!

### Fight C.P. Tactic

To the overwhelming majority of us these demonstrations at American bases are not anti-American. They are anti-Pentagon and that is not the same thing at all. At the same time it is true that the Communist Party has done and is doing its best to climb on the bandwagon and deflect the campaign from unilateralism to anti-Americanism, and in Scotland (over Polaris) they certainly have had some success. We are fighting this CP tactic and we shall defeat it utterly. Many CP members, especially the young ones are themselves having second thoughts as the result of the Russian test..

It is wrong to describe the campaign as that of "British pacifists" without saying what is meant by that. In Britain the word "pacifist" is generally taken to mean "conscientious objector" in the individualist Quaker sense. Is it otherwise in America? The development of CND and the Committee of 100 in Britain have given the struggle against the Bomb such a new wide mass meaning that we tend not to use the word "pacifist" at all or else we attempt a new definition. The old meaning still remains for some people and the orthodox old-time pacifists have been complaining recently that their weekly paper PEACE NEWS has been taken over by the new forces whose ideas of direct action are different in kind to that of individual conscientious objection!

### Classless Movement

Finally, why this distinction between the common people of the world and "the working people of the world?" In our experience in Britain the peculiar new quality of the campaign against the Bomb is its classlessness. I have written

## Letters in Reply & Comment

### Common Market

I am rather uneasy about uncritical condemnation of the Common Market. While I agree that as a capitalist gimmick it can do workers no good, it seems to me that mere condemnation is only based on the argument that pure British capitalism is better for us than European capitalism.

So far as working class interests are concerned, I can't see that it will make much difference whether the Stock Exchange or the Bourse controls our destinies. Since the CP is also against the Common Market, it does not seem to make sense to say that we agree with the CP but don't support their argument.

Nor is it going to help working class struggle to claim that we want to keep out because our living standards will be brought down to "European" level. This is "I'm all right, Jack" with a vengeance. Also it is not true. Continental workers are currently receiving much better welfare services than we are here, and wages have risen considerably more there lately than at home. The Press keeps all this conveniently out of sight.

Class struggle is quite as highly developed in many continental countries, witness Belgium, and the many strikes which are never mentioned. During the summer, there was a general engineering strike in Denmark, which lasted three weeks, and the only news we had here was an occasional short paragraph in the "heavies." The Italian engineering factories are in a continuous ferment, and not a word is breathed; as most of these struggles reject CP leadership, the CP also plays them down.

Before we commit ourselves, I think that serious efforts should be made to establish contact with Continental socialist groups, and that we should try and reach a European socialist policy. It might be that in the Common Market, this would assist the European working class struggle.

This does not mean that we accept the capitalist aims of the Common Market; rather we join hands with continental workers to fight European capitalism. Just to condemn, puts us in queer company — everything from the CP, Healeyites, TU bureaucracy, right through to the Empire Loyalists.

— Trades Council Secretary

Close association with the Continent might have very beneficial effects on English every-day life. I love the Continent; three years in Munich and travel all over Europe. I have thought about the Common Market a good deal. However, I do not believe England should go into it. First of all, Europe is going through a prepared Rightist reaction. I think it possible that a side effect of the C. M. will be the emasculation of the Trades Union movement, both here and on the Continent. I believe that big business has pushed England into the Common Market.

New Reader,  
Bucks

### Committee of 100

I see an advertisement for a Committee of 100 Seminar at Kensington Public Library; one of the speakers is a certain Colin Ward on "Economic Decentralisation and Workers' Control" . . . It looks as if something is happening in the Committee of 100 which would hardly have been initiated by Bertrand Russell?

Supporter  
Christ Church

Congratulations on your New Haven sit-out report (N&L, 11/61), the best that you have done for nearly a year.

It is a pity that the British Page completely avoids any real struggle — except the over-glamorized account of September 17th (N&L, 10/61) (which was actually a failure, not a success) as your British Committees are hardly in touch. I would suggest that you borrow articles from the Socialist Leader, Solidarity, Peace News, Freedom or World Labor. News which gives different aspects; all eye-witness accounts. December 9th will be the major turning point for the Committee of 100. If its demonstrations are reasonably successful in terms of numbers and determination, we should make the necessary breakthrough toward our short-term objective within a year.

Laurens Otter  
London

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News & Letters

F. W.  
Essex

### State Capitalism

Have been taking for some years now a more than passing interest in Yugoslavia and the great achievements of Yugoslav Socialism. I have studied them on the spot.

. . . The Yugoslavia which (you) pretend to analyse simply does not exist. . . In this respect a study of Yugoslav realities (whether they are Marxist or, as I think, Proudhonist although Yugoslav theoreticians won't admit it) may prove invaluable. . . .

Journalist  
London

My trip to Italy has been quite interesting, in that I managed to have discussions with young militants in (several) cities. . . Small groups have appeared with positions very much like ours, but somewhat different tactics—probably on account of a different local situation. The encouraging part of the story is that these comrades—all in their twenties or early thirties, as ourselves—seem to have independently arrived to much the same conclusions, not only as regards capitalism, bureaucracy and so on, but also as regards the more "refined" parts of revolutionary theory (we also, while rejecting an over-emphasis on "pure" theory, are of the opinion that action must go hand-in-hand with sound theoretical analysis.)

Close Friend  
Paris

### This British Page

In particular, I have noted two chief reactions to the paper over the last two years. The positive one of appreciation of the paper as a whole has been almost entirely due to the main, American—and especially its industrial and "Two Worlds" content. The negative approach has been to remark on the British Page being part of an American paper. In both cases, a division has been noted between the two. Ending that division can mean nothing but good, in my opinion. It will strengthen the unified outlook of the paper, and eliminate what has been for most issues a sharp division in the contents.

Peter Cadogan  
Cambridge

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about this before in NEWS & LETTERS (April, '61), and compared CND with the American sit-ins. No one contradicted me.

If the industrial workers have seemed slow to come in this is not difficult to understand. A very considerable proportion of the best work in the campaign has been done by politically conscious rank-and-file trade unionists. The pity is that what goes on in trade union branches and what is published in trade

union journals does not get the same publicity that attends a playwright like John Osborne when he sits down in the Square! Furthermore, in the nature of things, wage-earners have to act together rather than separately and act together at their place of work; and collective consciousness necessarily has a longer incubation period than that of the individual.

There is therefore nothing remarkable in the fact that stu-

dents, teachers and professional people generally carry the brunt of the initial actions. All credit to them! They are perfectly well aware that they cannot succeed alone. The wage-earners will come in in spectacular fashion (probably at the outset in the form of one-hour political sit-in strikes) when they are ready to move en masse.

# Editorial

## Actions Louder Than Words

With all the trips he's taking, and all the speeches he's making, President Kennedy is keeping very busy talking about the "frontiers of freedom." But actions speak louder than words.

### REALITY VS. WINDOW DRESSING

At the same time as Kennedy was making his well-publicized speeches out West, belatedly criticizing the extremists "on the fringes of our society," the extremists down South who pollute the very heart of our society by their entrenched political rule, showed in deeds that Kennedy's words were meant only for window dressing. Three days after Kennedy's "anti-extremist" speech in Los Angeles — and despite a federal order banning segregated interstate travel — an Alabama Circuit Judge, on Nov. 21, ordered \$100 fines and 30-day jail terms for eleven Freedom Riders, Negro and white, who, last May, challenged segregation in a Montgomery interstate bus terminal. In a related action, a federal judge in Alabama, three weeks earlier, acquitted one white man, and declared a mistrial against seven others when the eight were tried for attacking and burning the Freedom Riders' bus on the outskirts of Anniston.

Further to point up the hollowness of Kennedy's remarks, a U.S. District Judge in Jackson, Mississippi, issued an injunction on Dec. 4, banning CORE integration tests in interstate terminals in McComb. The same federal court in Mississippi has, on the other hand, ignored CORE's petition, filed two months ago, for an injunction to restrain Mississippi from the illegal arrest of Freedom Riders.

### BEHIND THE SMOKESCREEN

This is the reality of extremism which functions under sanction of law behind the smokescreen of Kennedy's words. As a matter of fact, he carefully avoided identifying by name the extremist groups he spoke against. He referred to them only as "those on the fringes of our society" who seek a "convenient scapegoat" and "look suspiciously at their neighbors."

By placing them "on the fringes" he inferentially excused his Southern fellow-Democrats, and focused instead on their Republican-type next-of-kin such as the vicious well-financed John Birch society. Kindred hate-wing groups bear such super-patriotic names as "Americans for Constitutional Action," "Crusade for Americanism," "Conservative Society of America," "The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade," etc. Although they have branches from California to New England, their greatest membership strength is in the Southern and Border states; their heavy financing is from wealthy local industrialists; and their stalwart defenders are such notorious anti-labor and anti-Negro spokesmen as Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

It is an old politician's trick, which Kennedy has learned well, to weave a big lie around a small kernel of truth. His criticism of the extremists was centered not on a defense of freedom in America, but on a defense of his foreign policy. "We are Americans," he said, "determined to defend the frontiers of freedom by an honorable peace, if peace is possible, but by arms if arms are used against us." It almost boils down only to a question of timing: they want to go to war today, he's willing to try to wait until tomorrow.

Under pretense of attack, Kennedy actually sought to dismiss extremism as the ravings on foreign policy of a lunatic fringe. But the roots of this lunatic fringe are deeply imbedded in the insane normalcy of racial segregation and exploitation.

### PRESIDENTIAL BANDWAGON

To make the hypocrisy of these politicians more glaring, Eisenhower, now speaking as a private citizen, added his words to Kennedy's attack on the extremists. Apparently the Birch Society has finally needed him into speech by accusing him of being a conscious tool of the Communists. But when Eisenhower was president, during the heyday of Senator McCarthy's violent attacks against the American people, he was "too proud to fight." When he had the power of presidential office, he maintained what was called a dignified silence, and what others have called party loyalty, by permitting every excess of Republican McCarthy's venom to go unchallenged. When a presidential challenge could have hastened McCarthy's downfall, Eisenhower swallowed even McCarthy's wild charge of Communism against General Marshall whom he "admired" in silence rather than attack his Republican colleague.

Harry S. Truman, too, has jumped on the President's bandwagon for ex-presidents against extremism. He, too, has lately added his comments against the super-patriots. But the words he uses now against the hate-mongers are exactly the same kind of words he used a few months ago to blast the Freedom Riders. Thus, by a little verbal sleight-of-hand, Truman has bracketed Freedom Fighters and fascists together to give further proof that it is only a smokescreen of words to obscure the real issues of freedom in the United States.

Barry Goldwater of Arizona unwittingly revealed how this conspiracy of words crosses capitalist party lines. Himself under attack by the Republican super-patriots, Goldwater is looking for new support from the Southern extremists. In a recent speech at Atlanta, Georgia, he responded to Kennedy's deceptive remarks on the fringe groups by implying that Kennedy is the extremist. He linked this with an attack against the Freedom Riders and their supporters. He fawned on the Southern bigots in the hope of gaining their reactionary votes.

Thus, the question of extremism has become a political football in the same way as Civil Rights has become a political football. Kennedy and his "New Frontiersmen" are trying not to lose the support of the Southern extremists, while the Old Guard Republicans are trying to win it. For each, this is their base of power.

THE ONLY FORCES capable of waging a genuine fight against extremism are the exploited and oppressed who strike at its roots. In the forefront are the Freedom Riders. By their everyday deeds they prove the all-encompassing truth that Civil Rights is the name for freedom in the United States today.

## News & Letters

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Charles Denby ..... Editor  
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Second class mail privileges authorized at Detroit, Michigan.

# Readers'

## "FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES"

May I offer my congratulations to all concerned in publishing **Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves** and assure them that it will be of great value to the movement in Great Britain. I'll take 100 for a start.

Peter Cadogan  
Cambridge, England

Just received **Freedom Riders** pamphlet — it's quite a creation. I covered the City College campus with the 32 pamphlets — here is the \$8. Please send us 500 copies pronto. We want them before every one leaves for vacation. With all the pre-orders we really need 1,000 copies. Can you see we get them before Christmas?

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

I just got your pamphlet and started to read it. I can hardly believe that things could be that bad and so cruel. I'll finish it tonight and write you again.

White Mother  
Philadelphia

I sold a copy to one guy at work, and in 20 minutes he was back to give me another quarter. He said that the first 12 pages was worth the first quarter, and this was for the next 12 pages.

C.D.  
Detroit

Thanks for the 100 copies of **FR** — have already sent them out to those who paid in advance. This is a wonderful work and should be sold in no time.

Subscriber  
Akron, Ohio

Congratulations! **Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves** is magnificent. Enclosed is \$20 — please send 100 copies at once.

Teacher  
Milwaukee, Wis.

You've made a big impact on the Negro community... I just got 55 of the pamphlets and sold 5 at once. I'm sure they will go very quickly and we'll need more. One man also bought six copies of the Afro-Asian pamphlet which he sold in his shop and came back for 6 more.

New Member  
New Haven

I sold all I had in my neighborhood. One lady who bought one told me that she couldn't read herself, but she wanted to know all she could find out about the Freedom Riders, and was going to have her grandchildren read it to her.

Negro Mother  
Detroit

My barber bought one and had to admit that it was a mighty attractive pamphlet — and ought to sell fast "even though it isn't on the class question, but only about the race question." Need I add that my barber is an "old radical"?

Committee Member  
Detroit

The daily press did everything in their power to slur the demonstrations in Baltimore, and give the public the impression that the partici-

pants acted as though they were on a "football weekend," as one of the papers put it.

They were actually worse than the police. When we were being arrested for demonstrating at the downtown restaurants, for example, one white officer was so moved that he told one of the Freedom Riders, "It's a shame that I had to fight in a war for this country and then come back and arrest students for fighting for their equal rights!"

Freedom Rider  
New York

**Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves** is just beautiful. Three of us met at once and can hardly wait for the bundle to get here — we'll need 200 as a starter just for bookstores, newsstands, not to speak of individual sales at shops and meetings.

Committee Member  
New York City

Do send **Freedom Riders** pamphlet at once — 5 to bookstore and 50 for sale on campus.

Reader  
Iowa City

At the air port in Jackson the waiting room is supposed to be integrated, but the bathrooms are segregated, and the restaurant is segregated. I saw a colored lady cleaning out the rest rooms, so I went to talk to her. She said they don't even have her clean out the white rest room — they don't want her in there at all. They have another woman to clean that out.

Freedom Rider  
California

Did you hear the story a delegate to the NAACP convention told about a minister who had left Mississippi and was troubled because he kept hearing the voice of the Lord telling him to return? It was so persistent that he finally told Him that he would agree to return, provided the Lord would return with him. The Lord, he said, agreed to accompany him — as far as Cincinnati.

Reader  
Philadelphia

## PEACE MARCHERS

On a balmy Saturday morning, November 11, Veteran's Day, a group of about 40 ordinary citizens protested atom bomb testing in front of Milwaukee's grandiose new War Memorial Center.

Mrs. Marilyn Meisenheimer, wife of a student at University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, began to organize the demonstration a scant five days before, when the Sane committee in Milwaukee had informed her that they were too busy planning a fund raising and social event for that Saturday evening to help.

The signs that were carried said: "Fallout Kills," "America, Russia, No More Tests," "Stop Tests, Stop War," and "End Testing by all Nations." A series of four signs with pictures indicated the ways in which fallout affects human beings. The group first paraded in

front of the glass-front building, in the courtyard of which Gold Star mothers and veterans were conducting a wreath laying ceremony. The demonstrators stood by respectfully, signs lowered, while the armed and bayoneted color-bearers raised and saluted the flag.

Although officials of the Army-Navy Union displayed grave displeasures at the demonstration, they refused to identify themselves to the press.

PICKETER  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

## THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

It used to be said "The Greeks have a word for it," but I think it is the Irish who have the right word for it as O'Brien showed when he resigned from UN command in the Congo, blaming interference from the British "gut-ter millionaires."

Irish Revolutionary  
Boston

So far as I'm concerned, there was only one cogent thing Lord Russell said in his TV interview one recent Sunday: his comment that if we really want to destroy any influence the Russians might have in Africa, all we would have to keep saying to the Africans is "The Russians are also white!"

Lecturer  
Chicago

## LEADERS & RANKS

Among the workers I've talked with at the Big 3 — GM, Ford and Chrysler — the overwhelming sentiment of the men is for a change in leadership. But now it isn't just a matter of kicking out Reuther and his bureaucrats and replacing them with another set of bureaucrats. Now they're talking about changing the union from top to bottom in a complete reorganization.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

When the 240-man National GM Council voted to accept Reuther's national contract, but strike until "local" grievances were settled, Reuther figured this was too much democracy and had his executive committee override the Council. When the Kenosha workers voted against ratification of the contract, Reuther decided the vote wasn't democratic enough and called for another election after telling the workers what was "involved." At Chrysler local 212, the report was that the vote was 577 for and 500 against. I wonder if Reuther would hold another vote there after telling the men what was involved?

Ex-miner  
Detroit

## MORE FROM McCOMB

I am sending you an item from McComb, Mississippi, which appeared in "Quest", the student publication of Shimer College, which I am sure your readers will find of great interest:

"The high school students who two weeks ago staged a massive walk-out from their classes continue to stay out of school in protest against the unjust refusal by school authori-

# Views

ties to permit students arrested in sit-ins to enter classes. Wednesday, October 18, at 3:30 p.m., was the deadline for the students to sign statements admitting their part in the walk out and promising never to participate in such demonstrations again. At 3:30, all the students were there, but not to sign statements. Instead, they walked into the school, laid their books down in the hallways, and left. While out of school, they are participating in the voter registration campaign run by SYCC in McComb and adjacent areas."

Student  
Illinois

## MARXIST HUMANISM

I have read News and Letters for five months, thinking that it was a very fine paper and that I agree with most of the ideas. Recently I have become more aware of the great human dilemma that faces man, and more personally myself. I know that I must act, if only to find peace of mind, and in order to act I must become involved with ideas that are unifiable with my most basic beliefs, and take responsibility for them . . .

I would like to become a member of NEWS AND LETTERS. What I can do here is to sell and get people interested in the Freedom Riders pamphlet; hold weekly discussions with others interested; read, discuss and talk to people about NEWS AND LETTERS. Would you please send me three copies of the Weekly Political Letter each week; I will send a check to cover one sub, and collect 10 cents for the other two copies. I am sending a check for my copy of "Marxism and Freedom" also, and would appreciate any ideas you might have to help me.

Student  
San Francisco

The professors were quite impressed with the talk on the American and Humanist Roots of Marxism which Raya Dunayevskaya gave here and particularly with her knowledge of American history. In fact, that talk may result in revising some of the courses on campus next year.

For my course in Social Movements, by the way, each of us had to pick some social movement and describe it in about 20 to 30 typed pages: (1) its history; (2) its ideology; (3) its structure; (4) anything else that may be relevant. Naturally I picked Marxist Humanism and the News & Letters Committees. I want to find out more about Marxist Humanism.

Student  
Iowa

**Editor's Note:** The following letter was forwarded by the Socialist Discussion Club which sponsored a lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya in Iowa, on Marxist-Humanism.

I was especially interested in an interview that I heard over station WSUI recently. It was a discussion with a former secretary of Trotsky which was very informative. Unfortunately I was unable

to remember the lady's name or her present position. Since the discussion was so acutely interesting to me could I ask of you a favor. Would you forward to me the lady's name, address and the names of any publications that she has in her name that might contain material similar to that which was discussed. If it were possible to do so I would gladly pay the cost of receiving a copy of the discussion that transpired.

The world situation has aroused my interest in Russia and I am attempting to become an embryo student of the country. Any suggestions on other informative publications that might be of interest to me would be greatly appreciated.

Listener  
Iowa

One of the instructors from Yale University, who was on a sabbatical leave in Europe last year, reported that he participated in the Peace March to London which took place while he was in England. He said that there were very few workers among the 17,000 who marched—in fact, he was ready to say that there was only one that he actually knew of. But this "one," somewhere along the line of march, got tired of the slow progress of the march and decided to do some reading. To this instructor's amazement what he pulled out to read was a copy of Marxism and Freedom.

Subscriber  
New Haven

I read a book by Eric Fromm, and since I had always heard that he was one of the "best" of the intellectuals, I was quite shocked to see what he had written. He dared even to use an expression such as "the rights of conquest"—which is so barbaric to me I felt it must be a typographical error. But it wasn't.

It made me think of all the brains that Khrushchev and Kennedy both have got lined up for their respective sides—and of how all those smart professors have been so easily taken in.

I believe that they may think they understand philosophy, but it is the workers who really feel philosophy.

Woman Worker  
Detroit

## WEEKLY POLITICAL LETTERS

I find your Weekly Political Letters most valuable. In fact, I have been in the process of trying to get the one on the Sino-Soviet rift into print in this country. I hope it's okay by you.

Peter Cadogan  
Cambridge, England

I thank you very much for your kindness in sending me the "News and Letters" of October 1961. With very great interest I read your editorial "War or Peace?" and I agree with your viewpoint: there is only one way to work for peace and that is through the reconstruction of society on other than capitalistic grounds, on truly new human beginnings.

This is the very viewpoint of the Socialist-Zengakuren youth who demonstrated

against the Russian renegade ex-communists as well as against the U. S. imperialists (not against the Russian working people or against U. S. working people who are deceived.)

Please send me all issues of the Informal Weekly Political Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya. Thank you.

Student  
Japan

**Editor's Note:** Absolutely. We have no feeling of private property about any of these letters. The only reason they're mimeographed instead of printed is that we have no money for a weekly. We have reason to believe that some of them will also be printed in Africa. (See letter below and Ad on Page 7).

\* \* \*

I am pleased to report that your Weekly Political Letter "On the American Negro and the African Revolution" was very interesting, in spite of some differences I have with it in emphasis, and we will try to publish it here soon. I shall do my best to send you some news from here shortly, also.

African Friend  
West Africa

\* \* \*

## FARM AND FACTORY—

At the present time, the farm situation is tight. Due to heavy rains (25 inches since the 1st of September) and bad weather in general, farmers have not been able to get the corn crop or the bean crop harvested. These rains have turned the fields into a swamp or bog which makes it virtually impossible to pick corn except by hand. Farmers are disgusted. Many are not buying equipment or even spending money because they just haven't got it to spend. At home we have 15 heifers with calves that we can't sell, which is very unusual. Any other time we would have had no trouble.

"Right now corn is selling for about 98 cents a bushel with a 15% moisture test; the price earlier was \$1.06. The moisture content has been running high — anywhere from 18 to 30% — which brings the price down because for every point above 15% one is docked 2 cents a point. I've heard of corn selling for as little as 60 cents and that doesn't even cover the cost of planting (seed, gas, labor).

The president at the local bank says that the farm finances are the tightest he has seen in a long time.

Farmer's Son  
Illinois

\* \* \*

The men are working short weeks at the mill—how long we don't know. Every day I expect my husband to come home saying he doesn't have to go back. He is so tired when he does get home he actually needs all the days off he gets to get in shape to go back for another four. He said that if he had to work five days at the rate they have to work, he couldn't take it.

He is a young man. If it is this hard on him think how the older men must feel.

Steelworker's Wife  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

## MARXIST HUMANISM IN NEW BOOKS AND REVIEWS

A whole new spate of books have been published this year on the Humanism of Marxism. (1) In contrast to the almost total silence which surrounded my MARXISM AND FREEDOM in 1958, which first published an English translation of the early Humanist essays of Marx, the reviews of the new books and the letters to the editors about them are numerous and exude enthusiasm. The most pretentious of these are by socialists who make each comment sound like a manifesto announcing the discovery of a new world. What they all fail to note is that the new books which started out as scholarly, eloquent treatises on "original Marxism," on Marx as a philosopher of freedom, ended by falling into the trap of the veritable conspiracy between the State Department and Russian Communism to force an identity between those two irreconcilable opposites—Marxism, a theory of liberation, and Communism, the practice of enslavement.

The shocking and—so far as the new authors are concerned—unintentional similarity of results arises, of course, from an affinity of belief in capitalism. Nevertheless, the "end product" sounds unbelievable in face of the authors' own denials of the Communist contention that there was a young, immature, "left Hegelian" named Karl Marx, and there was "the scientific economist and practical revolutionary" whose theories comprise Marxism because of its founder Karl Marx—and the twain never met. Therefore, the "how" of the startling result is worth going into.

### UNFOUNDED CONCLUSIONS

Let's first take the most profound of the recent studies—MARXISM by George Lichtheim. It is a truly eloquent presentation of Marx's vision of world history as a "creative drama of human liberation." Mr. Lichtheim writes as passionately in defense of the truth that the young Marx and the mature Marx were one and the same:

"It is true that in later years he (Marx) took a less exalted view of the part which thought had to play in transforming the world, just as the concept of social revolution which would transcend philosophy by 'realizing' its aims, disappeared from his writings; but it was never repudiated, nor could it have been, for it was precisely what he meant by the 'union of theory and practice.'" (p.54)

As Mr. Lichtheim reaches post-Marxist Marxism, however, his hatred of Lenin allows the scholar to write as if present-day Communism and Leninism are very nearly one and the same. No doubt Mr. Lichtheim thought he was attacking Lenin, not Marx. In fact, he was inexorably led to the rejection of Marxism for our era. "The real trouble," he writes on p.397, "is that Marxism tried to do duty both as a theory of society and as a philosophy of history and that its philosophical insights are hopelessly at variance with its scientific insights." Out of nowhere comes the sudden conclusion that "we" (that is to say, the exploitative capitalist society against which Marx had rebelled, aged by a century) have "realized" Marx's vision of "the creative drama of human liberation."

Now it is one thing to rationalize one's acceptance of the status quo—men made of sterner stuff than scholars have often done so. It is quite something else to read into Marx such an analysis and "hence" a rejection of post-Marxist Marxism not to mention an equation of Leninism with its Communist usurpers. This unfounded conclusion is even more vulgarly presented in the less important work—PHILOSOPHY AND MYTH IN KARL MARX by Robert Tucker.

Prof. Tucker destroys the myth of two totally different philosophies—Humanism and "scientific economics"—by creating a new myth, which, however, he attributes to none other than Marx: "the myth of warfare of labor and capital was Marx's final answer to the problems of man's self-alienation." (p. 258). Only a man living in an ivory tower, far removed from the class struggle of everyday life, in the factory and out of it, could describe everyday reality as a "myth."

### BELATED "DISCOVERIES"

Nevertheless, this book is hailed as "the best single study of Marx's early Manuscripts," by Daniel Bell, who has made a name for himself as a "scholar on Marxism." Mr. Bell achieved the status through innumerable writings (which include endless footnotes) that change their tone to fit the times. Especially illuminating for our purposes are the 1959 and 1960 versions of an article on "the historical Marx." The 1959 version was called "Rediscovery of Alienation" (Journal of Philosophy, Nov. 19, '59).

Although it followed the Communist attack on Humanism in 1955 (2) by four years and the Hungarian Revolution which had raised the Humanist banner by three years, Mr. Bell had still not "rediscovered" Humanism. By April-June 1960, however, when the Soviet Survey devoted a full issue on the subject chosen by the Russian Communists for their struggle against Humanism—"Revisionism"—Mr. Bell refurbished his 1959 article, this time entitling it "In Search of Marxist Humanism." (3) By attributing what characterizes his writings—"Different times, different Zeitgeist"—to others, Mr. Bell manages to reduce the whole question of Humanism "to the relatively minute but important changes in the pace of work, such as extending job cycles, job enlargement, allowing natural rhythms in work, etc." This is supposed to make not only the worker in an automated factory happy, but to make "the concept of alienation . . . stand on its own feet, without the crutch of Marx."

(1) Representative of these are the two books under consideration here: MARXISM by George Lichtheim (London, Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1961), and PHILOSOPHY AND MYTH IN KARL MARX by Robert Tucker (Cambridge University Press, 1961).

(2) See the section, "Communism's Perversion of Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts" in my MARXISM AND FREEDOM (pp. 62-66).

(3) Mr. Bell seems to have a predilection for titles which include the phrase, "in search of," without ever finding what he searches for. Thus in April 1958 he wrote an article entitled "Ten Theories in Search of Reality: the Prediction of Soviet Behavior in the Social Sciences" (WORLD POLITICS). I then wrote the editor that it was no accident that Mr. Bell, despite writing about a great number of "theories," had not included among them the fundamental theory of state-capitalism, "because far from being in search of reality, the state-capitalist theory analyzes reality and does indeed yield fruitful and cogent analysis of Russia—its economy, its rulers, and its policies." Perhaps if Mr. Bell finally found himself, he wouldn't be subject to the compulsion to go "in search of" all manner of things that aren't there and blind himself to those staring him in the face.

# Hungarian Freedom Fighter Speaks For Himself

In 1956 I was 18-years-old and I was working in a tractor factory while I was going to school. For me the Revolution started when I was working. Just before lunchtime we were told to go to a certain place on our lunch hour. When we got there one of the students was there. I don't know how he got in. He couldn't have got in the gate. He was speaking very softly, saying what he wanted. Naturally the main boss in the factory was a Communist. The boss told the student to "get off there and don't talk against anything." But the workers liked the way he was talking and they wanted to step on the boss's neck.

When young students saw that the people liked what he said, he stood up on the stairs and shouted what he had been saying quietly before then. Right away we all left work. And that's the way it started.

A short while ago they had

## Ban the Bomb Demonstrators Are Assaulted

Detroit — On Saturday, Nov. 11, Veteran's Day, three different organizations, the Student Peace Union, a women's club, and about 12 Methodist ministers and about 75-100 of their followers met at 2 p.m. at Grand Circus Park with posters protesting nuclear war.

We marched around the park. Reporters were there taking pictures. After that the ministers and some of their followers went back into the church to pray.

Since the Veterans Day Parade was going on the rest of us stayed outside. We marched about 4 blocks toward the grandstand. We marched on the sidewalk holding up our signs. The SPU had planned to join the tail end of the parade to really show our posters protesting nuclear war.

I must say that we had some very good signs and a lot of people complimented us on them. The women's club thought this was a very good idea and joined us.

### THEY COULDN'T STOP US

Some cops overheard us talking about joining the parade and told us if we did we would get tickets. This did not stop us. We all felt we were justified and a \$5 fine alone couldn't stop us.

When the parade was almost over a group of cops were standing in front of us indicating that they were going to try to stop us. Since we had about 5 blocks to go in order to get to the reviewing stand we decided to march 4 of the blocks on the sidewalk, so we would only have to go one block in the street.

The students were in front. The second the last person in the parade passed by we started out into the street. At the same time about 10 cops on motorcycles started after us trying desperately to run us down. The cops on foot were pushing and knocking down all they could get their dirty hands on. They took our posters and tore them up. One girl was run down and she hurt her leg. Only one of us got down to the grandstand.

That young man was magnificent. He looked like a half-back making a 100 yard touch down. Every time a cop on foot tried to catch him he would move just in time. He had some very close calls with the motorcycle cops, but got away in time. He went from side to side doing this until he passed the grandstand.

### DETROIT'S FINEST SHOW THEIR BRUTALITY

The people on the sidewalks

a TV program on Hungary. A 16 year old youth was interviewed who said that it was a fascist uprising. At the time of the Revolution he was only 10 years old. He didn't know what was going on. So now we get a new history. The Communists say that the people who owned something before they took over or who were fascist started it. That's not true.

### THE RUSSIANS TOOK EVERYTHING

I think the tractor factory I worked in should have been owned by the country, but not the way it was. It was no good the way it was before the war. But it was no good the way the Communists made it after the war either. It's understandable if you say BIG Factories should not be owned by one person, but at least a person should be able to own his own car, right? They took that away.

If a farmer had two horses they took that away, because he was too rich. If a guy had a small business and had one guy working for him they taxed him so high that he was taxed more than he took in.

### CP KNOCKED NAGY OUT

Imre Nagy had different ideas. How as a Communist, but there is a difference between Communists, too. For the year or year and a half that he was president he gave all this back. Naturally the people liked that. Most everything was getting to be much better. People cheered up, I don't think the CP liked that. That is why they knocked him out and took the power away from him.

They took the uranium out of the country. 80% of the Hungarian people don't know that we had uranium in our country that went all to Russia. They just took out what we had. were going up.

had their signs forcefully taken away from them and torn to bits. Because one man didn't give his sign up fast enough he was hit over the head. Another man would have really gotten hurt when he was standing on the sidewalk. Three cops went up to him and grabbed his sign. Still holding on he told them he had a right to hold up his sign, he wasn't doing anything wrong. The other two cops started closing in on him and forced the sign out of his hand. By this time the barbarian that was in charge of the parade said to the people, "Let's give our police a hand for the way they got these people off the street."

By the brutal action of our DETROIT POLICE you would think we had signs saying a 100 megaton bomb a day is good for the soul. After we got our torn up signs we looked around to see who had gotten hurt and that's when we found out that two boys had been arrested. We went back to the church and told the people who were waiting for us what had happened. We called a lawyer and the boys were released. They said they only got a ticket and a sermon.

In January, the Student Peace Union is planning a picket line protesting police brutality in Detroit. If any one is interested please call TYLER 8-7053 for further information.

—High School Student

The way the Hungarian people felt was that the Russians said they were our friends. But this is the kind of friends they were: they said, "What's your is mine, what's mine you have nothing to do with."

Just before the Revolution the news about the Polish Revolt was in the Hungarian papers, and that was very surprising because you didn't see things like that in the papers—anything that was anti-Communist.

Actually when the Revolution broke out people didn't know about it for three days in the other part of the country. I was in Budapest all the time until it was crushed.

### "WE HANGED HIM"

They have a Communist Party in every town. Each one has a president, who does not do much work but who gets the best positions and the most money. In every little town, if the people could get to him, they killed him.

Everyone had to have an ID card. You couldn't walk around without it. They may have them in this country, too, but people walk around without them. Over there you had to have it with you at all times. We caught one captain who had 15 to 20 ID cards on him—the cards of all the anti-Communist people he had killed during the revolt. We hanged him.

### SOME SOLDIERS WON OVER

The Russian soldiers felt real neighborly. They were standing there and we talked to them. Some of them talked friendly. There were a few people who spoke Russian. You had to take Russian to go to higher schools. The soldiers saw we were fighting for our rights and they didn't want to fight us.

### KADAR—THE TRAITOR

Actually Kadar was the biggest traitor that ever lived, because after the second World War he was put into prison himself. He wouldn't say why, but everyone knew it was because the Communists didn't like him. The people freed him, and he betrayed them. He went against them. That was the dirtiest act that was ever committed.

\* \* \*

After the Revolution was crushed many young people were deported to Russia. That's why I'm here. Do you think I wanted to leave Hungary? If I had stayed I would have been deported or hanged on the nearest tree.

### NOTE

I am very happy to bring to News & Letters readers the story of a Hungarian Freedom Fighter, I met recently. His story and that of countless others, and the memory of those murdered in their struggle against Russian totalitarianism puts the lie to the Russian attempt to re-write history.

I am very happy to give over the column "New Beginnings" in this issue of News & Letters to this young Freedom Fighter.

—Eugene Walker

# TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

## Marxist Humanism in New Books and Reviews

Allegedly the "left" socialist, Michael Harrington, opposes all this—or so he tells us in his "Marx versus Marx" (New Politics, Fall 1961) where he pompously announces as if it were the first time these words were ever uttered; "I would suggest that both (Bell and Merleau-Ponty) are wrong, and that the mature Marx deepens the humanist categories of his early work." Despite this pronouncement and the further admonition that "the crucial task" is the relating of Marxist Humanism to the present day, Harrington spends 12 pages in this quarterly as he has previously spent the full page in the newspaper, New America, Sept. 22, "The Rediscovery of Marx" not on "the crucial task," but to show off his "erudition" by referring to all sorts of works in German and French, works not easily obtainable, if at all, and not likely to be checked by the majority of his readers who do not know foreign languages. (4) At the same time he studiously, and by all sorts of clever ruses, avoids any reference to my work with which he has been acquainted ever since its publication in 1958. I raise this question not in order to establish "first-edness." Not at all. As I wrote The New Leader:

**WORKERS REVOLTS GIVE NEW MEANING TO HUMANISM**  
"The dispute over who was the first to translate Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts into English is a meaningful controversy only if it has a substantive relationship to the spirit of those essays and of our times. I was compelled to be the first to publish these Essays in 1958 because for fifteen years previous I had tried, in vain, to convince other scholars, writers, and publishers of the cogency of these Essays.

"When in the period between the East German Revolt and the Hungarian Revolution, the Russian Communists openly attacked those Essays (Voprosy Filosofii, #3, 1955) I once again began my round of publishers. This time the Essays were part of my book. I held that the Russian Communist attack on them was not academic, but a foreboding of revolutions to come. The following year the great Hungarian Revolution raised the Humanist flag clearly.

"Because Marxist Humanism to me, is the only genuine ground from which to oppose Communist totalitarianism, I felt the compulsion to show that Humanism is not something invented by me, but came directly from Marx who fought what he called "vulgar communism," writing that "communism, as such, is not the goal of human development, the form of human society . . ."

"As to whether I am European trained or American, I claim the latter especially since my work, in addition to re-establishing Marxist-Humanism, aimed at uncovering the American roots of Marxism which had for too long been hidden. I was, however, born in Russia."

Now why all the anxiety to praise all works on Marxism except one by a Marxist-Humanist? The answer is really quite simple and has nothing whatever to do with "first-edness." A Marxist-Humanist acts always on the theory that, to use a Hegelian phrase, "the truth is concrete." He is therefore unwilling to transform the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism into an abstraction in which every "scholar" can "score points" as if it were some college debate held for the purposes of "grading." A Marxist-Humanist is concerned with reality, and philosophy's relationship to a world so rent asunder by crises that the very continuation of the human race is threatened. As we saw, the present outpouring of words, in books, in articles, in letters, has not illuminated the nature of Marxism half as much as it has exposed the class nature of the debaters.

What is important in the flood of writings is the historic framework which compelled the concern with Marxist-Humanism that is to say, the political maturity of the age, the impotence of all propaganda on both sides of the Iron Curtain to exorcise the ghost of Karl Marx and rebury him, this time as a Humanist. It cannot be done.

Marxist-Humanism will remain alive so long as a new world on truly new, human beginnings has not been established—and it will remain alive thereafter not as a "means to an end," but as the "first necessity of life"—its breath, its work, its thought—the self-activity of the "all-rounded individual" gaining a new human dimension.

(4) Knowing foreign languages doesn't seem to help Michael Harrington to know the facts. Thus he writes in NEW POLITICS: "This Marxist humanism is anathema to Communist ideology—and that is at least one factor in Russia's delay in publishing the Manuscripts." Now there was no delay by Russia in publishing these Manuscripts for the simple reason that when they were first published in Russian—way back in 1927—the Marx-Engels Institute was still headed by the great scholar, Ryazanov, who published them as soon as he could pry them loose from the vaults of the Second International who had inherited them from Engels and kept them hidden from the world. To accomplish that it took a successful proletarian revolution plus money. The excitement over them lasted a very short time since it coincided with Stalin's triumph over Trotsky. When the Manuscripts got published in their original German in 1932, discussion was again short-lived since Hitler was coming to power. It is true that Moscow didn't publish an English translation until the year after I did so in the United States but that was due to the conception of the backwardness of the American movement which is held by most Europeans. The attack on them, however, began in 1955 (See footnote 2).

(5) The New Leader didn't publish the letter although I had been invited to straighten out the record on the dispute that had been raised around my MARXISM AND FREEDOM in the magazine's issues of October 30, November 13th. In the November 27th issue one incomplete sentence of my letter appears without any indication that it is but one sentence of a whole letter.

## Readers' Views

On Friday, November 10, Raya Dunayevskaya spoke at Shimer College on the topic, "The 22nd Russian Communist Party Congress and the 50-megaton bomb." Of a student body of 273, approximately 170 were present, the largest number that have ever attended a non-required assembly. When she spoke of capitalist and Stalinist insanity in the nuclear race and said, "If this is not madness, it is only because madmen rule

what sanity is", there was a round of spontaneous applause.

The lecture was followed by a discussion lasting another hour. Several other small, informal discussions were held that week-end, drawing from 8 to 30 students each time. One student came from Chicago (150 miles east of here) to hear her. 8 copies of Marxism and Freedom were sold . . .

Student Mt. Carroll, Ill.

ROUTE 40 PROTEST HALTED

Sit-Ins Strike Baltimore Restaurants

New York—U.S. route 40 from the Delaware River to Washington, D.C. has become a national and international scandal recently. It is the shortest route between Washington and New York and a number of African diplomats have been welcomed to this country by being refused service in the restaurants along route 40. American Negroes had suffered this for years but no U. S. Administration became excited about discrimination here until American prestige suffered in Africa and Asia because of it.

1500 PEOPLE READY

Several conferences were called between representatives of the State Department and the restaurant owners associations with no result. On Nov. 11, national CORE planned mass sit-ins by its chapters in the North-East all along route 40.

Some 1500 people were ready to take part. A few days before the ride on route 40 was to start, national CORE called it off. A compromise had been reached. About 12 out of the 15 restaurants on the route in Delaware and 35 out of 70 in Maryland agreed to desegregate by Nov. 22.

This compromise appeared quite feeble to many of CORE'S members. It was far short of what could have been gained by direct action. Rumors of demonstrations in Baltimore reached New York; and at a stormy meeting of New York City CORE, a resolution was pushed through offering New York CORE'S aid to the Baltimore sit-ins on the week-end of Nov. 11. Over 100 people went to Baltimore from New York and surrounding areas.

It was then that most of us first made the acquaintance of the Civic Interest Group (CIG). It is a civil rights organization in Baltimore made up of both Negroes and whites. It was founded in 1958 and has been growing in influence and activity since then. It has strong roots in the Negro community of Baltimore and in both Johns Hopkins University and Morgan State College. This last is a Negro college near Baltimore.

The sit-ins had been organized with impressive efficiency. The participants knew which restaurants they were to go to. They knew what to do and, roughly, what to expect. It was not so tightly organized as to eliminate all spontaneity of action, however.

Some 50 restaurants were tested. A few desegregated. Most did not. In some neighborhoods, there was considerable antagonism on the part of the white population. Baltimore is about 30% Negro and there is a certain tension between Negroes and whites. In some cases, Negroes on the street joined the picket lines in front of the segregated restaurants. The people from New York, most of whom had not been on sit-ins before took to the activity as if they had been doing it all their lives. There was no panic even under difficulties and no confusion.

The sit-ins went on all day. There were several arrests for trespassing. Things culminated at a down-town restaurant, Hoopers, where 19 people sat in and were arrested. A picket line of 150 people was thrown around the restaurant. The police were quite frightened of this show of people and actually called out the riot squad. They became especially panicky when demonstrators began sitting down on the sidewalk. There were no incidents how-

ever; the police behaved quite correctly and avoided any instances of brutality.

On Nov. 18, a bus-load of demonstrators went down from New York to participate in further sit-ins. The pattern was much the same as the week before except that there were no arrests. It was felt that they had made their point and there was no use laying out money on bail.

The demonstrators arrested for trespassing and for disturbing the peace had jurisdiction waived on their cases by the magistrate court and their cases were carried over to the grand jury. This means essentially that the cases will never come to trial. The CIG and its allies have made such an impression in Baltimore that the officials there dare not sentence them.

The sit-ins will continue until the restaurants in Baltimore

serve Negroes. They will spread to the rest of Maryland, particularly route 40; where CORE'S compromise has proved a sad failure. CORE tested the restaurants on route 40 recently and found that many had reneged on their promise to desegregate by Nov. 22.

There are many freedom groups in the South and in the border states that are very much like the CIG. They have been founded by the Negro community without much outside aid. They work, when they can, with white allies, and they are solidly militant. When the national organizations — NAACP, CORE, even SNCC — draw back from an action, these are the groups that carry it through. They spring from the Negro people and their force is indomitable.

—Baltimore Sit-inner

RABID BIRCHERS DISRUPT ANTI-HUAC MEETING

Milwaukee—On November 16, Burton White, San Francisco anti-HUAC demonstrator and University of California-Berkeley student, spoke on why the House Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished.

As we drove up to the hall, we were greeted by a rowdy, disorganized group of pickets singing "God Bless America." As we entered the building, we were forced to push our way through a crowd of people on the landing, on the stairs, and crowding by the door, which could be opened only a crack to admit one person at a time. However, anyone with 50 cents was allowed in.

It is illegal for pickets to be inside the building, but police delayed ejecting these right-wingers until they became unmanageable during the meeting itself.

All the chairs were taken, and at a glance I recognized the active right-wingers of Milwaukee, who were filling up most of the seats, while a smaller number of liberals were present. We discovered that John Bjorkland, chairman of the Wisconsin Committee for Constitutional Freedom, had been pressured by the right-wingers to change the speech into a debate between White and Nicholas Burczyk, 25 year old fanatical executive of the National Action Movement, one of the more vociferous "anti-Communist" groups, backed financially by some large industrial tycoons, one of whom is on the John Birch Society Council.

From there on, pandemonium reigned. The debate was delayed because of the stomping, shouting right-wingers who constantly interrupted the chairman as he tried to get the meeting started. They were only quiet when at a signal they stood up and began the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

White spoke first and

proved to be a very effective, brilliant speaker, all of his statements being backed up with facts and figures from such sources as the Congressional Record. He remained calm although many in the audience were not listening, and he showed no dismay when some became downright ugly with their jeering and heckling.

The Minutemen, a neo-Fascist group, also had a small clique of young toughs present who sparked much of the rabble-rousing. Burczyk's speech followed White's, and it was unbelievable to see how he made use of all the gimmicks and cliches. He lauded Motherhood, and expressed concern over Burton White's mother, who "must be sickened by what her son is doing, if she is alive." Burczyk later had the gall to walk over to the flag (knocking Burton White's coat to the floor) and caress it between his fingers.

Burczyk's supporters again interrupted White during the rebuttal and question periods. They tried to trap him with loaded questions, rumored to have been suggested by the police, but were unable to do so.

I was completely shocked by the rabid audience behavior, and felt physically ill in sympathy with Burton White, who had to sit up there and take it. I finally passed a note to him, during one of the uproars, inviting him back to one professor's house for a peaceful talk on college and student movements in California and throughout the U. S., since his tour has covered much of the country except the South. He accepted gladly and expressed his pleasure at being able to talk to our student group.

Although it was growing late we all returned for several more hours of discussion, which was in the main hopeful and showed us that there is growing awareness and action on the part of students throughout the country. Names and addresses were exchanged and we hope that this will lead to an exchange of ideas and problems on campuses.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

Human Values in Science and Medicine

The medical world is presently in a revolutionary ferment in two areas—scientific and economic. In the scientific field, medicine sharing in the new and fundamental progress in basic research is casting off rigid categories and divisions to grasp at the unifying principle which views the human body as a complex of interrelated, mutually dependent, bio-chemical processes in constant motion and balance with both its internal and external environment.

In this chemical pool of life there is being revealed an incredible diversity of form and action which is at the same time an amazing simplicity and beauty of structure and function.

\* \* \*

We are at the threshold of a

new renaissance of biological knowledge—the science of life; learning that we are as closely related to the vast galaxies of stars inconceivable distances away, as to the sub-atomic, sub-microscopic particles within us.

In the light of this knowledge, we are probing hopefully toward an understanding of the three destroyers of human life — aging, cancer, and heart disease.

FALSE BATTLE

At the same time there is grave danger. The new biochemical knowledge of man does not reveal merely a chemical factory. This view only serves to reinforce the older concept of man as a machine. Both are equally false.

They arise from the division of society into classes, and men into manual and mental units of labor. Dehumanizing man has taken the scientific breakthrough down the blind alley of the super megaton bomb.

An economic ferment in the field of medicine, now moving toward a crisis, is also related to the use of man as an expendable unit of a capitalist society. At present, health, like food, clothing and shelter is a privilege rather than a human right. This concept has led to a false battle called "socialized medicine".

WHAT IS GOOD MEDICAL CARE?

The nearly 200,000 doctors of medicine in the U.S. are joined in conflict over private practice and pre-paid private insurance vs. government supported medicine. The issue is a particular form of private "democratic" capitalism vs. state capitalism. Victory—though delayed—must go eventually to the more embracing state system of distribution. This, however, is not the goal.

Good medical care is truly related to individual responsibility of doctor to patient, but this needs to be more than an excuse for a doctor to hold on to economic privileges. It must rest on a recognition of the uniqueness and individuality of human life, and the concept of the primacy of human values over all other.

Raya Dunayevskaya

to speak on

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THE AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONS

By RAYA, DUNAYEVSKAYA

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## CRISIS OVER BERLIN

## K. AND K. AT THE WALL

(Continued from Page 1)

nedy—means that the crisis will remain with us.

It was the establishment of two Germanies at the end of World War II that is at the root of the present crisis. A look at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which divided the country among the conquerors, will show that these meetings established only the causes for further dissent, not a basis for peace. The disregard for the needs and desires of the German people were justified on the excuse that the world-wide hatred for Nazism was synonymous with hatred for the German nation.

No one on either side of the Iron Curtain extended the people of Germany a fraternal hand as Russia under Lenin had done at the end of World War I. Instead, both sides conspired to dismember Germany, collect reparations and keep the fires of hatred burning and chauvinism rampant. To this day the Russians still use it among all who suffered from Nazi atrocities to better ensnare them into support for "the Communist solution."

**"THE SHOWCASE" AND THE CHEAP LABOR FORCE**

On the other hand, let us consider the "showcase" that West Berlin was building before the wall. There was the "miracle of West Germany" rising from the rubble of the war to compete with other capitalists in the world market. The United States now imports more cars, steel and glass than it exports. This was achieved, not by the German capitalists, the Krupps, the Thyssens and the others who reaped the profits both during the regime of Hitler and of allied occupation, but from the blood, sweat and tears of the German workers. Using as an excuse the need to re-build Germany, the trade-union leaders in West Germany did what the Meany's, Reuthers and Bridges did here during the war—signed a pledge not to strike for higher wages or better working conditions. The steady flow of refugees from East Germany provided an ample supply of cheap, willing and skilled labor.

By contrast, East Germany after the war was stripped by Stalin of its machinery, exporting not only whole factories but their skilled help as well. The military destruction of the area was greater than in the West. The goods and food taken from the area by Russia for reparations held the population down to a mere subsistence level for years after the war. Territory was taken away and given to Poland. German Nationals were rounded up in all sections of Russian-occupied Europe and dumped as homeless refugees on the East German Economy. Only when it was too late, after it had become apparent that the Western powers were building West Germany into a showplace of "democracy" as against Communism, only then did the rehabilitation of East Germany start. To achieve a higher rate of growth, impossible "norms of production" were set and constantly raised until the revolt of June 17.

The revolt of the East German workers blew sky high the slogan of the Communists for "re-unification of Germany" that refused to answer: "under whose auspices." Far from desiring the re-unification of Germany under Ulbricht, they shook his rule and that of his Russian master to their foundations.

The daring and courage shown by the East German workers in facing Russian tanks with sticks, stones and gasoline bottles destroyed for all time the myth of the invincibility of totalitarianism. They likewise destroyed the fable that the West encouraged revolt or would help those who revolted under totalitarian rule. All they got were lectures from Western leaders about "acting prematurely."

Having permitted the crushing of the revolt, the diplomats of the West resumed their lies that only a re-unified Germany under Adenauer could resolve these problems and sat back to discuss election dates. Meanwhile the West German capitalists grew fat exporting the products of German labor, underpaid, tied down by no-strike pledges, governed by a combination of ex-Nazis and friends of the occupying conquerors.

From 1953 to 1960 West Berlin became a showcase for American propaganda illustrating "the superiority of democracy" over Communism. Goods were plentiful, new buildings erected, unemployment kept at a minimum and the city used as a depot where thousands of refugees could flee with relative ease. Yet, thousands of people from East Berlin who worked daily in West Berlin, preferred to remain in their East Berlin homes. Capitalist democracy, with its slums as well as its showcases, did not win the battle for the minds of men.

The constant saber rattling of Khrushchev began to make it apparent that soon the escape route from East to West would be cut off and the wave of refugees increased to the point where about 2000 a day were crossing the border and posing a transportation problem for the Army, who shipped them to other parts of Germany. But the refugee problem proved to be even greater for Ulbricht, whose production quotas dropped from day to day as 10 to 15% of the workers disappeared and were lost to his industry. Thus the hated concrete wall came into being, cutting the City of Berlin into two parts and creating a prison for the East German workers.

**"THE FACTS OF LIFE": TWO VIEWS**

Presently innumerable conferences are being held by the rulers. On the side of the West we have witnessed the meeting of Adenauer and Kennedy, another between Macmillan and DeGaulle and soon, a meeting of the "Big Four" at the Foreign Ministers level. The "East" has had the 22nd RCP Congress and a meeting of the Warsaw Pact Nations, intimidated Finland, and scarcely a day passes that Khrushchev does not spout off on the subject. The so-called neutrals who met at Belgrade considered a resolution asking Russia and the U.S. to "recognize the facts of life", two Germanies, and sign separate peace treaties.

These are the facts of life only if you agree to view the world from either of the two poles of capital, U.S. or Russia, fighting for world domination. These are not the facts of life if you see the true course of history and note that the same post-war world created an entirely new African world. The two great attempts, June 17, 1953 in East Germany and the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, to gain freedom from Communist

**DOMINICAN REVOLT**

The 32-year-long dictatorship of the Trujillo gang has ended with the flight of the playboy heir, Ramfis, who was barely able to lug \$19 million dollars worth of gold aboard his yacht to add to the multi-million dollar hoard of loot he and his family have stored in Swiss banks. Each year of the despotic capitalist rule of the Trujillo's added \$75 to \$100 million dollars to their fortunes while thousands died in poverty, jails and democracy was a nasty word.

President Balaguer, his acceptable stooge, played along with the American Ambassador, encouraged the appearance of the American Fleet off the city of Santa Domingo and believed he could take over without any basic change on the island.

The masses, who have suffered long enough, had other ideas. They have demonstrated in the streets. They have disposed of the last remnants of Trujillo domination, they have gone on a general strike against Balaguer, who has used troops, tear gas and violence against them. The general strike was 100% successful with even the bourgeoisie joining the demonstration of opposition against the hold-over regime.

There has been no violence on the part of the people but tear gas has been thrown into the demonstrating crowds, bullets fired by the Trujillo-Balaguer police and American-made tanks threaten the people on land while the U.S. Navy stands threateningly off shore. Several people have been killed by the police.

The most likely group to succeed Balaguer is the National Civic Union, headed by Virato Fiallo, a moderate democratic regime. The Castroite Popular Dominican Movement was outlawed by Balaguer, and its leader, Maximo Molina, has fled to Cuba for protection.

**KHRUSHCHEV'S RUSSIA**

Bogdan Nikolaevich Stachinsky, trained at the school for spies in Moscow and a former member of the Secret Police, has confessed to murdering Ukrainian writer, Lev Rebet, and the Ukrainian

imperialism, plus the anti-war struggles throughout the world, have succeeded to date in staying the hand of the war-makers.

The 50 megaton bomb proved a boomerang when those, who at Belgrade remained silent at the resumption of nuclear testing, were forced to protest the pollution of the world's air. The African revolutions and the emergence of 22 independent nations on the world scene has put an end to a world that would permit a Roosevelt, a Stalin, Churchill and Chiang to sit down and divide up the world without consulting the peoples themselves.

Having first destroyed, then looted Germany, and after that extracted reparations, followed by the attempt to blockade entrance to Berlin, Stalin by 1952 changed tactics. Before Adenauer's Germany he dangled the possibility of reunification—at the price of the whole of Germany becoming "neutral." The offer remained good for two years — the years "the West"

**Our Life and Times**

By PETER MALLORY

Nationalist Leader, Stefan Bandera. Both deaths had been listed as "of natural causes" by the police of Munich where the murders took place.

Stachinsky escaped from East Berlin and confessed to the West Berlin police who are holding him for the double murder. He used an air pistol with cyanide gas for his dirty work.

The "disarmament policies" of the Soviet Union are to be "fully implemented" next year. According to their projected budget, there will be an INCREASE of 45% in their military spending, no doubt to speed the troops on their way home, dismantle their stockpile of atomic bombs (for peaceful purposes), remove troops and arms from occupied nations such as Hungary, dismantle barbed wire entanglements from the Soviet frontiers, and, if there is enough money left over, to knock down the concrete wall between East and West Berlin.

**FRANCE**

A new horror is about to be unleashed on demonstrating crowds in Paris. The Paris Police have announced that they have developed a new type of bomb to replace tear gas. It is known as a "laxative bomb," exploded in the same manner as tear gas, the laxative bomb spreads in a white cloud over demonstrating workers, causing them to go about their business elsewhere for several hours. Such are the wonders and accomplishments of the real scientific mind!

**THE GENERALS WAR**

Despite unlimited access to the U. S. Treasury, many American generals feel that civilian rule cramps their style, prevents them from becoming the fascist dictators they would like to become. Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker, who fed John Birch Society propaganda to his troops until caught at it, then resigned only to become a paid propagandist, was the first case. Now a whole nest of them has been revealed.

Under the name of "The Christian Crusade," a Baptist-led anti-Semitic, anti-

labor, anti-Catholic, anti-U.N., anti-Supreme Court, anti-socialist gang has gathered the following top brass into its leadership: Maj. Gen. Willoughby (intelligence chief for McArthur), Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, Air Force Lt. Gen. L. H. Brereton, Col. L. E. Bunker, Brig. Gen. W. P. Campbell, Air Force Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee, Air Force Lt. Gen. S. L. Lowry, Lt. Gen. G. E. Stratemeyer, Col. W. E. Warner, all retired. The "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade" in Los Angeles is assisted by Navy Admiral Chester E. Ward.

These totalitarian minded ex-military men are financed by The Richfield Oil Corp., The Schick Razor Co., The Technicolor Corp. and a group of Texas oil men as well as many capitalists throughout the country.

None of these subversives are listed on the subversive list.

In France a similar group of generals, who disagreed with the government of DeGaulle, armed themselves, conducted an abortive revolution over the issue of Algeria, and are now known as the "Secret Army Organization". It is quite apparent that a similar organization exists in the United States, the only difference being that they keep their identities secret until they are retired and safely on the payroll of big business.

**ARMED FORCES**

With about 150,000 National Guardsmen being added to the Armed Forces, complaints are flying back to Congressmen that, as usual, things are petty well loused up in the training camps. Not enough uniforms, knives, forks and spoons to eat with, insufficient equipment, etc. They would also like to know what they are supposed to be doing, and how their wives and families are going to support themselves.

It would seem that with an annual expenditure of some \$40 billion for military supplies, that they could take care of the basic needs of this small group. But civilians are told that all of this is a "military secret" and we should not bother our pretty little heads about what they do with our \$40 billion a year.

makers can be stayed and nuclear war averted only by taking a truly independent path, only by never giving up the principle of self-determination, including the right of the German people to self-determination, only by fighting for a totally new world, free from exploitation, discrimination and colonialism on both sides of the Wall and both sides of the Iron Curtain.

WATCH FOR  
SPECIAL  
ISSUE ON  
**MAO'S  
CHINA**

backed up the Marshall Plan by the creation of NATO. To counter Stalin's offer, the United States promised Adenauer's Germany "protection," i.e., entry into NATO.

Khrushchev did not change Stalin's tactics until after the East German Revolt—and in its wake came the revolt in the forced labor camps at Vorkuta within Russia. It was this revolution against Russian domination which convinced the "de-Stalinized" Khrushchev to do Stalin one better and erect The Wall. In preparation for this, he began to give all who would listen lessons in "the facts of life." Will "the facts of life" which mean recognition of two Germanys and two Koreas and two Viet Nams now mean the recognition of three Congos!

Those who correctly oppose war cut the ground from under themselves when they think that the solution lies in "negotiations between East and West." That will solve nothing. The hands of the war