

# NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### What Next In Auto Shops?

Today I am one of the older workers in the plant. I began working on a farm at the age of ten. I can remember very clearly how hard the work was, chopping and plowing corn and cotton, digging ditches and working in the hay fields. However, you could take a few minutes to catch your breath and somewhat set your own pace.

At 16 I left the farm and obtained my first job in the city. It was an iron pipe factory. They made cast iron pipes, some 18 to 20 inches in diameter and 30 to 40 feet long. The daily talk among the workers was around the conditions of work and "why should a person have to work this hard in order to live?" I worked in many places like that in the deep South.

#### "THE UNION"

In 1924 I got my first job in an auto shop in Detroit. I was very happy because I had always wanted to help build cars and at the time I thought this type of work would be easy. It was not long before I knew that it was no different from those jobs I had in the South. Especially the jobs that were set up for Negro workers. Many of the whites had what seemed to be better jobs with higher pay rates than the Negroes.

The first time I heard the word "union" was in this auto shop. It wasn't said from the point of an organization but what it meant to workers in relation to working conditions, job protection, and higher rates in pay. It sounded great but I thought of it as a utopian dream. The big Depression eliminated this job and in the early 1930's I was back South.

#### CAME NORTH TO BUILD THE UNION

When the UAW began to organize through the sit down strikes in 1937 there was so much publicity and talk about the union that I quit my job to come back North to see what I could do to help. I attended every union rally and the number one points that were on every speaker's lips then was working conditions, job security, speed-up, equal rate of pay for equal jobs, and that the workers should have a say as to how much they can produce, the eight hour day and pay increases. "Strike and close the plant down if our demands are not met" was the slogan of the day.

This is the fundamental basis on which workers organized the UAW. When I got a job in the auto shops again, in the early 40's, I found the union in full swing and workers having their voices heard at the point of production. I and many workers felt that no organization ever existed on this earth as great as the UAW for working people.

#### "1955—LEADERS TAKE A DIFFERENT ROAD"

With the introduction of Automation in 1955 these same union leaders began to take a different road from the workers. They began to sacrifice working conditions and all the things the union was built on for fringe benefits and some broad economic plan.

Today there is no stopping speed-up and the working conditions are unbelievable. None of the jobs I have ever worked in all the years that I have been working compare to working on these automatic machines.

My last job on one of these man-killing machines I had to do 247 pieces an hour. Each piece weighs 37 pounds. A half-hour after I started I was soaking wet from sweating. When I got home at night I was still soaked. On this machine you can not set your pace, you can not even wipe your face. The machine is set by the company. You load and unload as fast as that machine demands. At quitting time my hands were so stiff I couldn't close them and every muscle felt as though they had been pulled out of place. You gasp for breath and it seems like all your strength leaves your body.

One worker said that he has to soak his hands in hot water and salt every night and morning to get them in shape to work the next day. Another worker asked, "Do you have any idea how many workers these machines have killed in the past several years?" He began to call out some of the names of workers who have passed away. "But," he said, "this is legal."

The union leaders can not say one word in defense of this type of inhuman working conditions. As one worker said, "It is a bankrupt outfit" not as far as its finances are concerned but in relation to the problems facing working people in the shops today.

Workers are saying we need something different. This is heard as often today as the need for a union was heard in 1926 and 1927. What will happen next I can not say but this talk among the workers does not sound, in my ears, like some utopian dream.

### INSIDE

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### NEXT ISSUE

Eye-Witness Report of Peace Demonstrations in Washington, D. C.

## JFK's \$93 Billion Budget For War Ignores Negro Rights

The recent announcement by President Kennedy that he intended to place a high-ranking Negro administrator Weaver, as head of a newly created urban Department was designed to make him appear as the number one champion of both the Negroes and the city workers. In actuality it doomed the proposal to immediate defeat.

### TWO WORLDS

#### In Memoriam:

### Natalia Sedova Trotsky

By Raya Dunayevskaya

#### ROLE OF WOMEN IN REVOLUTION

The death of Natalia Sedova Trotsky marks the end of the generation that achieved the greatest, and only successful proletarian revolution in history—the Russian Revolution in 1917. It has brought into sharp focus that other unique phenomenon—the unusual role of women in the original Russian Marxist movement.

One has only to compare an opportunist like Furtseva, the only woman to reach, for a single year, the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party, with a Vera Zasulich—one of the three founders of the Russian Marxist movement—to see the class abyss that divides one from the other.

I mention Zasulich rather than the one woman in the world Marxist movement that has made her mark as an original theoretician — Rosa Luxemburg—because, in memoriam of Natalia, I wish to speak of those women who had not gained theoretical leadership and therefore were very nearly disregarded except as faithful wives and mothers. (1) Vera Zasulich, though a leader, was known for her bravery and emotions rather than for any theoretical contributions although it was her letter to Karl Marx that had produced his answer on the special role that the mir (old Russian agricultural commune existing even in Tsarist days) might play if Russia could find a way "to skip" capitalism in her path to industrialization.

VERA ZASULITCH was only 16, in 1861, when she was first arrested. She was in and out of jails when she gained prominence for shooting the most hated Tsarist Governor General of St. Petersburg, Trepov, for the flogging of an imprisoned fellow student. The exciting thing was that she had turned her trial into such an expose of the horrors of Tsarism that even in those days (1878) the jury acquitted her! She was then smuggled out to exile and it is to her place that all who escaped from Tsarism found their way — Martov, Lenin, Trotsky. She was Plekhanov's colleague when he broke with the populists, attacked terrorism, and founded Russian Marxism.

Natalia told me that even though they were all convinced Marxists, that is to say, believing that only the mass movement can overthrow Tsarism or capitalism, and writing heated articles against terrorism, they would all feel so elated when some particularly hated Tsarist official was shot, that they would quietly drink to the dar-



Leon and Natalia Trotsky and the author—Mexico, 1938.

ing terrorist who had made that attempt.

#### DEATH AND DARING

When, on January 23 the air waves from France carried the news of the death of Natalia, there came over me both extreme sadness and yet a warmth and the kind of good feeling that comes from having witnessed intellectual daring and never-ending revolutionary optimism. For the tragic news of death followed on the heels of the last letter from her addressed to the French press that I received in which she hit back against the misrepresentations of the French press that had quoted her as saying that Leon Trotsky was allegedly "the spiritual father of Mao Tse-tung"

"These words don't belong to me at all," she fired back, "they were introduced by the writer of the interview . . . A great revolutionary like Leon Trotsky could not in any way be the father of Mao Tse-tung who won his position in direct struggle with the Left Opposition (Trotskyist) and consolidated it by the murder and persecution of revolutionaries just as Chiang Kai-shek did . . . I don't expect anything from the Russian party nor from its fundamentally anti-communist imitators. All de-Stalinization will

(Continued on Page 6)

Kennedy's subsequent fancy finger-waving at the GOP for taking a party stand against the proposal, was so clearly a cheap political trick that it fooled absolutely no one. All five of the Rules Committee Republicans voted against it but it was the four Rules Committee Democrats who likewise voted against it that defeated it. The vote was nine to six.

A Negro steel-worker's wife wrote News and Letters from Pittsburgh: "All Kennedy says is that things are getting better, but he is not doing anything to make it better. All I can see that he is doing is taking a few colored men who were already making money and giving them a job making more money. The people who put him in office he hasn't helped at all — the working men."

#### 'KENNEDY'S NO DIFFERENT'

The excuse offered by the President and the Attorney General for not presenting a single Civil Rights Bill this year or last can scarcely be expected to fool anyone either. It is certainly true, as they claim, that there are already plenty of laws against discrimination on the books, and it is a matter of enforcing them. However, the enforcement record of the Kennedy Administration in even protecting inter-state bus passengers from violence at the hands of white mobs (including the Attorney General's own personal representative who wound up on the streets of Alabama with a brain concussion) is, so far, worse than Eisenhower's. He at least sent federal troops to Little Rock so a little Negro schoolgirl could enter her classroom unharmed.

One Negro auto worker who had voted for Kennedy said, "I always admit it when I'm wrong, and I was sure wrong about Kennedy. He's no different than any other politician has been. When "Brother Bob" asked for stronger legislation on gambling and labor racketeering and every other thing in the world except Civil Rights, there was no more doubt about it."

It takes special gall to give credit, as the Attorney General recently did, for progress in Civil Rights during 1961 to "local Southern authorities" when it was precisely the "local Southern authorities" who stood by while Freedom Riders were beaten senseless; who jailed 322 Riders in Jackson, Mississippi alone; who in December jailed no less than 700 Negro citizens in Albany, Georgia, for marching to protest the illegal arrest of Freedom Riders there; and who now cannot seem to track down the perverted white sadists in Huntsville, Ala., who kidnapped a white sit-in sympathizer from his home, stripped and beat him, and then sprayed his body

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## Cutting Out Overtime Will Provide Thousands of Jobs

Detroit—"I've never resented working overtime in my life so much as I do now," a Chrysler Mack plant worker said, "even though I've been laid off twice in the last two months."

### In Local 212

## Bruce Denies Speedup; Men Say He Lies

DETROIT — Last month, Chrysler Corp. laid off another 1500 workers in the plants covered by UAW Local 212. The figures were reported by Local President Bruce at 212's regular meeting on Feb. 4.

Most of the lay-offs were from the Mack Avenue plant which, a few years ago, employed about 18,000. It now employs only about 2,500.

Bruce also reported that the company is considering plans to move door assembly from the Mack plant to Twinsburg, Ohio. He said the Union is trying to persuade the company not to go through with the transfer since this would mean the loss of many more jobs here.

He wasn't sure of the outcome, however. Production standards on the operation here, he said, have always been 307 an hour. In the Twinsburg plant, he said, the company can get 391 per hour with one-third fewer workers. He added, an additional problem is that business reports show Chrysler's sales have slipped from 12 per cent of the market to eight per cent.

A rank-and-file worker got up and said he was tired of hearing Chrysler's sales used by the Reuther leadership as a whip against the workers. He said that Reuther forced a terrible contract on the workers and the result is more lay-offs and more speed-up.

"How can we protect ourselves against anything the company wants to do," he said, "and how can we prevent them from moving operations if each plant has different production standards. One thing we have to fight for is uniform production standards that the men set in all the plants."

Joe Ferris, the International representative, denounced the worker for injecting "politics" into the question. He insisted that the contract and the leadership were very good, and that the men should back them both 100 per cent if they didn't want to see retirees lose the pensions they had worked so long for.

Bruce angrily defended his report and challenged the worker to prove that production is too high. He said that there were no grievances filed on the operation; that if there were a grievance the Union would act on it; that the absence of filed grievances proves that the men can handle the production without trouble.

One worker in back of the hall turned to his neighbor and said out loud, "How many thousands of grievances do we have to file before you can convince him? How about all the grievances they never settle? We might as well whistle in the wind. The only way he'll ever recognize a grievance is if he has to sweat it out with the rest of us slaves."

He was referring to the fantastic situation in his department, where layoffs have cut the work force from 300 to about 50 men. And the company has the nerve to schedule a ten-hour work day.

"It isn't just that there are so many men laid off," he continued, "it's the pace of the work, too. No human was ever made to stand that pace, and yet we force ourselves to try to keep up for eight hours a day. After eight hours of that, you're just drained, physically and emotionally. Nothing but a shell of a human being. But to force two more hours on top of that on you . . . I just can't explain it, there just aren't words to tell you how you feel."

### BUMP EVERY DAY

Every day one or two men are bumping into his department. And you have to be laid off for at least one week before you can bump into another job.

You can imagine how these men who are bumping or are being bumped off work must feel about working overtime. If they have been just bumped, they face at least a week out of work; if they are bumping in, they have been out of work for at least a week.

With this kind of situation, you also never know from one day to the next if you're going to be next one bumped. The "security" the UAW bureaucrats boasted they had negotiated in the last contract is something the company sure can laugh at.

### IN ALL OF AUTO

Naturally, the workers are raising plenty of hell about this overtime at Chrysler. But it isn't only in Chrysler, it is in all of auto.

Scheduling of overtime by GM has reached such huge proportions that the 400-member national GM Council, meeting in Detroit in January, blasted overtime work and quoted overtime figures that are unbelievable in the light of the thousands laid off in auto.

The national overtime hours in auto were: 436,000 in October, 1,220,000 in November, and 1,097,000 in December. In Detroit alone, the overtime figures were: 231,997 hours in October, 430,243 in November, and 670,408 in December.

If this ridiculous overtime was not permitted, in Detroit it would have meant jobs for 1500 laid off auto workers for the whole month of October, jobs for 2200 in November, and jobs for 4200 in December.

The mail carriers in London have found a way to fight "increased productivity." To show their protest, they are following each regulation of the post office to the letter. Thus they have slowed down so much that the letters are stacking up in the office, and no one is getting their mail.

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By Charles Denby  
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## Done His Conker Is a Flipped Lid

At Ford the struggle of the men to better their condition, against the company's callous regard for them, continues. The engine assembly department, for years manned mostly by the lowest type of company-loving, boss-sucking lot of crawlers of the whole plant, has been "gingered up" by an influx of commercial assembly men from "F" building.

Shop stewards of engine assembly have been told that the men will back them up in any difference with the supervision. The company men have been warned to watch their step. It won't take much for real action to happen.

At present, the men do their hourly schedule. If there is another five minutes to the end of the hour, a five minute gap occurs as the engine blocks are placed on the floor instead of the line.

Last week when this first happened the foreman ran down the line to find out why the men were having a rest. When he was told that they weren't doing any above the schedule, he just about done his conkers. As all the men were ready to walk out if he penalized any one man, he kept quiet, simmered down, and barged off back to his office like a worried rhino wallowing through a bog.

Flushed by this little "victory," the men are ready to go further and embarrass as much as possible their hated tormentors.

Ford Worker  
Britain

## POX, Chrysler Plus Union Puts Them All on the Line

Los Angeles, Calif — At the Chrysler plant where I work, the bulk of the people were hired in 1954. The layoff we had goes back to Nov. 11 of '54, and cut deep. Many people have been put on the line that never worked on a line before, even though they had been working in the plant for eight to ten years.

Many of these persons were janitors or in stock, but the PQX (Physically Qualified, Except—) workers are going to be the janitors and have the other light jobs.

Out of 1200 workers, 300 are PQX in that factory. You can see that one-fourth of the people in that plant can't do the work. They are using these people to get rid of the older fellows, and the way they work it is slick.

### YOUNGER BUMP OLDER

The way they have it now, most everyone in that plant at one time or another is going to be on that line or out on the street. The man who took my job had '52 seniority, but he had to bump me because he had been bumped out of his job by a PQXer who had '54 seniority.

The guy that bumped me sure didn't like it, and I don't blame him. He had never worked on a line before, and it's a lot rougher than what he was doing.

But the union said: "You don't want the guy (PQXer) on the street, do you?" That is the kind of arbitration that goes on. So rather than let the PQXer with '54 seniority go, he is able to bump the guy with '52 seniority back onto the line—who bumps me. I just feel sorry for those

## Auto Is Bad, Steel Worse

A friend of mine works in a steel mill in Birmingham, Ala. I was talking to him recently, and we were swapping notes about our jobs: He told me about the big layoffs and inhuman speed-up in steel, and I told him about the big layoffs and inhuman speed-up in auto.

But he did tell me something that I found hard to believe when he first told me, but I hear it's the same everywhere in steel — North and South, East and West. It seems that if you are a steelworker, you work until it runs out—then you go home. It may be one hour, or two—or ten hours a day (See boxed item).

In a way, this part isn't too different from other industries —if there's no work for you, you just go home. But the part I found hard to believe was that after you get home, after they send you home from the plant, you've got to stick by your phone because the company can call you back in to work any time of day or night . . . and you better be there to get the message to return to work.

In other words, you can't plan to be away from your home for hardly any time at all. You certainly can't plan to take a trip for a week-end with your wife or family. Why you can't even be away for only a few hours—unless you have somebody posted at your phone who knows where to call you at all times and places.

And on top of this, my friend

said that what they're getting is about 32 hours of work a week.

In the South generally, there have been some changes concerning workers — particularly Negro workers. One of these changes is a result of the pressure of White Citizen Council and Ku Klux Klan groups.

Everyone has heard the story about Negroes being forced to say "Yes Sir" or "No Sir" to Southern whites in years past. But in the past 10 years or so, this had been gotten pretty much away from. Now these reactionary Council and Klan outfits are trying to reinstitute the degrading practice.

## Same Here!

PITTSBURGH, Penn.— A fellow worker that lives across the street from me told my wife that he was just plain fed up and tired of being sent home from the mill after only two or three hours of work before or after lunch.

He said he had worked for two weeks—and had only put in 32 hours in that time. He said he would rather collect compensation than spend the money it takes for his lunches and his carfare back and forth to the mill. He would actually make more money on compensation.

But he said that if they call you to work you have to go—or collect nothing. And they work him just long enough to make sure that he can't draw compensation, then make him spend the rest of his time at home.

The way it is worked is that if you get a job, you go to the personnel boss first. He asks you if you will abide by the rules of the company.

If you just say "Yes", and you're a Negro, you are stepped short. The boss lets you know then and there that one of the rules for Negro workers is "Yes Sir" and "No Sir" when speaking to whites. So if you want the job, you'll Yes and No Sir.

It isn't that workers who are forced to do this are Uncle Toms, or aren't real fighters. There are plenty that have to swallow more than any man ought to, but they need jobs.

### ONE UNCLE TOM DID GOOD

There are Uncle Toms too, of course. And there is one working in a plant just outside of Birmingham who isn't hated too much by at least three of his fellow workers.

As it happened, this Uncle Tom Negro bent so far over backward to do anything to please his white bosses that they took quite a liking to him. Everything went along well for a while, but then the company had a layoff recently. They kept the Uncle Tom, but laid off three workers who had more seniority than he did.

The men working there raised such a yell that the company, rather than lay off their "favorite," recalled the three men. As one of the workers said, "I hate an Uncle Tom, but this one did some good for a change—he saved the jobs of three men."

Editor's Note: The column The Working Day by Angela Terrano will re-appear in our next issue.

# Report On Alabama

## "Let Them Pass All the Laws They Want"

On my way down to Birmingham, Ala., this month I ran into a situation I have never seen before. All the way down to Alabama, the trip was pretty normal. But once we get inside the state line, all of the way into Birmingham the main highway had police cars stationed about every 25 miles.

The cars were off the road, but turned around to face the highway. And there wasn't a soul to be seen near any one of them. I've been back there many times, but I've never seen anything like that before.

In Birmingham itself, there are stories and conditions that make you both want to laugh and cry.

### ON ONE BUS

As everyone knows, the Birmingham Bus Boycott in 1956 desegregated the buses, and Negroes sit now where they choose. One day a white woman got on a bus, and it just so happened that in all of the front double seats at least one Negro was seated. There were several seats open beside Negroes, but she wasn't having any of that. She turned to the bus driver and told him to order one of the Negroes to another seat so she could sit by herself.

The bus driver looked at her and said, "Lady, that's not my job anymore. But I'll tell you something. If you want the job, you're welcome to it." She didn't take it.

Another bus episode had to do with a practice that began soon after the buses were desegregated. According to the city law, it is illegal for a driver to permit passengers to get off through the front bus door. You're supposed to get on in front and get off through the rear door.

However, many bus drivers started to permit whites to get off at the front door, while refusing the same treatment to Negroes.

### ON ANOTHER BUS

Then one day a Negro woman, who had been watching as the driver of her bus let whites off at the front door, decided she'd test this situation.

As she got near her home, she watched and waited until a white man made his way toward the front door with the intention of getting off at a bus stop. Just as the bus stopped, she was up front behind the white man.

The bus driver refused to open the door, reminding her of the law. She reminded him of what she had been watching during her ride. The bus driver refused to open the door; the Negro lady refused to budge. For a full 15 minutes a battle of words and wills went on.

At times the stopped bus caused traffic jams, the bus passengers were getting angry—and finally the driver cracked. He opened the front door and the white man and the triumphant Negro lady got out.

But the situation in Birmingham is pretty bitter, too. Laws are being passed constantly by the city government to try to preserve segregation, but all of these repressive measures are taken pretty calmly by the Negroes. As one Negro there stated with an air of supreme confidence:

"Let them pass all the laws they want to. We know we're going to get our vote, and when we do, we'll just wipe out all of those laws."

### SHOTS IN THE NIGHT

But getting the vote is something else, especially in the rural areas. There is one monument on a road outside of Birmingham to the struggle the Negroes are fighting to get their vote. This monument is a very well built brick house—an empty one. A Negro had lived there. He had built the house for his wife and himself and was living in it. And he was determined that he was going to vote, so he went into Birmingham and registered.

That night a knock came at his door. A voice asked if there was anyone there who could help fix a flat tire on a car stuck on the road.

As the Negro opened his door to help, a group of whites standing at the door opened up with guns they held in their hands. The Negro fell to the floor, not dead, but critically wounded.

He eventually recovered in a hospital, but his wife took him to Chicago for fear of another attempt on his life if he remained in his home.

His house, by the way, still has those bullet holes all over it. Anybody can see them. But this attack and thousands like it will never stop the Negroes—nothing can.

## As Others See Us Upsurge of Revolution

The Twilight of European Colonialism

Stewart C. Easton (Methuen, 50s.)

Afro-Asian Revolutions  
Raya Dunayevskaya (The Left Group, Cambridge Univ. Labour Club, 1s.)

Concluding his massive survey of the end of empires, Professor Easton notes that "colonialism . . . will soon be a phase of history to be studied by historians."

Raya Dunayevskaya, on the other hand, studies the new colonialism. "Without the aid of the majority of workers of a technologically advanced country neither the African nor Asian revolution can escape capitalist exploitation and the bureaucratic State planner."

The Cambridge pamphlet is essential reading if the dead weight of fifty shillings worth of neo-academism is not to grind us to apathetic dust.

Professor Easton is an old-time American. With obvious

## U.S. Policy and Katanga's

# Tshombe, Puppet of Belgium Financial Interests

The U.S. has had to do an about-face on the question of Katanga's secession from the Congo, and now admit, as if it was something that just happened, what has been known all along—namely, (1) that the Katanga secession was connived and illegal; (2) that Tshombe is not a majority but a minority leader; (3) that the government of Tshombe has been backed and financed by Belgium's mining interests—chief of which is the Union Miniere.

In view of the fact that it now looks as if yet another "deal" is in the offing, perhaps once again to white-wash Tshombe after he has "accepted" the Central Government, it would be well to take a closer look at Union Miniere.

In existence since 1905—as the arm of the infamous King Leopold who horrified the entire civilized world with his atrocities against the native Congolese whose forced labor was used to expand the enterprise—Union Miniere had grown by 1960 to such a size that it contributed roughly \$60 million to the \$140 million annual budget of the entire Belgian Congo Treasury.

BELGIUM FINANCIAL interests in the combine formed by the Societe Generale de Belgique, Tanganyika Concessions Limited and Union Miniere—whose boards of directors are almost completely overlapping and interlocked—were, in 1958, 50 years after Belgium first took control of the Congo, some 3½ billion dollars, 220 million of which were held by the government directly.

Some idea of the all-encompassing tentacles of these corporations can be gleaned from the fact that Societe Generale de Belgique holds controlling interest in the following firms, among others: Forminiere, with exclusive rights to diamond mining in Kasai; Geomine, with exclusive tin mining rights in Northern Katanga; and Becka, which owns and operates all the railroads in Kasai and Katanga. Even more mammoth, Union Miniere lists among its subsidiaries: Metalkat, which operates all the coal and zinc mines in Katanga; Sogelec, which operates all the chemical processing; Sogefor which operates in the agricultural sphere; and

delight, he surveys (from George Washington's Republic) the decline of the old tyrants. His pages are filled with (relatively exciting) historical narrative. He tries to be impartial.

But this 1776-manner is confused by his NATO-consciousness. He thinks that the Portuguese "might find themselves mistaken" in trying to grind the Angolans, but also muses that "if the Maltese ever do come to feel they 'never had it so good' (under British rule) then it is possible that the political problem will come within range of solution."

Over the French Community he manages at one time and the same time to tell us that Guinea was treated a little too harshly, yet Sekou Toure "never understood" the Franco-African Community, and Houphouet-Boigny's pro-de Gaulle policy "in a quiet way" is trying "to increase amity and co-operation."

He commits himself most clearly when he says, over the Congo, that "the independent African nations, if they could but perceive their own interests . . . cannot impose their will . . . against the determination of the West."

In short, in spite of the vast supply of material at his command Professor Easton has been able to do little more than provide a piece of Cold War propaganda.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Trotsky's former private secretary, sums up her thesis by saying:

African Metals Corporation which handles American purchases.

IN CONTRAST to the vast natural wealth of this area, which has been called a "geological monstrosity" so rich is it in all the ancient and modern minerals—copper, coal, diamonds, tin, zinc, cobalt, cadmium, palladium, gold, uranium, etc., etc.—and even more in contrast to the billion dollar profits which these fat corporations sweat out of the labor of the Congolese people, the per capita income of the average Congolese is about \$75 a year. For many it is far less.

What is even more damning to the Congolese people, however, the African freedom fighters as a whole, and the freedom fighters throughout the world, is the now "suddenly" exposed news that the dividend payments on the government-held stock of Union Miniere,

legally owed upon the Congo's independence, to the legitimate Central Government of Lumumba, were paid instead to the Katanga Treasury—and are to this day being used to finance Tshombe's puppet regime, the white mercenary armies, and the army and air forces that threaten not only the Congo but the peace of the entire world.

This brief concentration on Union Miniere does not mean that Belgium alone has Congo interests. Britain has vast financial interests there—and so does Rockefeller.

EDITOR'S NOTE: For an analysis of the Congo Situation see "The American Katanga Lobby and the Congo Crisis" by Raya Dunayevskaya, available as the Weekly Political Letter of January 2, 1962, which may be ordered from News & Letters for the price of 20 cents.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### The Fight Will Go on Until We Win

During the past holiday season a group of colored people were sitting around and talking. Finally some one brought up the question of the poor working conditions and unemployment. One asked the other did he think that jobs will ever be the same as they used to be. The answer was, "No, never." Everyone let these companies bring in these automation machines to do the work for the rich people. They want to keep

"The greatest obstacle to the further development of these national liberation movements comes from the intellectual bureaucracy which has emerged to 'lead' them. In the same manner the greatest obstacle in the way of the working class overcoming capitalism comes from the Labour bureaucracy that leads it."

The analysis that accompanies this seems to me to be one of the most exciting pieces of political thinking to appear for some time. Miss Dunayevskaya tries to place Marxist theory alongside the mid-20th century revolutions and draws strongly from the experiences of Lenin, Sun Yat-Sen, Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and recent revolutionaries.

She emphasizes the international character of Socialist and freedom movements and concludes that "short of finding the principle that unifies their struggle for freedom with that of the common people of the advanced countries, there is no way out."

If this has been said before, it has hardly been put clearer. As we witness the revolution of the colonies, the need to define the internationalism of Socialism has never been more urgent. The "neutralism" of Belgrade or Trafalgar Square needs an application of theory similar to that which Miss Dunayevskaya is attempting if it is to get beyond the protest-and-slogan stage.

JOAN DAVIES  
London Tribune, Sept. 29, 1961

all the money they can in their pockets to prove that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

But now they see it is not working out so good. The government has to do something for the poor workers and the older people since they can't work for what they need. They will have to think of some kind of work to give the poor workers to do because it looks like it is going to be the same kind of panic they had in the '30's. Then they had to get people back to work again by building highways and tearing up streets and building new ones. Then it was called the WPA.

### U.S. STILL IN DARK AGES

Anyway you take it, all Administrations and all the officials can't find a way to come out of this hard way of people trying to live without jobs.

Where there is a will there is a way, but after 99 years of fighting for freedom, the new year found the Negro fighting for the same problem—freedom. Although we will wrestle with the same old problems in 1962 that we struggled with in 1961, the most important one will be the question of peace and freedom for all. It looks to me like this country is going back to the Dark Ages, just as it was 96 years ago with nowhere to go and nowhere to stay.

In the South the crazy officials are closing up all public places like playgrounds, parks, etc. and even cut out baseball because they hate for the Negro to go anywhere the white can go. That would be too much integration in the South.

They want to go by the "Southern law," but they don't know that the Negro is not thinking about that old law that the whites made some 100 years ago. They don't know that time has run out with the idea that the Negroes have to be the last in everything. This fight will go on until we win.

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# Editorial

## World Aspect of Negro History

The carpet of time was rolled back, on a recent Sunday afternoon in Detroit, to bring two of America's greatest human beings across the century from their time to ours. On Feb. 11, a marker was dedicated on East Congress Street, at St. Antoine, in downtown Detroit, to commemorate a meeting between Frederick Douglass and John Brown in 1855. Four years later, Brown's stand at Harper's Ferry changed the course of history.

### NEGRO HISTORY IS AMERICAN HISTORY AS IT FLOWS TO MEET ALL HUMANITY

It is of secondary importance that the dedication of the Brown-Douglass Historical Marker was the ceremonial launching of Negro History Week in Detroit, complete with a proclamation by the Mayor acknowledging that fact.

The overriding truth is that Negro history is American history which gave the world a new dimension in the meaning of freedom. Its cornerstone was laid in the struggle against slavery that united masses of Negroes and whites in a new human kinship forged by the great Abolitionist Movement.

This is the Humanist core of Negro history. It is the heritage of struggle against subjugation and exploitation which has re-created itself so deeply and fully in our time that it now embraces the world from the Freedom Riders in the United States to the Freedom Fighters in Africa.

The fact that one special week out of 52 is designated as Negro History Week bears glaring witness to the reactionary campaign to re-write history. There would be no need for a special week if there were no vicious attempt to exclude Negroes from their rightful place in American life, and to degrade the mass movement. It bears glaring witness that official America denies our youth their right to education—their right to take pride in the truth of our revolutionary inheritance.

### A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH

In the days of Frederick Douglass and John Brown such deceit was challenged with unrelenting dedication. Though oppression wears the dominant white face, the struggle for freedom knows no color line. The great Abolitionists devoted themselves to the study and practice of the Humanist struggle. They considered it a matter of life and death with the fate of humanity in the balance.

In our days, it is the Negro historians who have taken the lead in preventing the falsifiers of history from slandering the past. The late Carter G. Woodson, for example, founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915. Eleven years later, on Feb. 7, 1926, he inaugurated the first observance of Negro History Week. Every year since then, Negro organizations have celebrated the event, while a certain number of white organizations and officials recognize it with lip service.

But the real movement forward, in the tradition of men like Brown and Douglass, has been achieved by the masses themselves.

—as in 1936, when, Negro and white, they combined in the labor movement to build the CIO.

—Or now, in the 1960s, when they are making living history by uniting in the fundamental fight for civil rights as exemplified by the Freedom Rides.

### HUMANITY AGAINST BARBARISM

The road to the future runs from the past. This connection between theory and practice, between social ideals and the mass movement, was seen by another great Abolitionist, Wendell Phillips. In 1862, a few months shy of 100 years ago, he said:

"I do not think we have any claim to govern this country on the ground that we have more cannon, more men, and more money than the South. That is a bald, brutal superiority. The claim of the North to govern must be founded on the ground that our civilization is better, purer, nobler, higher than that of the South. Our civilization is ideas, rights, education, labor.

"I hold that the South is to be annihilated. I do not mean the geographical South, but the intellectual, social, aristocratic South—the thing that represented itself by slavery and the Bowie knife, by bullying and lynch law, by ignorance and idleness, by the claim of one man to own his brother, by statutes existing on the books of Georgia today, offering \$5,000 for the head of William Lloyd Garrison. That South is to be annihilated."

He spoke not of region against region, nor race against race, but of humanity against barbarism. What was an American outpost in the world struggle for freedom 100 years ago girdles the globe today and crosses all national barriers.

### THE LIVING HISTORY OF TODAY

What the American Wendell Phillips said from the North in 1862, comes back to us, in 1962, amplified by the new Humanism which the Africans call "Negritude." For example, Leopold Senghor of Senegal:

"Negritude is the whole complex of civilized values—cultural, economic, social and political—which characterizes the black peoples, or, more precisely, the Negro-African world . . . In opposition to European racialism of which the Nazis were the symbol, we set up an 'anti-racial racialism' . . .

" . . . our Negritude is humanistic . . . it welcomes the complementary values . . . of all other races and continents. But it welcomes them in order to fertilize and reinvigorate its own values, which it then offers for the construction of a civilization which shall embrace all mankind. The Neo-Humanism of the 20th century stands at the point where the paths of all nations, races and continents cross, where the Four Winds of the Spirit blow."

Thus, the Humanism of today's Africa, and the Humanism of the Freedom Rides—which deepen the unfolding struggle both for full equality and for a new world relationship—move Negro History Week from an academic ceremonial observance to the living history of today.

# Readers'

## MAO TSE-TUNG—THE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

I found your supplement on Mao Tse-tung to be the most original piece of writing I have seen in a long time. I myself have been a student of China for many years but had not been able to see the very complicated Chinese scene as an integral picture until your study which illuminated the picture for me a great deal more than the university did.

It is peculiar how all these American specialists on China either parrot the state department lies or the Communist lies. Both seem to agree that "order" is of the essence, and there fore, while one prefers Chiang and the other Mao, both lend a deaf ear completely to the voices of revolt.

Finally the refreshing attempt to bring in Hegelianism in place of Confucianism in the analysis of "Mao's Thought" makes me anxious to know when your new book will be out.

Can you tell me more about that?

Professor  
Massachusetts

The press implies that Russia may have to side with us against China soon. The radicals of course are already siding with China. Your Supplement shows just what the radicals are siding with—a man who is so inhuman that he can say, "Even if 200 million of us were killed, we would still have 400 million left," when talking about the possibility of nuclear war!

Working Woman  
Los Angeles

After all these years of discussions on Trotsky vs. Stalin (and vice versa) on the question of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, it was great to see that some Marxists have reached our age.

Old Radical  
New York

As I see it, a state-capitalist like Mao "dehumanizes the idea" of freedom by reducing it to "freedom from" Chiang or Imperialism, and leaving out freedom as being man's relationship to man. That's how he can create "communes" through tyranny and terror, instead of basing the reorganization of production on the creativity and the self-activity of the population.

He can pretend to be a Marxist-Leninist, and call himself anything he wants, but he can't convince the Chinese masses that his system is anything else but what it is—barbarism. With all the powerful State machinery at his disposal, he still can't destroy the thought, which is the greatest human necessity, freedom.

Committee Member  
California

I found the article a comprehensive picture of the struggle of classes inside and outside of China. It is something you can't find anyplace else.

Metal Worker  
Los Angeles

I wish we could get your special issue on Mao Tse-tung into the hands of every African leader. I have been studying with some African students here and their preoccupation is how to industrialize their land in the shortest possible time. Since China claimed to be able to do it with its "Great Leap Forward" the attraction was almost magnetic. But when they read in your article of the actual conditions of the great masses of Chinese they had second thoughts. They are, after all, natural Humanists.

Student  
Lansing, Mich.

After three or four centuries of imperialism in China, to see 600 million people reduced to such a ruthless way of living just can't be the best that's possible in this age of technology. It's a dismal outlook for any underdeveloped country who wants to go this way to industrialization.

Production Worker  
Los Angeles

Dunayevskaya has given a magnificent historical analysis of the fraud and deception imposed on the largest human mass on earth—the Chinese people under Mao Tse-tung. The great tragedy of today is that the brutality and misery, which both Mao and Khrushchev can only maintain in their own lands by force and terror, is being palmed off to the rest of the world—especially Latin America and Africa—as Marxist-Leninism.

This analysis points to the need for the philosophy of Marxist Humanism where the unity of man's mind and muscle in continual communication with his world will produce the human wholeness that is alien to subservience to leaders—at the same time that it makes of every man a leader.

Reader  
Los Angeles

After so many reports on the Sino-Soviet dispute in which Mao is portrayed as the dogmatic Stalinist and Khrushchev as the revisionist, it is indeed refreshing to see an analysis which puts it in its proper perspective. It not only shows that both Khrushchev and Mao are the opposite of Lenin but lets us hear the voices of the youth, peasants, and workers in their reactions to State-Capitalist China.

Student  
Los Angeles

### FALL-OUT

The "Great Debate" over fallout shelters was put in proper perspective last week during a debate between Malcolm X and Christian leaders in Buffalo. The question that was raised was whether the whites would admit Negroes to the shelters during an attack when they won't even admit them to lunch counters! Makes you think.

Student  
New York

This month's booby prize goes to the atomic scientist out in California who campaigned all over the country to prove that fallout shelters can save you and then went home to discover that his own shelter had burned up in a local brush fire.

Committee Member  
New York

Editor's Note: Extra copies of the January Special Supplement, "Mao Tse-tung, From the Beginning of Power to the Sino-Soviet Dispute," may be obtained from News and Letters for 10c, plus 5c for postage and handling.

## UNEMPLOYMENT AND OVERWORK

I hear politicians talking about a "stable economy." But I can't figure out what they mean. What is stable about an economy where so many aren't working? The situation today is hopeless for the millions who are unemployed. Yet those who are still employed are made to work long overtime hours—sometimes almost double the regular shifts. Whatever they mean about "stable" they don't mean it in regard to working people.

Still Working  
Detroit

When Goldberg talks of increased productivity, it means just one thing to me, some workers are going to lose their jobs. "Increased productivity" means one worker doing the job of two.

As a matter of fact, Khrushchev and Goldberg want the same thing. Khrushchev wants 100 per cent increased productivity now, and 300 percent by 1970. But the Plan always goes wrong because the Russian workers show their opposition to it by slowing down, so if the Plan calls for 1,000 workers, they will be forced to use 2,000.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

Do you have any idea of how many men have actually died from Automation? You won't find it down on their death certificates. The cause is called "heart attack" or something like that, but any worker in a plant today knows that it is Automation that is the real killer. Three guys died in three weeks in our plant just before this last lay-off. It was the first time in my life that I was relieved to see the man give me a pink slip.

Gratefully Unemployed  
Detroit

It's an economic law that the unemployed are used as a threat to make the workers work longer hours, not shorter. That's why Kennedy is so mortified when any section of the working class wins a 25 hour week.

But they don't need any help to cut wages. If a worker has been the victim of the last three years of "prosperity" he'll take any job when he's laid off. I know a worker who two years ago was laid off 8 months and worked 4. This year he was laid off 9 months and worked 3.

Working Woman  
Los Angeles

## News & Letters

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National Editorial Board

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# Views

## WORKERS AND THE COMMON MARKET

I don't see how Mr. Goldberg can get any more unity out of Labor and Management.

He asks for more automation, and to increase its efficiency, workers and management alike must "undertake every reasonable effort to step up productivity."

In order to compete with the European Common Market, and the Communist Economic World, the American worker is going to have to pay for it through more automation (unemployment) and more efficiency (speed-up).

Unemployed Auto Worker  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

I went to five different stores looking for cotton gloves made in the U.S.A. I can't find any. The way I look at it is this—if someone wants to buy Japanese or Hong Kong made gloves, okay. But it ought to be okay, too, if you want U.S.A. gloves. And there just aren't any. Why?

If the U.S.A. is a democracy let us choose for ourselves, not have imports shoved down our throats. It's all the store keeper can get from the jobber or wholesale houses, so it's not his fault.

The U.S.A. garment workers fought hard for good working conditions and now our country repays them by not even getting their products on the market. I think I need a soap box.

Housewife  
New York State

\* \* \*

## FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

I ran across a statement made by the great Negro Abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, which I thought was so up-to-date that it would make a perfect motto for Negro History Week: "Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation are those who want crops without plowing up the ground — they want rain without thunder and lightning."

H. Bear  
New York

\* \* \*

I was in prison with your Freedom Riders last summer at Parchman. I have always been dissatisfied with the choice of philosophies and choice of governments presented to most people of the world. They can merely choose between American state capitalist exploitation or Russian state capitalist exploitation. I was glad to hear of a group of people who are dissatisfied with this choice and who are working to do what they believe will better the condition of the common man.

Freedom Rider  
Washington, D.C.

\* \* \*

I am going to give the pamphlet to my American History Professor, as I know he would want to read it, if he hasn't already.

College Student  
New York

When I first read "Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves," I was amazed at what had happened in Mississippi for I was out of the country during the Freedom Rides. I was shocked at the torment and the torture the Riders were put through, and touched that people of the white race felt so strongly that they were willing to go through it, too.

The only way to overcome segregation is through this kind of unity between both races. The pamphlet shows too, that this movement has the total support of the Negro race. It has to touch anyone who reads it, anyone who has a heart.

New Reader  
California

\* \* \*

Even though I have met and talked with Caucasian Riders, I somehow still can't understand why they went. I can't see why they would jeopardize material and social prestige to go on the rides. I keep looking for ulterior motive.

I know from just talking to Caucasians where I work, that I as a Negro, have a completely different philosophy from them on everything. So I'm still not convinced.

Skeptic  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

I wasn't too surprised at how fast the pamphlets went in our shop with the Negro workers. (I guess I spoke to every guy I know about them, but after the first 40 were sold and the guys started reading them, people I didn't even know came over to me to ask for them.) What was the most important thing to me was that a white worker who got one came back after he read it and gave me a dollar to help out.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

We were disturbed because at our plant gate sales the Negro workers were so eager to buy our Freedom Rider story that they stood in line to buy one, but most of the white workers walked by. We decided to try to get it to white readers another way—at a nightclub where Miriam Mekaba, the South African singer, was appearing. It gave us a white audience and a good cross section of African students as well, and we sold a hundred with little trouble. It does not answer the problem of getting it to the white workers though.

Concerned  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Thank you very much for the copies of Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves, which we have incorporated into the Labadie Collection. It will please you to know that the Collection was consulted twice during the Christmas recess by scholars interested in the sit-in movement and the Freedom Riders.

Librarian  
University of Mich.

\* \* \*

We distributed about 100 copies of News and Letters at a Ford plant near here and sold \$5.50 worth of Freedom Rider pamphlets as well.

Committee Member  
New York

I've just finished reading the book, Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves. It's wonderful. I really think that more of this kind of material should be written. There have been many more arrests made in Louisiana lately.

Student  
Tougaloo, Mississippi

\* \* \*

We sold the Freedom Rider pamphlet at the Longshoreman's Union meeting tonight. One worker came out of the hall after he had passed by to get one, so I asked him if he would take in a few to his friends inside. He said sure and in 10 minutes came out with \$1.25—and asked me for 10 more to sell in his neighborhood.

Committee Member  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Jan. 18--Please mail me Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves. What else do you publish of interest? Enclosed find 25c.

\* \* \*

Jan. 27--Thank you for your list of publications. Please send News and Letters for one year. Also the Afro-Asian Pamphlet and the Weekly Political Letters of Nov. 18, Oct. 16, Oct. 30, and Nov. 27. Enclosed is \$2.05.

Interested  
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.

\* \* \*

## WEEKLY POLITICAL LETTER

As students, we appreciate the Weekly Political Letters very much, because they are succinct enough to be studied just by themselves, when we don't have much time to do more than that, but at the same time are important enough to be studied along with a lot of other background material when we do have time to go into them more deeply. They are the best analyses I have ever read.

Student  
Connecticut

\* \* \*

I enjoyed the Weekly Political Letter on the Kattanga Lobby. I have been on every continent of the world—in the Army. And I have found that the rich man is the same all over the world, regardless of the color of his skin, or his nationality, or anything else. Everyone knows of the exploitation the Europeans brought to Africa, but what makes people think that somebody like Tshombe isn't walking their same path?

Negro Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

## PRAISES M.D.

Quite by chance I had an opportunity to read the December, 1961 News & Letters, and found the article "A Doctor Speaks" most thought provoking, particularly since I work in a New Haven Hospital. More people should have your courage to speak out on these vital issues. I would be interested in attending a News & Letters Committee meeting in New Haven and in receiving your newspaper. I enclose one dollar in check.

New Subscriber  
New Haven, Conn.

# A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

## Racial Inferiority—The Excuse For Slavery In Its Last Ditch Stand

Watching the maneuvers of the "leaders" in the deep South—the petty and the major, the official and the self-proclaimed — sheriffs, police chiefs, mayors, governors, legislators, industrialists and even clergymen and college professors, all striving to keep the Negro "in his place" one senses an increasing desperation in their activities.

Physical force and economic pressure are no longer sufficient to hold down the volcano. Schools are closed and even public parks locked. These are small sacrifices to maintain the superior economic status of the white Southerner. The myth of Negro inferiority must be maintained; and presently a grand attempt is being made in high circles to document the inferior quality of their inheritance. THE BARBARIC "SOUTH"

Carlton Putman is a prominent, wealthy, white Southerner; former chairman of the board of Delta Air Lines, and a writer. He has produced a book "Race and Reason" which takes issue with the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, on the ground that the decision is based on a perversion of science invented and popularized by a minority group of scientists.

The Louisiana state board of education has made the book required reading for college deans, professors, and other instructors, for all students enrolled in courses in Anthropology, Sociology, or Psychology; and all students enrolled in the required course in Americanism vs. Communism.

### THE "EDUCATORS" NEED EDUCATING

The Governor of Alabama made a grant of \$3,000 to Wesley C. George, Professor of Anatomy at the University of North Carolina, to make an impartial study of the question (inferiority of the Negro race.) George has already given us his opinion in an introduction to Putman's book, emphasizing the book's inescapable scientific validity. He states that there are vast differences between the races justifying enforced segregation to prevent degeneration of our civilization.

The American Anthropological Association, at its annual meeting last month, came forth with the following unanimously supported solution: The Association "repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and innate mental ability, inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States."

George responded with a letter to the New York Times comparing his rejection by the anthropologists to the condemnation of Galileo for his belief that the earth moved around the sun. Putman called a press conference to read a statement that the Association was deceiving the American public. He asked the Anthropologists to throw off the control of radicals; indicating that these were Jews.

The cautious and somewhat negative statement by the society of the professional students of mankind lacks vigor and wholeness. There is a touch of evasion in the phrase "there is no scientifically established evidence." The fear of ignoring difference between races does not justify leaving the door of inferiority open for possible future discoveries.

The fact is, that no evidence can ever be found to justify inherent racial inferiority. Greater wisdom from the American Anthropological Association requires a universal view, not a lame statement of technicians so highly specialized that the lack wholeness and therefore would seek safety in the grey middle.

## BOOK REVIEW

THE ARTIST AND SOCIAL REFORM (France and Belgium, 1855-1898) Eugenia W. Herbert, Yale University Press 1961 \$5.00.

Reviewed by Peter Mallory  
This interesting book deals with a rather brief period of human history (13 years) during which artistic efforts and social movements met in a common cause for the betterment of mankind. While the book makes no effort to go beyond the intentions of its title, it does shed a great deal of light on the years 1885 to 1898.

The author was fortunate enough to have access to the archives of Jean Grave (1854-1939), the leading Anarchist-Communist of the period and has been able to collaborate with the still living relatives of many of the artists and writers of that period. Through these associations she is able to build an intimate picture of the thought which dominated the artistic work of Pissarro, Signac and others of the Neo-Impressionist school of art, and the symbolists through which many of the social ideas of the Kropotkin school of Anarchism found expression.

She makes no claim for this school being "first" in the field and gives credit to Daumier and those of the French Revolution of 1848 for having broken down the role of the artist from that of the servant of the upper classes to the role of placing their talents at the service of the revolution. She shows that the school of Neo-Impressionism took art out of the field of the easily understood, as did the Symbolists in writing, and tried to create works that were food for thought, not mere representations of easily identified objects.

The struggle to create the new school was a struggle against the existing social order. They believed more in the autonomy of the individual artist than they did in making propaganda for its own sake. Yet, the work of Pissarro, Signac, Cross and Angrand are a reflection of their political ideas.

The Artist and Social Reform illuminates more than the period under consideration. It also serves a valuable purpose for serious people interested in the wide interrelation of the ways and means of expressing the aspirations of mankind, be it art, writing or the various ways in which political expression takes place.

Editor's Note: The Two Worlds column, because of the special article on Natalia Trotsky, appears on pages 1 and 6.

## TWO WORLDS

## The Legacy of Natalia Trotsky—A Beacon to the Future

(Continued from Page 1)

prove to be a trap if it doesn't lead to the seizure of power by the proletariat and the dissolution of the police institutions, political, military and economic, based on the counter-revolution which established Stalinist state-capitalism." (2)

This was the first time that Natalia Trotsky had used the designation of state-capitalism in her reference to established Communism, in China or in Russia "or all others based on the latter model." Never before had Natalia developed a position beyond that developed by her famous husband. Because of this, I must confess that when, in 1947, I had come to visit her, I still thought that her theoretical development had been willingly stifled because she had subordinated everything in her life to that of Leon Trotsky.

I had asked her what about her Diary (to which Trotsky refers and quotes in his *My Life*.) She said she had undertaken it only to help Trotsky remember certain events in periods when he was so preoccupied that he couldn't pay attention to them, and that Trotsky had exaggerated the diary's value. I felt that in no case would she publish it if she thought any views she had might differ from those of Trotsky. But both 1951, when she broke with the American Trotskyists, and 1961, when she exposed Khrushchev's de-Stalinization as a fraud "based on the counter-revolution which established Stalinist state-capitalism" proved me wrong.

## Natalia meets Lev Davidovitch

Natalia Sedova Trotsky first came in contact with the revolutionary movement in Tsarist Russia when she was only 15. When still in her teens she emigrated to Europe to study, and there joined the small Russian emigre group around the paper, *Iskra*. This modest self-effacing young woman had been assigned to get a room for a new and promising young theoretician who had just escaped from Siberia and whose name she had not been told. It turned out to be Lev Davidovitch Trotsky, and she was asked to make sure that he was not wasting time but preparing for his first lecture in Paris.

THIS WAS THE ONLY incident of her personal life that Natalia ever told me during the years (1937-38) that I was in Mexico as Trotsky's secretary. She said that she just couldn't get herself to enter Trotsky's room and deliver the message of the need to concentrate on the lecture. She therefore told the older comrade that she thought he was preparing since she had heard him whistling. Her interpretation of the whistle, however, was not accepted and she was sent back to knock on the door and speak to him. She was blushing and walking slowly toward the room when Lev Davidovitch burst out of it, almost knocking her over.

It was love at first sight. She was then almost 21. She remained his life-long companion. Through the exile from Tsarism, and in Tsarist prisons, through the tidal wave of revolution and in power, in exile from Stalin till the tragic murder parted them.

Natalia's Only Tears,  
and the Moscow Frame-Up Trials

I shall never forget the only time I ever saw Natalia cry. News came of the death of her son, Leon Sedoff, in Paris. I happened to have been the first to have gotten the tragic news when I answered the phone while we were all at the table eating lunch. I did not dare face anyone with that news. Stalin had persecuted her other son whose whereabouts we didn't know. He had persecuted Trotsky's daughters by his first wife as well as the wife herself until death by suicide or torture. And now this—I just sat through lunch, pretending that it was a wrong number, and at the end of the lunch the secretariat got together to figure out who should break the news to Leon Trotsky and who to Natalia. We all decided that only Leon Trotsky could be the bearer of such news to Natalia.

They departed to their rooms and in a moment came her scream. We did not see them for eight days. The blow was the harder not only because Leon Sedoff had been their only living child, but also because he had been Trotsky's closest literary and political collaborator. When Trotsky was interned in Norway, gagged, unable to answer the monstrous charges levelled against him in the first (August 1936) Moscow Trials, Sedoff had penned

*Le Livre Rouge*, (3) which, by brilliantly exposing the Moscow falsifiers, dealt an irreparable blow to the prestige of the GPU (Russian Secret Police).

In the dark days after the tragic news had reached us, when Leon Trotsky and Natalia were closeted in their room, Trotsky wrote the story of their son's brief life. It was the first time since pre-revolutionary days that Trotsky had written by hand.

ON THE EIGHTH DAY Leon Trotsky emerged from his room. I was petrified at the sight of him. The neat, meticulous Leon Trotsky had not shaved for a whole week. His face was deeply lined. His eyes were swollen from so much crying. Without uttering a word, he handed me the hand-written manuscript, *Leon Sedoff, Son, Friend, Fighter*, which contained some of Trotsky's most poignant writing. My eyes set first on this statement, "I told Natalia of the death of our son—in the same month of February in which, 32 years ago, she brought to me in jail the news of his birth. Thus ended for us the day of February 16th, the blackest day in our personal lives . . . Together with our boy has died everything that still remained young within us." The pamphlet was dedicated "to the proletarian youth."

The following morning the papers carried the announcement of the Third (March 1938) Moscow Trials, scheduled to open within two short weeks of the death of Leon Sedoff.

One day shortly after this Natalia went for a walk with me in the woods and there she began to cry quietly and asked me not to let Leon Trotsky know since he more than anyone needed all his strength and our help to answer these fantastic, slanderous charges from the man in the Kremlin who was bent on murdering the one man (Trotsky) who could still lead a revolution against the bureaucracy and restore the Russian, and thereby the international movement to its Marxist path of liberation.

WITH THE BEGINNING of the Third Moscow Trials we had to forget everything else and concentrate on fighting the fantastic charges. Stalin, backed up by the might of Russian state and military power, had been preparing the stage for these monstrous frame-ups for a full decade. Leon Trotsky had only two hours in which to answer—and that only because the Mexican press would tell him what charges came over the teletype and held the presses open for him to answer.

## Natalia's Full Stature

Two years after the Trials had been exposed not only by Trotsky himself, but by the Commission of Inquiry, headed by the late John Dewey, as the greatest frame-up in history, a GPU agent drove an ice-axe into the head of Leon Trotsky. In the lonely, hectic decade that followed, Natalia also found that she had to separate herself from the Fourth International her husband had founded.

When I had visited Natalia in 1947, she had asked me about my writings. Although I had broken with Trotsky over the class nature of Russia and its defense, she not only treated me as a colleague because of my past association with Trotsky, but was very interested in finding out what were the theoretical reasons for the break. She had me translate for her, word for word, the articles on the Russian revisions of Marx's theory of value. (4)

She refused, however, to take a position on the designation of Russia as state-capitalist. She said that it was implicit in Trotsky's fight against the bureaucracy, that she felt he himself would have reached that position had he lived through to the end of the war and seen the Stalinist exploitation of Eastern Europe. But she insisted that she simply did not know enough theory to venture out on her own when Trotsky had died before coming to such a conclusion. (5)

IN 1951, however, she felt she had to speak out against the American Trotskyists for falling into the trap created by Tito's break from Stalin as well as the Korean War. She wrote to the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in unflinching Bolshevik language.

A decade passed before we saw from her pen her final conclusion that Russia was a state-capitalist society. It came during the 22nd Russian Communist Party Congress where that obedient Stalinist in Stalin's lifetime—Nikita Khrushchev—dared to picture himself as an anti-Stalinist as if his suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of

1956 had not been in the true counter-revolutionary tradition of Stalin. The Trotskyists, not having learned anything from these counter-revolutionary actions, were now tending to accept the ground rules that Mao was laying down on war and revolution.

Again Natalia refused to follow. This time she hit out against both Khrushchev and Mao. She did not limit her attack to an attack of "bureaucracy." She rose to her full stature and declared both countries state-capitalist, warning that all "de-Stalinization will prove to be a trap if it doesn't lead to the seizure of power by the proletariat, and the dissolution of the police institutions, political, military and economic . . ."

## I Shall Remember Natalia

Shortly thereafter she fell ill. On January 23 she died. The last words of this frail 81-year-old Bolshevik had all the revolutionary vigor and the optimism of a new, youthful adherent to Marxism. She leaves this generation a great heritage of heroism, independent thought, and devotion to world liberation that gives the appearance of a lack of any personal life. But I shall never forget the one moment of tears when her son died.

I shall remember Natalia in that one moment when she let the tears rain down, but reminded me not to tell Trotsky about it, and not to let it interfere with the needs of the movement—to expose the Moscow Frame-Up Trials. It so clearly expressed the combination of personal tragedy and worldwide concern, the discipline old Bolsheviks imposed on themselves not to let anything interfere with the liberating movement that presses ever forward.

I shall remember Natalia as the great revolutionary whose thoughts were as majestic as her devotion and her daring in speaking out even against those who had led the movement her husband had founded because nothing at all could stay in the way of principles.

I shall remember Natalia as the mother who had brought up her children in the midst of all these hardships to be revolutionaries in their own right, men of character who knew how to stand up to might and not flinch.

I shall remember Natalia for the legacy she has left us of a generation that made a revolution, saw the first workers' state transformed into its opposite—state capitalism—and yet wavered not either in its principledness or its optimism.

I shall always remember the tenderness that shone through the hard-as-flint attitude toward the rulers of the world who are now leading us to a nuclear holocaust.

Death here becomes a beacon to the future—the inter-communication between the ages will continue until a new, liberated world is born.

## FOOTNOTES

(1) To this day the American Trotskyists maintain this type of bourgeois attitude. In the February 5, 1962 issue of *The Militant*, the article that is supposed to praise Natalia's life is, in actuality, derogatory of her role as revolutionary and as an independent thinker. Their condescension reaches its most paternalistic hue in a reference to disagreements between them: "But this (period of political disagreements) never altered the respect or affection or material support which the movement tended her." While they fail to publish her letter breaking with them, they do go out of the way to slander her by innuendos which imply that, if it were not for the wisdom of "the leaders of the SWP" (Socialist Workers Party), Natalia would have fallen into the trap of the House Un-American Committee. Wouldn't it have been more honest if they, at least, had published her last statement denouncing Khrushchev and Mao which showed how totally different her method of fighting Stalinism is from their shadow-boxing!

(2) For the full text, see January, 1962 issue of *News & Letters*.

(3) First appeared in Russian as special issue of the *Opposition Bulletin* (organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists), edited by Sedoff in Paris.

(4) "A New Revision of Marxism" in *The American Economic Review*, September 1944, September 1945.

(5) For the full text, see below.

Natalia's Break  
With The SWP—1951

To the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:  
Comrades:

You know quite well that I have not been in political agreement with you for the past five or six years, since the end of the war and even earlier. The position taken on the important events of recent times shows me that, instead of correcting your earlier errors, you are persisting in them and deepening them. On the road you have taken you have reached a point where it is no longer possible for me to remain silent or to confine myself to private protest. I must now express my opinions publicly.

The step which I feel obliged to take has been a grave and difficult one for me, and I can only regret it sincerely. But there is no other way. After a great deal of reflections and hesitations over a problem which has pained me deeply, I find that I must tell you that I see no other way out than to say openly that our disagreements make it impossible for me to remain any longer in your ranks.

The reasons for this final action on my part

are known to most of you. I repeat them here briefly only for those to whom they are not familiar, touching only on our fundamentally important differences and not on the differences over matters of daily policy which are related to them or which follow from them.

Obsessed by old and outlived formulas you continue to regard the Stalinist state as a workers' state. I cannot and will not follow you in this. Virtually every year after the beginning of the fight against the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy, L. D. Trotsky repeated that the regime was moving to the right under conditions of a lagging world revolution and the seizure of all political positions in Russia by the bureaucracy.

Time and again, he pointed out how the consolidation of Stalinism in Russia led to the worsening of the economic, political and social positions of the working-class, and the triumph of a tyrannical and privileged aristocracy. If this trend continues, he said, the revolution will be at an end and the restoration of capitalism will be achieved. That, unfortunately, is what had happened, even if in new and unexpected forms. There is hardly a country in the world where the authentic ideas and bearers of socialism are so barbarously hounded. It should be clear to everyone that the revolution has been completely destroyed by Stalinism. Yet you

continue to say that under this unspeakable regime, Russia is still a workers' state. I consider this a blow at socialism. Stalinism and the Stalinist state have nothing whatever in common with a workers' state or with socialism. They are the worst and the most dangerous enemies of socialism and the working-class.

You now hold that the states of Eastern Europe over which Stalinism established its domination during and after the war, are likewise workers' states. This is equivalent to saying that Stalinism has carried out a revolutionary socialist role. I cannot and will not follow you in this. After the war and even before it ended, there was a rising revolutionary movement of the masses in these Eastern countries.

But it was not these masses who won power and it was not a workers' state that was established by their struggle. It was the Stalinist counter-revolution that won power, reducing these lands to vassals of the Kremlin by strangling the working masses, their revolutionary aspirations. By considering that the Stalinist bureaucracy established workers' states in these countries, you assign to it a progressive and even revolutionary role. By propagating this monstrous falsehood to the workers' vanguard, you deny to the Fourth International all the basic

(Continued on Page 7)

## Angolan Freedom Fighter New Yorkers Hear Holden Roberto

NEW YORK — It was a break for those of us who live in New York City that Holden Roberto, the spokesman for the Union das Populacoes de Angola spoke here recently under the auspices of the American Committee on Africa, the group in America that has done the most to publicize and aid the African freedom struggles.

The Portuguese and their friends here in the U. S. had done their best to make everyone believe that the struggle in Angola had ended and what activity there was in that country was the result of Communist propaganda. The audience was eager to hear what Roberto had to say. The meeting began with an American missionary who had been exiled from Angola by the Portuguese. He told of the atrocities the Portuguese colonialists had committed there and were still committing. The history of Portuguese Colonial rule in Africa has been one long atrocity.

When Roberto spoke, he did not speak of atrocities, he spoke of struggle. He told the audience of the plans the Angolan fighters had for their country after its liberation, education being its greatest need. He mentioned the reason for the lack of news from the front in Angola. It was the onset of the rainy season that cut down guerrilla activity. Roberto promised that the Portuguese would know when the dry season had begun, "not by the weather reports, but by their casualty lists." He finished his speech, which was spoken throughout in a tone of quiet triumph, by inviting the audience to visit the free republic of Angola when its people gained freedom.

After his speech, he answered questions from the audience. Most asked what could they do to help the Angolan revolution. There were a few loaded questions about the influence of Communism. Roberto answered that the Angolan revolution was an African revolution and that no foreign power had any influence on it.

At the end of the question period, someone giving a Portuguese name and, by the tone of his questions, obviously from the Portuguese information service stood up and asked a series of inane questions. He demanded to know what Roberto's real name was, what passport he held, who was supporting his revolution, was he really a Communist and did he visit Stanleyville and see Patrice Lumumba.

The Portuguese propagandist was apparently used to different audiences. He expected the mention of the name Lumumba to send shivers down the spines of the listeners. At the mention of Lumumba's name, however, the entire group broke into a cheer, Roberto stood smiling.

WHEN THE CHEER died down, he answered the questions. His real name was Holden Roberto; he held an African passport; he claimed proudly that it was the free countries of Africa that were supporting his people's revolution; he was not a Communist, and rejected the ideologies of both the East and the West; he had not had the privilege of meeting Patrice Lumumba when he visited Stanleyville. He stated that he did not defend the wisdom of everything Lumumba did, but that he was a great patriot and a great African.

All men who fight for their freedom as human beings can take example from the Angolan revolutionaries. All men can echo their slogan "Lutamos para Liberdade"—"Let us fight for freedom."

### "The Southern Way of Life"

## Sit-Inner Sprayed With Mustard Gas By Sadists

HUNTSVILLE, Ala., June 22: A 27-year-old white technical writer who was abducted at gun-point after joining CORE lunchcounter sit-ins in Huntsville, Alabama was in Huntsville Hospital today suffering with itching, peeling, blistering skin.

He was sprayed with oil of mustard by his kidnapers, according to Dr. S. W. Hereford.

Marshall Keith was at home reading just after midnight when two men knocked at the door. They said they had a flat tire and asked to borrow a jack. As Keith opened the door, a gun was stuck in his back and the two blindfolded him.

Keith, the first white man to join in Huntsville CORE demonstrations, was then driven to a remote part of town, partially stripped, beaten and sprayed with the chemical substance.

A CORE Release

## CORE Demonstration Housing Bigotry Challenged

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—On Feb. 8, four members of CORE were arrested while sitting-in at the Woolworth building here which houses both the offices of the Republican and Democratic Town chairmen.

The four, who were charged with breaching the peace, and later released on \$100 bond each were part of a group of twenty protesting the failure of the Board of Aldermen to pass a fair housing ordinance, that was turned down on Feb. 6, by a 19 to 13 vote.

The passage of the ordinance would have been a beginning in making better housing available to the Negro population. One of the signs the demonstrators carried read, "We Blame Both Parties."

The temper of the demonstrators was exemplified by a remark made by Blyden Jackson, local CORE president, when he was told at an earlier demonstration, that his group was inconveniencing people who had nothing to do with the way the Aldermen voted. He is reported to have said, "Twenty-four thousand Negroes are inconvenienced by the lack of good housing."

The refusal of city bosses to pass the Fair Housing Practices Ordinance has solidified supporters of the bill. CORE which is now being supported by NAACP, the Ministers Alliance and other groups, plans to continue protest demonstrations until a fair housing ordinance is enacted.

## Demonstrating For Peace

This week (Jan. 29-Feb. 4) I, along with other New Yorkers and people all over the world, participated in the first of what is going to be a series of "World-Wide General Strikes For Peace."

Only a few hundred New Yorkers braved the February cold and took time off from their jobs and families to demonstrate and say "No" to nuclear war and the kind of society that leads to it. However, one remembers that the Peace demonstrations in places like London and Tokyo number countless thousands.

The "strike" included a series of picketings, sit-ins, and demonstrations at the Atomic Energy Commission, The Internal Revenue Office, the American, Russian, French and British Missions to the U.N., the Army Recruitment Office, and the Stock Exchange. It ended with Neighborhood Walks, a Children's Walk, and a torch-

## New Beginnings

By Eugene Walker

### Freedom Referendum

At the University of California at Los Angeles there has been a great deal of discussion on the Freedom Riders. This is due to the fact that five students from UCLA went on the Freedom Rides and are now appealing to the school for bail money.

In order to obtain the money a petition was circulated asking the student body for approval. Their petition was then presented to the Board of Control (the body which must approve how money from the general fund is spent) for a final decision. Within three days a rival petition was being circulated asking the students not to approve the money.

#### "THE REAL REASON"

The reason given for this second petition was supposedly not the issue of Freedom Rides but the idea of giving university money for a non-university issue. However, the authors of the second petition made plain in a letter to the Daily Bruin, the University newspaper, their real reason—they did not want to give money to "criminals" who had violated the "laws" of Mississippi.

While most of the students of the university seem to be for the Freedom Riders there is opposition to the loan. Much of this opposition arises from changes made in the allocation of money for loans and scholarships. UCLA had recently raised the requirements for scholarships so that many peo-

ple who had previously been eligible for scholarships can no longer obtain them.

#### "THE NEW SOCIETY"

At a Peace Rally, speakers like the architect Paul Goodman emphasized that the movement cannot only be "against" war. They looked for a new society of men as the result of the struggle for peace. Others, like pacifist Dave McReynolds, pointed to the "rotteness" of the leaders on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and said that the peace movement will be successful only when it appeals to the workers.

Although the demonstrations were small, it must be remembered that the N.Y. Times refused to print the paid advertisement of the Strike Committee, and that the press and T.V. gave almost no news of the strike.

The address of the Strike Committee is: 789 West End Ave., Apt. 2C, N.Y. 25, N.Y. —H. Bear, N.Y. Correspondent

Money was recently denied for a home coming parade and oddly enough, many students feel that if they cannot afford to give money for a homecoming parade they should not loan it to the Freedom Riders. One student said that when the students went on the Freedom Rides they were just five students and did not go as representatives from UCLA and therefore should not get the money.

On the other side there are a great number of students who feel that the money should be given to these ten students. One student said, "We spend thousands of dollars for stuff such as homecoming celebrations. Now we have a chance to use the money for something worthwhile."

While some of the students are legitimately dissatisfied with the handling of University funds the main issue the UCLA student body is being faced with is whether or not they support the Freedom Riders and the fight against segregation.

The editorial in the Daily Bruin cut through the legalistic and abstract argument stating: "Because of what these students stand for, we urge a vote in their favor."

#### NOT SO "PURE"

The opponents to the loan are content to becloud the issue at question, refusing to deal with it in the same cut and dry fashion as the Bruin editorial. But leaders of the opposition to the loan have recently published an ugly right-wing journal aptly called the Weekly Gargoyle. One of them previous was winner of an essay contest sponsored by the John Birch Society.

As things stand, it will be difficult to ascertain how many of the students are voting with the broad issues uppermost in their minds, but it does seem that the vote to be cast will be a barometer indicating the influence of McCarthyite forces contrasted to the popularity of the cause of the Freedom Riders.

#### BULLETIN:

As we went to press we received word that out of a student vote of 3532, 60 percent voted approval of the loan to the Freedom Riders. The vote was 2086 for and 1435 against.

## Natalia's Break With The SWP-1951

(Continued from Page 6)

reasons for existence as the world party of the socialist revolution. In the past, we always considered Stalinism to be a counter-revolutionary force in every sense of the term. You no longer do so. But I continue to do so.

In 1932 and 1933 the Stalinists, in order to justify their shameful capitulation to Hitlerism, declared that it would matter little if the Fascists came to power, because socialism would come after and through the rule of Fascism. Only dehumanized brutes without a shred of socialist thought or spirit could have argued this way. Now, notwithstanding the revolutionary aims which animate you, you maintain that the despotic Stalinist reaction which has triumphed in Eastern Europe is one of the roads through which socialism will eventually come. This view marks an irremediable break with the profoundest convictions always held by our movement and which I continue to share.

I find it impossible to follow you in the question of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. All the sympathy and support of revolutionists and even of all democrats, should go to the Yugoslav people in their determined resistance to the efforts of Moscow to reduce them and their economy to vassalage.

Every advantage should be taken of the concessions which the Yugoslav regime now finds itself obliged to make to the people. But your entire press is now devoted to an inexcusable idealization of the Titoist bureaucracy for which no ground exists in the traditions and principles of our movement.

This bureaucracy is only a replica, in a new form, of the old Stalinist bureaucracy. It was trained in the ideas, the politics and morals of the G.P.U. Its regime differs from Stalin's in no fundamental regard. It is absurd to believe or to teach that the revolutionary leadership of the Yugoslav people will develop out of this bureaucracy or in any way other than in the course of struggle against it.

Most insupportable of all is the position on the war to which you have committed yourselves. The Third World War which threatens humanity confronts the revolutionary movement with the most difficult problems, the most complex situations, the gravest decisions. Our position can be taken only after the most earnest and freest discussions. But in the face of all the events of recent years, you continue to advocate, and to pledge the entire movement, to the defense of the Stalinist state. You are even now supporting the armies of Stalinism in the war which is being endured by the anguished Korean people. I cannot and will not follow you in this.

As far back as 1927, Trotsky, in reply to a dis-

loyal question put to him in the Political Bureau by Stalin, stated his views as follows: For the socialist fatherland, yes! For the Stalinist regime, no! That was in 1927! Now, twenty-three years later, Stalin has left nothing of the socialist fatherland. It has been replaced by the enslavement and degradation of the people by the Stalinist autocracy. This is the state you propose to defend in the war, which you are already defending in Korea. I know very well how often you repeat that you are criticizing Stalinism and fighting it. But the fact is that your criticisms and your fight lose all value and can yield no results because they are determined by and subordinated to your position of defense of the Stalinist state. Whoever defends this regime of barbarous oppression, regardless of the motives, abandons the principles of socialism and internationalism.

In the message sent me from the recent convention of the S.W.P., you write that Trotsky's ideas continue to be your guide. I must tell you that I read these words with great bitterness. As you observe from what I have written above, I do not see his ideas in your politics. I have confidence in these ideas. I remain convinced that the only way out of the present situation is the social revolution, the self-emancipation of the proletariat of the world.

Natalia Sedova Trotsky  
Mexico, D.F.  
May 9, 1951

## JFK'S \$93 BILLION BUDGET FOR WAR IGNORES NEGRO RIGHTS

(Continued from Page 1)

with tissue-destroying mustard gas!

### SOUTHERN NEGROES SHOW THE WAY

No amount of twisting of the history that is being made right now will be able to change the facts. Whatever progress in Civil Rights has been made—and more had been made in the few short years since the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott than in the near century since the Civil War before then—it is the result of the daring, courage and activity of the Southern Negroes and the growing number of whites they have inspired by their boycotts, sit-ins, picket-lines and Freedom Rides, which were carried through in spite of the do-nothingness of the "progressive" administrators in Washington.

That is why the Negro people—86 per cent of whom voted for Kennedy—cannot be fooled into believing that their lives will be much affected whether or not one top-ranking Negro such as Weaver is elevated to a higher post—even one as high as the President's Cabinet itself—while they still cannot even vote in the states of the Deep South, sit at lunch-counters unmolested, live where they choose North or South, and while no less than 22 percent of the Negro workers in this country are now unemployed.

### PERMANENT UNEMPLOYED ARMY

The steelworker's wife continued in her letter: "Kennedy is always saying in his speeches that everything is much better for everybody. I wish he would stop trying to fool the people. Maybe it's okay for the big man, but the little man can see no difference. He is still not working and plants are still closing down all around us.

"Kennedy just won't let it touch him because he is so full. He needs to get away from the White House and visit some of the laid-off districts to see all the men standing around as if every day is a holiday—only with nothing in their pockets."

### RECESSION HERE TO STAY

Since the end of World War II there have been four major recessions, one every 3 or 4 years: the first in 1949-50; the next in 1953-54; another in 1957-58; and now the one we are supposedly recovering from, 1960-61. There is nothing accidental in their regularity, and each one has been more ominous than the last. 1963 is bound to be another recognized recession.

The present 93 billion dollar budget assures only one thing—build-up of the military. The militarization of the economy may keep the economy from tumbling down to a

1929-type Depression, but recessions are with us to stay even as is the army of the unemployed.

Of the 150 major industrial areas in the United States, no less than 101 were on the "surplus area list" last year. While Kennedy was able to boast in his State of the Union Message that these have now been reduced to "only" 60 he had to reveal in his Economic Message a few days later that the total number of unemployed throughout the land has scarcely decreased at all, from 6.8 to 6.1 percent.

### AUTOMATION'S BRAINWASHING

The President, big business and the so-called big labor leaders all have one solution to the problem—more Automation. Thus while Kennedy offered the capitalists no less than an eight percent tax credit for investment in modernizing equipment, that is, more Automation, the labor bureaucrats on the President's Labor-Management Advisory Committee including Reuther, McDonald, Meany and Dubinsky among others, made haste to agree with the representatives of big business on the board that Automation and "technical progress" must continue in U.S. industry, and that it can be done "without the sacrifice of human values."

Automation may have brainwashed the labor leaders, but it cannot brain-wash those who have been its sacrificial victims already—neither those who have been thrown out of work, nor those who are still on the job working under the inhuman, speed-up conditions it has imposed.

In their massive strikes at the time of contract negotiations this past year the auto workers in particular made it unmistakably clear to the companies, the Administration, and the Union alike that conditions of work was the crucial question, and that they, and not their "leadership" have the answers.

### FREEDOM NOW

The Negroes and the workers in America have shown that they want nothing to do with a "burden and glory of freedom" that consists of a permanent army of unemployed, a civil rights "program" that is good only as a trade-in for some gentlemen's agreement between Northern and Southern politicians, and a \$93 billion budget that is 80 percent for military build-up and its offspring, space exploration.

Unlike Kennedy who could afford in his State of the Union Message, to postpone the freedom he called his "vision of the future" to some indefinite date neither today, nor tomorrow, nor even "in our lifetime"—the Negro people and the workers have made it clear that they want freedom NOW.

## Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

### Fiasco at Punta del Este

On February 2, Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, appeared on T.V. at the prime evening hour of 7 p.m. to inform the American people of his successes at the Conference of American States at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

The truth of the matter is that while getting a unanimous vote against some kind of abstract "communism," when it came to the concrete question of reading Castro's Cuba out of the OAS he got only 13 states, most of them right-wing military dictatorships representing only 25 per cent of the population, to vote for his measure.

On the basis of their votes for Rusk, the semi-feudal dictatorships in Paraguay, Haiti and Nicaragua, already receiving military aid, will qualify for a handout under the "Alliance for Progress" program. The extent of their democratic rule can be gauged from their national income, where the annual wage of a worker averages \$4.00 a week.

Guatemala is one country that has gone through a genuine post-war revolution against its military dictators. But that country now, along with El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Chile and Peru are ruled by conservative regimes where a handful of the rich own the land, the industry, and control the government and armed forces.

More significant than the 13 votes mustered by Rusk to expel Cuba from the OAS is his failure to persuade the governments representing 75 per cent of the people—Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Mexico—to vote with him. The 13 states for Rusk "represented" one fourth of the people or 48.8 million; those who abstained represented 131.4 million.

While the vote is no indication that all the dictatorships are on one side or that an abstention is any sign of progress, it does show that the vote for Rusk did not constitute a majority of the Latin American people and the vote cannot, by any stretch of the imagination be considered as a victory for "democracy."

So strong is the history

and tradition of Yankee imperialism in Latin America that regardless of country, the "cold war" has created conditions under which no country feels free to act independent of the U.S.

It was not Castro who created the social and economic conditions which characterize Latin America today. It was Yankee imperialism, acting with the connivance of the remnants of the Spanish and Portuguese semi-feudal native rulers, propped up by military force and openly aided on occasion by the U. S. Marines that made Latin America what it is today.

A short look at the average annual income in South America shows Venezuela with the highest, \$700 a year (\$14.00 a week) down to less than \$2.00 a week for Haiti.

In Venezuela, where oil, iron ore and great wealth pour into U. S. coffers, two thirds of the population remain illiterate; 300,000 farmers are without land while 74 per cent of the land is owned by 2 per cent of the people; hundreds of thousands remain unemployed. The government budget of over \$100 million per month is used to build facilities like roads and ports to accommodate American companies while the unemployed demonstrate in the streets.

In Peru the yearly income of Simon Patino is greater than the entire national budget. Hundreds of cattle kings, land barons and oil millionaires fill the resorts of Europe exporting billions torn from Latin America. U. S. Corporations export more billions (non-taxable in the U. S.) while Latin America cries for capital to provide industry to support the population.

Under the circumstances you would think that the one thing that is new in the policy of the U. S. State Department—the Alliance for Progress with its promise of \$20 billion which is supposed to go into economic development over the next 10 years—would have been the guiding light of the conference. Instead Rusk was so anxious to railroad Cuba out of the OAS and earn himself

a good name with right-wing Republicans, that this new so-called Alliance for Progress was hardly discussed.

Everybody from Kennedy to Rusk have suddenly blossomed out as experts on "Marxism-Leninism," although their ignorance is as abysmal as the illiteracy in Latin America, where 50 per cent of the children have no school to attend and only 1 out of 20 get a grade school education. Just because Castro has now declared himself to be a "Marxist-Leninist" is no reason to take his word for it.\*

Because the Cuban Revolution was a genuine people's revolution that overthrew the hated and corrupt Batista regime; because the Cuban peasants demanded and got agrarian reform even though the land is in the hands of the State rather than his own; because the peasant does not wish to return to the old days and accept his lot under an American inspired invasion; because of these things Castro must pretend to be a Marxist while perverting the revolution into its opposite. (See News & Letters, Feb. 1959, Jan. 1960, and December 1960).

Kennedy and Rusk, by forcing an identity between Marxism, a theory of liberation, and Communism, a totalitarian dictatorship, take advantage of the American worker's hatred of totalitarianism in order to narrow down the choice, to try to force acceptance of capitalism and of the status-quo. They seek to identify the revolts in any Latin American country with either Castro or Communism if they do not support the U.S. State Dept.

The pyrrhic victory won by Rusk at Punta del Este will turn to ruinous defeat if he counts on the people of Latin America to continue acceptance of the status-quo and his interpretation of "Marxist-Leninism" as something to stand for all time.

\*For a further analysis of this see the Weekly Political Letter of Feb. 5, 1962, "JFK's Wilful, Vicious Ignorance of Marxism and Rusk's Dollar Democracy." News & Letters, 20c.

## One-Half Million Parisians March In Protest Against the OAS and De Gaulle

Paris came to a standstill on February 13 when workers struck on buses, subways, trains, airports, in schools, at electric plants and gas plants. The half-day general strike was in protest against DeGaulle's murderous police who had killed eight workers in the demonstration on February 9 which had been called against the OAS but which DeGaulle called "Communist," turning his storm troopers, not against the OAS, but against the demonstrators.

On February 13 the Catholic trade unions as well as the socialist workers, liberals as well as Communists, teachers and students—the entire population showed its opposition to the terrorism of life in France. One half million strong, they marched silently, massively, powerfully.

While the day before De Gaulle brought out his 25,000 gendarmerie who had drawn a cordon sanitaire around the Place de la Republique to prevent a Communist demonstration, they this time did not dare interfere with the marchers. They couldn't very well stop the whole population, and all, except the OAS itself and De Gaullists, had turned out to mourn the martyred dead. Despite rainy weather, hundreds of thousands were marching silently, carrying wreaths, bouquets. The whole square and the side-streets leading into it were a sea of lillies, roses, violets, and all kinds of flowers.

This greatest outpouring of humanity since the liberation from the Nazis was directed as much against De Gaulle and his big talk but do-nothingness against the OAS as against the OAS itself.

The Secret Army Organization, formed of old De Gaulle Army associates who had brought De Gaulle to power, and General Salan, and the others who are under sentence of death in France, continue with immunity to kill, rob banks, seize public property and terrorize the population of Algeria in defiance of all law. Since January 1 they have killed over 750 people, injured over 1,000 more and their blood lust demands an average of 15 killings a day. While photographers can find General Salan and photograph him in his new disguise, the mighty De Gaulle doesn't even dare look for him.

By their general strike and demonstration the French masses have shown they will no longer permit De Gaulle's do-nothingness and OAS terrorism.

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