

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

10¢

VOL. 8—NO. 7

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

AUG.-SEPT., 1963

10c A Copy 6d in Great Britain

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

March on Washington

The March on Washington on Aug. 28 was the biggest demonstration this country's "lawmakers" ever saw. No less than 150 Congressmen made sure they were right there to be counted. They were there to count, too. What they were counting was how many votes they would win or lose in their home state, depending on what they did or said that day and in the days to come. These congressmen show what real hypocrites they are when they pretend that the March would really have "no influence" on them.

The March was also the first huge one that had a big percentage of whites. It gave notice to the Administration that they are dealing not only with Negroes who want their freedom, but with whites who feel that none can be free until ALL are free.

There was a big difference between the enthusiasm and spontaneity of the Southern marchers—many of whom came directly from jail cells to participate—and the delegations sent from the North. Some of the Southern youth, in fact, never stopped picketing while they were in the Capital. (See Eugene Walker's column, page 6, for more on this story). By contrast, many of the workers participating from the North felt regimented by too much "central organization" and by too much discipline from the labor bureaucracy which controlled their delegations. One Detroit production worker who marched as a UAW delegate and has been a strong civil rights fighter all his life, gave these views of the mammoth Aug. 28 March, as HE saw it:

This was the second historic Freedom March that I was a part of this year. The first was here in Detroit on June 23, where they at first reported that 250,000 participated in the march with many thousands more packed on the side streets. Later the Police Department reported only 125,000. In Washington the number reported varied from 200,000 to 250,000.

The big difference in these two mass marches was not in the numbers reported, however, but that the Detroit march seemed to me to be predominantly workers and common people, with no age limits. There were whole families, from small children to senior citizens. In Detroit it also seemed to be a more predominantly Negro march, but the feeling and morale was so high in Detroit that day that you felt as though you could almost touch your freedom. You felt as though nothing was going to stop this powerful force from achieving what it wanted. There were placards of all descriptions. Negroes here are still talking about it.

UNIONS DISCIPLINE THEIR DELEGATIONS

In Washington, it seemed more organized by central committees and you felt more as though you were disciplined. The delegates from the local unions were told to follow orders. They were hurried the minute they arrived to a field where they were given their placards. There were thousands of these placards piled up and someone told me that the UAW had worked all week getting them ready. Every one of them carried the same words, and they were very general. I had hoped some would attack the reactionary positions of some of the Southern Senators or Congressmen.

The UAW delegation was predominantly white and I just didn't feel there was much enthusiasm there. Someone said that when the question was raised with Emil Mazey later, he claimed that the UAW had tried to get 80% of the delegates to be white unionists, because the UAW had been so severely criticized about the absence of white workers in the Detroit March. Mazey said that civil rights is the problem of whites as well as Negroes—but somehow when the white politicians and union bureaucrats say this they seem to ignore, at the same time, the independent struggle of the Negroes which has a validity of its own. It seems to me that the white leaders, with the help of some Negro leaders, are hoping to submerge the Negro activity in a pure and simple class question along-trade union lines.

I recognize fully that we need the support of the white workers, but there is a big difference between supporting the struggle and getting into it for the sole purpose of taking over its leadership and controlling it. I would like to see Reuther and A. Phillip Randolph, for example, go into the

Continued on Page 2

ON THE INSIDE

With The Committees — Page 5
More on the March on Washington Impressions — Page 2
Youth — Page 6

Mao and De Gaulle Challenge K & K

The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Sino-Soviet Conflict

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman, National Editorial Board

The cynicism and tragic irony surrounding the nuclear test ban treaty of the United States, Russia, and Great Britain jut out all too visibly from the various statements aimed at getting approval from the U.S. Senate. Any one listening to Defense Secretary McNamara's stress on U.S. nuclear "superiority" over Russia, and/or Secretary of State Rusk's assurances that even Adenauer's Germany need have no fear of any challenge to its militarization, and/or Undersecretary of State Harriman's emphasis on United States "world leadership" (that is to say, limitless military aid to prop up falling governments all over the globe), would think that these "New Frontiersmen" were asking approval for a state of war preparedness instead of a treaty whose "principal aim" is supposed to be "the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament. . . ."

In order to get bi-partisan support, No. 1 Frontiersman eagerly gives General Eisenhower, rather than himself, credit for having been the one who "first proposed" some such treaty. Thousands upon thousands and upon thousands of words about the U.S. war potential are being poured out to get a majority vote on a test ban treaty of "800 refreshingly brief words." (TIME, Aug. 2) It speaks volumes for the state of corruption of capitalist society that this, precisely, is the emphasis required to gain Senate approval at a time when the 1964 elections loom ahead, and the Republican Party, already heavily infiltrated (if not fully taken over) by the Birchites, would rather play on the theme that Kennedy is "soft on Communism."

The Republicans cannot, however, oppose Kennedy's treaty on such grounds because the people's opposition to nuclear war would not tolerate such an excuse to violate this weak, limited test ban treaty which puts restrictions only on the poisoning of the atmosphere, but in no way delimits the preparations for war.

OPPOSITION TO WAR

The people's anti-war position is not limited to the United States, Russia, and Great Britain, "the originators" of the treaty. Nor is the opposition to war exhausted by including the greater part of the whole world whose governments have lined up to co-sign this treaty. So total is the opposition to nuclear war that the only two countries which dared openly oppose the treaty—Mao's China and De Gaulle's France—had to claim that they did so "in the name of peace."

Mao went so far as to offer counter-proposals for nothing short of "complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons." That did not prevent him from attacking the actual treaty not only as "a big fraud" and "betrayal of the Soviet people," but also as an exposure of "the servile features of those who warmly embrace imperialism. The exposure," he said, "of these freaks and monsters in their true colors is an excellent thing for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the

Continued on Page 8



Editorial

The Freedom Now Movement

The first edition of *American Civilization on Trial* came off the press on May 6, the same time that the events of the Birmingham Movement electrified the world. The second edition came off the press on Aug. 28 — the date of the March on Washington. In the intervening three months, the national Freedom NOW Movement was put to the test. The dangers revealed demanded that a new preface be added to the second edition of *American Civilization on Trial*. The new preface is reprinted in full below, not in place of our editorial, but as our editorial.

This second edition of "American Civilization on Trial" goes to press three months to the day after the first edition was put on sale. The popular demand for our pamphlet is due to the fact that we alone have written of past history and of history in the making as one continuous development of the vanguard role of the Negro. This heightened interest in analysis is due also to the fact that in the short time between the Birmingham events in May and the March on Washington in August the massiveness of the resistance, the many sidedness of the demands for the Freedom NOW movement, the tremendous surge, courage and reason of this movement as against the barbarism of the Bull Connors with their hounds, hoses and murders have totally changed the objective situation in the United States.

Thus, the movement compelled the Kennedy Administration to admit a "rising tide of discontent" and execute an about-face with the introduction of a civil rights bill. In contrast to his original opposition to any March on Washington, on the alleged ground that Congress could not be forced, Kennedy came to support the March. Unfortunately it's the kind of support a rope gives a hanging man. Therein lies the danger to the Freedom NOW movement.

This has brought the movement to the crossroads. Though

Continued on Page 4

WORKER'S JOURNAL

Continued from Page 1

Deep South and join the revolution where it could mean something to the Negroes concretely.

Reuther stressed jobs as the most important factor in achieving Negro rights. Everyone must admit that jobs are important, especially to those unemployed, but I have worked in this union for over 20 years and I know how Reuther operates. He is a demagogue. He supported Automation, which eliminated thousands of jobs. He failed to fight speed-up or overtime, and this eliminated thousands more. When the unemployed protested and demonstrated against this, he and his international representatives smashed the unemployed movement.

JOBS ALONE ARE NOT CIVIL RIGHTS

Some 20 or 30 Negroes picketed Reuther's headquarters in Detroit because of discrimination in their plant several weeks ago and Reuther told the employees of his headquarters to walk through the picket line. Job discrimination continues to be a standard factor in practically every plant throughout the UAW.

During World War II many Negroes had jobs. Some even had two jobs. This did not give them more civil rights or guarantee them complete freedom.

When I learned in Washington that Reuther was one of the heads of the Central Committee I knew why none of our placards seemed effective. He began his speech by saying that he was supporting the Negroes because it was above partisan or political lines. No wonder the newscasters and newspapers could say with pride that neither political party lost any votes. I was expecting one Negro leader to say that the President promised something on Civil Rights that morning, because I knew that Randolph and some others were to have met with him, but they did not get any promise from him. The D.C. evening papers carried news that, to me, was even worse—Congress had adjourned for ten days.

CENSORED SPEECH HAD MEANING

I heard that the speech that was to be given by a young man from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, John Lewis, was censored by two white religious leaders—and Reuther. They cut, I heard, the very heart out of it. That convinced me more than ever that many of the white leaders are rushing into the movement just to cut its head off.

A white worker in my plant is chairman of the FEPC Committee. I was chosen to go along to D.C. with him. After all the arrangements were made, I said, jokingly, that we could save our local union some money if we shared the same room and bed, and that I would chain my arms to his and we would go meet the President to show him that this was real integration—to work like we were, locked together. When this white man heard what I had said, he believed it, and refused to go on the March. They sent another man—a Negro—in his place.

I strongly support the part of John Lewis' speech that was taken out. We cannot depend on any party, or on anyone, to win our freedom for us. We must march and take matters in our own hands.

What we win for ourselves cannot easily be taken away. We want the support of white people. We need the support of white workers, but if we stop now to look for a Moses to lead us out of the wilderness, that same Moses or another Moses can lead us back into the wilderness.

So far as I am concerned, it was these Moses that changed the course of the March. It started out as a March on the Capital in order to pressure the Administration and Congress, especially the filibustering Southerners, to pass the President's Civil Rights bill now—especially the part that had meaning. This movement of the Negro cannot stop now. The forward thrust must continue. There is no other perspective for it, and this is the thing that is shaking the South and the entire Nation to its very foundations.

Contract Terms a Military Secret

Homestead, Penna. — We're supposed to have a contract. The only trouble is that no one seems to know what it says or how the provisions will apply to the steel workers.

When previous contracts were negotiated, there were copies for the men as soon as the settlement was made. This contract was negotiated in July, and we still don't have copies.

UNION DOESN'T KNOW

Even the union officers don't know how it will apply. There are many men with a lot of seniority in the mill who think they are eligible for the 13-week vacation period that's supposed to go into effect the first of the year. But when they go to the union for information, they come back just as confused as they were before they went.

For the real oldtimers there

is generally no problem, they're pretty safe in making plans. But there are many men who are borderline cases; they may be included or they may not, depending on the details of the contract.

I'm sure the company knows all of the details and is making plans to take care of what is important to them and informing company personnel what to expect.

MILITARY SECRET

We don't expect the company to give us the information that we need. We're paying the union officials to at least take care of this little bit of information. Only it sure hasn't come from them as yet.

For all the men are told, you'd think they were asking for information about military secrets rather than a contract that has been signed.

For information on Los Angeles News & Letters Committee write: P. O. Box 27652 Los Angeles, California

March on Washington

Impressions of the Events in Capsule

Arrived at railroad station in D.C. at twelve noon. Took busses to Washington Memorial. People milling all over, sprawling off in all directions. Loudspeaker asking various delegations to sound off. Also finding lost people and relaying messages. Speaker asks everyone to start walking down Constitution Avenue. We move down at a moderate pace, delegations and groups from all over with their banners. . . .

Stop to take picture of great hand-clapping, singing delegation of Mississippi youth wearing the sharecropper uniform of overalls — the most alive people we've seen yet. At the Lincoln Memorial, many people sitting on grass picnicking. Can't get anywhere near speakers, crowds of people jammed in, all along side of reflecting pool, on steps, everywhere as far as we can see. People looking relaxed, happy. . . .

We press up as close as we can and finally can hear loudspeakers. Hear Joan Baez, Burt Lancaster with petition from Paris (where's Baldwin?), Bob Dylan, many speakers from all the groups. Only thing that begins to even approach any kind of disorder comes when Congressmen are introduced and immediately people up front begin chanting "Pass the Bill." From where we are it sounds just like a roaring noise at first, but gradually we make out the words. . . .

John Lewis of SNCC speaks and says by far the most and best of anyone so far. He speaks of the necessity to complete the unfinished revolution. Everyone is throwing the word revolution around, but he is the only one that seems to mean it. Very concretely speaks of the weaknesses of Kennedy's civil rights bill. Speaks of complete betrayal of Southern Freedom Fighters by Justice Department who stand by and watch them get arrested and beaten for registering to vote or for demonstrating. He even accuses them of aiding in these arrests, this oppression. Goes on to demand much stronger legislation, much more firm executive help, much more militant actions on the part of Negroes themselves. He speaks of SNCC people in jail now, and I'm just waiting for someone to say let's march down there and get them out.

Reuther speaks and sounds good at first hearing. Says we must all renew our dedication but says nothing of what he plans to do specifically. Very vague. But gets a good hand. Wilkins speaks well, pays nice tribute to W. E. B. DuBois who had died the day before. Stronger speaker than I expected. Mahalia Jackson sings "I've Been 'Buked and I've Been Scorned" and another, more upbeat tempo thing. Biggest crowd response so far.

Martin Luther King, Jr. comes on, and gets good ovation. His speech sounds good just from the cadences even when you can't hear the words. Like Mahalia. His rhetoric is brilliant—"I have a dream." Mentions that Negroes have nothing to vote for when they do get the vote. King gets much applause at the end, and people all begin to leave in spite of Randolph's reading of the pledge to continue the fight.

The crowd here is so big, that no one could have "agitated" it out of control even if they had wanted to. Feel a mild let-down that nothing more spontaneous had happened, but great pride simply in being there. Everyone walks back down the Avenue to busses. We've only been in Washington five hours and now we're heading back.

Everyone tired on trip home, but discussing the March. . . . Were some Marchers left with the feeling that everything was being taken care of from above (legislation, conferences with

"white power structure", etc.) and there was nothing for them personally to do? Several speakers asked for more dedication and courage, but is that all that is needed to win?

On the train there is lots of small talk, joking, but some seriousness too. Many people thank us for coming, which embarrasses me. One man says, "Save your money . . . We'll march to Louisiana next." No singing of Freedom Songs 'till we get to Harper's Ferry where I propose a chorus of "John Brown's Body."

—B.G.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

White Law vs. Negro Law

What a miserable world to live in each day of your life, when you only want to be free. After 100 years of working and slaving for the white man, the Negro is still not seen as a human being. If you do not believe this to be true, go in some place where it is only white; see how they look at you like you are a crazy person. Negroes have so much packed up around their hearts, that they have to tell these white people just what they think of them.

Every Negro in Detroit says that Police Commissioner George Edwards showed his true color when he made his TV report on the Cynthia Scott case after his private personal investigation.

Edwards is supposed to be a liberal, with a long past record in the civil rights and labor union struggle, but he did not say one thing different from what Prosecutor Olson had reported in the paper of what the police stated.

And every Negro in this city should know by now that Olson is a Negro hater: any Negro who gets shot or killed by a white, the white is justified and should not be tried.

WHITE LAW VS. NEGRO LAW

When Edwards mentioned the two Negroes who killed two policemen some months ago, he said they are in jail where they should be. But he did not mention the white policeman who picked up Wimpy, a Negro, took him for a ride and killed him, put his body in the trunk and was taking it to the river to dump it when he was caught in Mt. Clemens. He killed Wimpy because he thought he was trying to get a Negro prize fighter away from him. He was suspended at the time and was connected with racketeers in Philadelphia, Pa.

Many statements came out in the papers where this policeman

said that he was guilty. The Negro newspapers say now he is out walking the streets, and supposed to be on bond. Edwards probably would say that he is where he should be.

'IT CAN HAPPEN TO ME'

Edwards seems to say we should not be concerned with the Scott case because she was a prostitute and she had a record of several arrests and convictions. This I believe was true, and it is above or below my thinking how a woman can come to be like that. But I do know she was a Negro woman, and if it can happen to her, it can happen to me or any other Negro in Detroit, and the Police Department will use the same excuse.

What hurt me is the report, and to hear Edwards say she was shot twice through the back and continued to walk as though nothing had touched her, and when she turned to face the policeman he shot her and then she fell. The other thing is that she was a big woman weighing 185 lbs. — as though just because a Negro woman is as big as a policeman, he has a reason to shoot her.

They have refused to print or make public the Negro's statement who was with her at the time. One Uncle Tom Negro who said he saw her that day before she was killed, they used his. But the Negro papers have the statements of a family who said they were looking down on it from their window, and of a Negro preacher who said he stopped his car when he heard the police cussing her before the policeman got out of the scout car.

It is the same as any part of the deep South. You can have all the Negro witnesses you want to. But one white witness' statment is what will determine the case and the truth means nothing.

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Solidarity of Mill Workers Wins Battle

Pittsburgh, Penna. — A worker in the steel mill got hurt when an axle he was fitting into a gear box slipped out and crushed his finger.

Three days later, the company finally decided what they'd do. The worker was called into the super's office, given a day off, and a careless work slip that was put on his work record.

When he came down from the super's office and told the men in his department what had happened, every one of the 35 of them—including three Negroes—hit the ceiling. They all stopped work and trooped up to the super's office together.

"Is this going to be the procedure when a man gets hurt here—that you give him a day off and a slip to try to give him a bad work record?" demanded the men of the super.

The stunned super didn't know what to say, but quickly gathered his wits.

SUPER'S THREATS FAIL
"I won't tolerate your being here," he fumed. "Where's your spokesman? I'll talk with him, but not to all of you. What are you doing here anyway? What is this, are you trying to pull a work stoppage? If so, you'll be sent home."

A worker shot back, "Well, we're here, all of us. All you've got to do is tell us to go home, and we'll be on our way."

But then the super thought better of the idea. "No," he said, "all of you men just go back to work and I'll talk with your spokesman."

WORKER WINS
When the spokesman returned, he reported that the careless work slip was thrown out, but the man would take the day off. The day he was given off was a Saturday, to which he said, "That's a real break, I really appreciate having the time off." Since that incident, a few other men have been injured, but no action was taken against them. This just shows a little bit of what the men can do when they stick together.

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

The Women's Rights Movement

In the May issue of *News & Letters* I began a discussion of the Women's Rights Movement. A mistaken impression was given in that the Federal Government prints "many fine items" as if they do so without a purpose. They print "fine items" on the Negro struggle only when times are relatively quiet. They would not print that speech on anti-slavery and women's rights, "The Idea Takes Root," after Birmingham.

Every freedom that individuals have gained throughout history has been fought for over long hard years of struggle. Nothing, nothing has ever been given to "the people" save some abstract words of "all men" being created equal.

Thirty years prior to the Civil War a few women got together to do something about the burning issue of the day—slavery. In their hearts and minds also burned the idea that they must be free to vote, to speak, to be free of ties to men as if they were mere cattle. As a result of being in the anti-slavery movement the women moved on to their fight for freedom.

Two of the women were Susan B. Anthony, a white woman who became active in the movement when she was past 30 but spent her entire adult life fighting against slavery at first and then as a women's righter, and Sojourner Truth, a Negro woman who had been born into slavery in New York; had given birth to 13 children, each of which were sold into slavery. She had a hard life but it did not stop her even in old age to be a fighter for the rights of women.

SOJOURNER TRUTH
At a National Woman's Rights Association Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851, as the crowd jeered the women and ministers denounced them, their convention and their resolutions, Sojourner Truth got up to speak. Pointing to one of the ministers she said, "That little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a

woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him!

"If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world up side down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! Now they are asking to do it, the men better let 'em!"

SUSAN B. ANTHONY
Susan B. Anthony was born in 1820. Her father was an abolitionist whose hero was Garrison. She spoke at meetings for the cause of anti-slavery but she did not stop here; she continued into the fight for women's rights.

Her organization, or I should say one of the organizations she helped found, The Equal Rights Society, in January of 1868 published the first issue of their newspaper, *Revolution*. Its motto at first was "Men, their rights, and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." Although either ignored by the big press such as the *Tribune* or attacked by such as the *New York Times*, the paper continued for two years.

Susan Anthony fought not only as a suffragette but took up the cause of the working women and the deplorable conditions of the women textile workers. She welcomed stories of their strikes and their conditions of labor.

None of the limited human rights achieved in this land of ours was gained easily. It took until 1920 for white American women to get the right to vote, after almost 100 years of organized struggle.

ON THE LINE

Plantation and the Factory: Is There a Big Difference?

By John Allison

Detroit, Mich. — When cotton was king and Negro workers supplied the labor to produce it, there were three things important to this operation: a horse, a man and a gun.

Put these together and you have what is known as the Riding Boss. The boss had many ways of making the workers produce more. A whip was more often than not used to increase production and keep the workers in line. When this didn't work, the boss always had the gun. But he wasn't too anxious to use the gun because the worker was his property and he wasn't going to destroy his property if he could help it.

The boss always looked for a large family to work his land. The larger the family, the more field hands in the end and more cotton for the owner of the land.

This is the way the plantation worker had to live in that time in the history of this country. Communication between workers was hard to establish and keep up. It seemed that the workers were so downtrodden that human dignity was something that never even entered their minds. But this was not to be the end.

FACTORY SYSTEM
There was a new system to be born, a system of production marked by the factory. Name a product and you have the factory there: steel, auto, coal, rubber and the rest of them.

Only now the Riding Boss has been replaced by the supervisor. He no longer carries a gun or whip. In the place of these he carries a pencil, stop watch and paper and many other small gadgets on his person. This boss is backed up by an army of company people working night and day to get the workers to put out more production.

Now there is more communication in that there are newspapers, magazines, TV and the

radio. But these are all practically controlled by big business, and the job they have is to brainwash the workers when they are out of the factory as they are brainwashed by the company while they are in the factory. Above all, the way the news is given must never show that the worker has a mind of his own and that workers have any power to make a new life for themselves and their families.

SCARS ON MIND
The plantation worker often had the whip of the riding boss laid on his back. But the scars from the whip would heal. Scars on the mind are something else, and the company and the news outlets must see to it that these scars never heal. Otherwise the company's power, like that of the old plantation owner, would be swept away by the workers.

The plantation worker was paid the three Ms (meat, meal and molasses) for his labor. The factory worker is paid in dollars. After the company, government, city, county, state and creditors get their's, the worker takes the rest home to his family.

For his labor, can it be said beyond a shadow of a doubt that the factory worker is much better off than the plantation worker?

Well, let's take a look. No workers then or now controlled production. This was the most important thing then, it is still the most important thing today. It's true we're no longer chattel slaves, we fought long, hard and bloody battles to escape that. We overcame one kind of slavery, only to find ourselves faced with another kind—the slavery of the factory, where today more than ever before we are being ground down.

SLAVES OF MACHINES
Now, with Automation, we are slaves of the machine. The company, looking at us killing ourselves to try to keep up with a dead machine, cannot believe any more than the old plantation owners did that we have a sense of dignity and are being driven every day to escape this form of slavery.

Where the Riding Boss would hesitate to use his gun to kill a worker, the company daily orders thousands upon thousands to kill themselves if necessary—but get that production.

It's different; it's more refined; and it's more subtle in the factory than it was on the plantation. But when you strip everything away and take a good look at it, it hits you right between the eyes that workers, then as now, create all the wealth from their labor.

With what we're paid for our labor, we have to scrape to keep body and soul together. What we're not paid for our labor goes to make the billions in profit for the big wheels to live high on the hog. Without us, there would be nothing for them. We can do very well without them. They can't do at all without us.

So long as they control production, we'll be their slaves. Until we control the means of production, our lot will remain the same.

As Others See Us

As I am on the subject of books, I will mention a few of the other things I have received, though *Courier* book-reviewing is done by Mr. Schuyler. Among them are: "American Civilization on Trial; The Negro As Touchstone of History."

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Freedom Now Movement

Continued from Page 1

it is impossible to stop the momentum of the Negro struggle, its forward development can be impeded if the underlying philosophy for total freedom is in any way compromised. Here, precisely, are revealed both the strength and weakness of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The transforming events of Birmingham have revealed King's new stature both organizationally and philosophically. In his letter from a Birmingham jail to a group of "fellow clergymen," Dr. King rejected their attempt to confine the movement to legalisms. "We can never forget," he wrote, "that everything Hitler did in Germany was 'legal' and everything the Hungarian Freedom Fighters did in Hungary was 'illegal' . . . this calls for a confrontation with the power structure." Dr. King writes: "To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an 'I-it' relationship for the 'I-thou' relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things." But King himself makes an impersonal ethic rather than the living mass movement, the point of creative origin and forward march of humanity.

The Negro leadership is listening more to Kennedy's civil rights measures than to the full aspirations of the mass movement. They fail to see that the alleged detente in the cold war and the intensification of the Sino-Soviet conflict will actually free the hand of the Administration to bear down against both labor and the Negro movement. This is why we say openly that, so far, the Freedom NOW movement has combined reason and activity only to the extent of the immediate demands of desegregation, and not to the ultimate of total freedom from class society.

In this situation, a small organization like ours has a pivotal role to play both as a catalyst and a propellant.

NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES, which have participated in every phase of activity and struggle from the Montgomery Bus Boycott to the March on Washington, have one unique feature that distinguishes us from all other organizations. It is this: We have, from the very start, refused to separate theory from practice, or practice from theory. Take the need to change the role of white labor in the civil rights struggle.

WHITE LABOR has so far shown a sorry spectacle. The labor leaders, like Meany, Reuther, McDonald and Hoffa, have all spoken big, and some have even marched with mass Negro demonstrations in the North, as in Detroit and San Francisco, but not in the South. When it comes to their own unions, they have neither helped upgrade Negro workers nor accorded them leading union posts commensurate with numbers or skill, nor have they done anything to enable the white rank-and-file to participate in the Negro struggle as an integral part of their common continuing struggle against management.

NEGRO WORKERS from a Chevrolet local in Los Angeles rightly picketed the convention of the Urban League at which Walter Reuther was the featured speaker. They carried signs calling Reuther "HYPOCRITE!" In Detroit, Negro members of another General Motors local picketed the UAW's Solidarity House demanding the upgrading of Negroes in auto plants. Indeed, there isn't a plant in the country that doesn't reveal the tensions within labor.

Here, too, the Negro rank-and-file has shown its sensitivity by differentiating between the bureaucracy and the rank-and-file. Despite the appearance of leaders on marches, and despite individual situations, as at construction sites in Philadelphia and New York, where Negro pickets fought white workers, the Negro rank-and-file denounce the leadership and appeal to the white rank-and-file.

News & Letters, which has attacked the labor bureaucracy not only for its role in the civil rights struggle, but also for its failure to fight management on Automation, joined with the Negro and white rank-and-file to help forge the unity needed in the civil rights struggle. We also assisted in drafting a leaflet which soon made the rounds in Detroit factories. It was addressed to the labor leadership and said:

Hear ye then this—and learn your lessons from that Sunday March in Detroit and all the battles for Civil Rights, South and North. First, you are cutting your own throats because, without the unity of white and black workers, management can ride all over you, even as they did when you launched Operation Dixie and it proved to be just a still-birth.

Know ye, further, that the end of discrimination, even more than charity, must begin at home, and home for working people is the Union. BEGIN THERE.

Begin NOW to put an end to lily white departments. Begin NOW the retraining and upgrading of Negro workers who now, as before unionism, are still the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

Begin NOW to tell the white workers the truth of their own conditions of employment and unemployment. For the truth is that, while percentage-wise, Negroes have more unemployment than white, it is still they, the white workers, the majority of Americans, who are still the majority in absolute numbers of those unemployed.

Reuther, you have begun contract negotiations a year in advance, with management. How about beginning to talk to us, your black brothers, 25 years after we helped to create the CIO?

THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP, on the other hand, far from exposing the role of the labor bureaucracy has actually protected it from the ranks by playing up the lip-service and ostentatious checks with which the union leaders give token support to the struggle. The greatest danger, moreover, is the fact that the labor bureaucracy is at the beck and call of Kennedy—and especially in this situation where they yield to Kennedy on everything from unemployment to civil rights.

All the more reason to continue instead, with us, in the full tradition of the Abolitionist movement, in which was concen-

Continued on Page 5

Readers'

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

I just had to write this letter. All the papers here are full of the preparations for the March on Washington. I must confess that nothing has excited me so for quite a long time. The Herald Tribune (European Edition) says that the March is not endorsed by the majority of Americans. Nevertheless, it is endorsed to such an extent that it is now a matter of world-wide interest. It is sure to be endorsed in Africa and India. It is endorsed even here, in Glasgow. It will be on TV in Europe tomorrow evening. I wish I were there to see it. The sound of the trampling feet would be like sweet music. It is an important step on the way to victory.

H. McShane
Scotland

I see that Wallace is trying to do Barnett one better by showing the "force" of a few hundred state troopers against the U.S. Army. The most interesting thing about the whole new development in Alabama, however, is in seeing how the counter-revolution reveals the real momentum and fear of the revolution. The Alabama events, to me, are a direct aftermath of the March on Washington, which showed the force of a mass movement — and resulted in white Alabamans, ordinarily as reactionary as any white Southerners could be, insisting that Gov. Wallace go home and leave them alone!

Politico
New York

It was with great glee that I noted the March on Washington was saved from becoming a big vote-getting extravaganza by the apparently unanimous and certainly spontaneous action of the crowds themselves — who just kept shouting "Pass the Bill" no matter what representative was about to be introduced to them. All the balley-hoo about which Congressmen were "liberals" and "good guys" didn't matter one bit to the Marchers. The Congressmen all got the same treatment. One big roar from the crowd: PASS THE BILL!

Observer
Detroit

The Senators and Congressmen who have lined up together — reactionary and "liberal" alike — after the March to insist that it really "had no influence" on Congress are such obvious liars that it is almost laughable. Every single one of them who insisted it really made no

difference to the "lawmakers" was nevertheless right there, busily counting up how many votes he would gain or lose depending upon what he was going to do about the bill!

Marcher
Chicago

I read a lot of nonsense about the "fiesta" atmosphere surrounding the March. Believe me, it is no "fiesta" to spend your hard-earned money for the fare, to sit up for two nights to get there and return, and to walk that many miles under a hot sun to add your voice to the protest. It is serious business. At least, it was to me — and to most of the others I went with.

Marcher
Pittsburgh

TRADING STAMPS FOR FREEDOM

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee would like to thank you for the trading stamps you have sent. Please excuse the delay in our response, but as we're sure you are aware, SNCC is having a very active summer. We will be using these stamps to help equip the Atlanta office, offices in the field, and Staff living quarters.

Any further stamps you may be able to send will be greatly appreciated, for as our operations increase, so do our needs. It would be helpful if you could include a stamp book with your stamps, though it is not necessary to paste them into the books. Thank you very much again.

SNCC
Atlanta, Ga.

Editor's Note: Send all Trading Stamps to: Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 6 Raymond Street, NW, Atlanta, Georgia.

MARXIST-HUMANISM

I think you are fortunate in America in not having a social-democratic movement or strong Communist Party. Here left-wing attitudes are so hidebound — collectivism is good, the individual must bury himself in service to the State, centralization and nationalization in industry is progressive, etc., etc. — that it is difficult to reach the mentality of the Labour-minded person.

Often one can speak more easily to the person who is non-political. Today, the supporters of the "socialist" movement come mainly from the middle-class who know so little of working-class living conditions that they state that now capitalism has achieved generally affluent

living, the socialist movement must work toward providing a "cultured" working-class who can appreciate their leisure.

The German social-democrats speak along the same theme calling for a "culture-state." Of course, this involves a good deal of snobbery and as one who likes a good deal of popular music, and usually enjoys at least two songs in the "top ten," I would no doubt be excluded from this "culture-state."

S. L.
London

The Huxley brand of Humanism has been getting a boost — mostly from its opponents. The "Scotsman" has carried a good deal of correspondence from Humanists and members of the Church of Scotland. Some of the Christians are partial to the "good works" type of Humanism. The Catholic Truth Society has issued a pamphlet, "Is Humanism Enough." I have been invited, for the first time since I left the Communist Party, to speak for the Secular Society. They asked me to deal with something on religion. I chose, "The Bewildered Christians," a subject that will give me a chance to introduce the Marxist-Humanist attitude. I will mention others who are bewildered, as well.

H. M.
Glasgow

In general, the Japanese anti-Stalinist Marxist movement is divided into several sects. I confess it is very weak in contrast with socialist and communist (Stalinist) movements, except among students. I believe it is urgent to publish your Marxism and Freedom and to propagate the idea of the humanism of Marxism among students and workers.

Marxist-Humanist
Tokyo

I see things very much like you. The main point on which I don't follow you (and not because I don't agree, but because I'm too ignorant at the moment) is, in a word, your "humanism," that is, your revival of Marx's early works.

You say in The Young Marxist-Humanist: "Humanism, on the other hand, has not only not been tainted by the Communists, but they have rejected it as a product of the 'immature' Marx." Now, remembering the great influence of the Communist Party in Italy, and in particular in Turin, not only on the workers, but especially on the formation of the new "left wing intelligentsia," you will understand how they consider absurd the idea of a "new humanism," so far away (they think) from the immediate problems of the working class. I am trying to convince my friends that they have lifted their feet off the ground, not I or you.

M. M.
Italy

Up to now I have purchased and sold out 25 copies of *Marxismo & Liberta* and before the end of the year I shall double this figure . . .

R. R.
Italy

News & Letters

VOL. 8, No. 7

Aug.-Sept., 1963

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

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan.

Views

The publishers of the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom* have decided to hold a conference on the content and theoretical-political importance of this book, for the cultural circles of Genoa, Turin and Padua . . . I have accepted the publisher's invitation to discuss the form of the manifestations of our epoch in consciousness and in popularization of the book.

O. D.
Italy

* * *

I am delighted to have had a second letter from you and learn of your new publication for the enlightenment of the world, *American Civilization on Trial* . . .

I shall write soon and give comments on *Marxism and Freedom*, and send you the views of some friends who have read it. I end with the fervent hope that true socialism can be achieved in our time. And that all men: Africans, American Negroes, Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians and the Germans of the Soviet zone of Germany shall be free sooner than we expect.

Marxist-Humanist
Africa

Editor's Note: *Marxism and Freedom* has appeared in an Italian edition, and is currently being prepared for publication in both Japanese and Spanish. See special offer on original American publication, p. 2.

* * *

LEADERS AND RANKS

I feel the paper is not taking a clear line on the question of labor and civil rights. You correctly show how Reuther and Meany shun Negro rights, and stunt union growth. You did not say how many white workers were in the big Detroit march, but it was very, very few. You say that the white worker will not be free until the whole society is reconstructed and that the Negro worker is now in the process of doing that. But you do not make a direct appeal to the white worker, who is obviously the person who needs to be convinced at this point. Naturally you do not want to seem to preach. How about a N&L leaflet or editorial that directly called for white workers, rank and file, to take some concrete step to show their solidarity with their fellows with black skins?

Teacher
Wisconsin

* * *

Last night, before our meeting, we covered the Reuther meeting. It was one big flop as far as I could see. It was the big Urban League public meeting in association with their convention here. I doubt whether they had 1,000 to 1,500 people, including all the Benevolent Order of Elks. We sold 30 papers for \$3 and 18 copies of *American Civilization on Trial* for \$9. The best were the pickets from the Chevrolet local in the Valley plants—the picket signs called Reuther a "hypocrite" because of discrimination in his own union, plus speed-up.

On Monday I went down to the National Maritime Union Local at San Pedro. We sold 12 copies of the pamphlet.

Mostly Negroes bought, one white. Those who came to the meeting (about 100) are of course, unemployed. I asked some Negro workers who bought, why weren't the white workers buying? They were very defensive and said there was no prejudice in their membership. Their paper is full of fights with S.U.P.

I felt sad and worried. What will move this bureaucracy? The pickets at the construction sites in New York with 7-year-olds saying they are marching for freedom is the only bright spot. How serious is the Negro leadership in demanding "more than equal rights"?

Committee Member
Los Angeles

* * *

A white worker on our line said all men are created equal. But he's never been a Negro, and to me, no matter what he says about believing in equality, he knows nothing. He can't talk to me about my daily problems. He can't know what it feels like. He is my friend. But he moved 20 miles outside the city so he wouldn't have to live near me.

These same white workers want to know where we are going — we, all of us, the working people. And then I find out that I have to tell them: your problem is mine and my problem is yours. We will only get out of this rat race together.

Negro Worker
Detroit

* * *

"MASSES AS REASON"

The issue of the paper is good. In reply to "Committee Member," Los Angeles, however, I would have to say that it was hardly the "masses as reason" or anything else that demonstrated against Daley and Jackson. It was a group of very sophisticated and politically conscious youth from YPSL, YSA, SNCC, CORE, etc. True, the rest of the audience generally supported the demonstration, but then they were hardly the masses either, but delegates to an NAACP convention. I didn't quite understand the part about their letting Senator Douglas speak, was that supposed to be wisdom? Douglas may have a better record on civil rights than some other senators, but he is a terrific man for more defense spending, and on other points is not at all "for" the masses. But he was applauded.

Committee Member
Wisconsin

* * *

TITO-KHRUSHCHEV

What do you think of the Tito-Khrushchev affair? Khrushchev seems to be running desperately from one expedient to another. His aim is to appease the workers inside his empire and, at the same time, get that production which he so badly needs. His statement about bureaucracy in the factories debunks all the statements made by the many delegates who returned from Russia.

What a somersault on workers' councils after Poznan and Budapest. Of course there workers were opposing the one-party state, whereas the Tito's workers' councils

are under the control of the one-party state.

Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia marks a bold step in the new war between Russia and China. The Cuban attitude to the Paraguayan Communists shows more clearly than ever how serious the dispute had become. Everything that is happening confirms the correctness of our attitude.

Marxist-Humanist
Scotland

* * *

FREEDOM NOW MOVEMENT

Patrick Henry said it this way: Give me liberty or give me death. That, to me, is what is at the heart of the Freedom Movement, today.

One must have freedom if he is to live. Man HAS to be free. It is a necessity of life sometimes more important than even the necessities of life like food and clothing and shelter . . .

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

American Civilization on Trial was very interesting and I will comment more fully in a further letter. The Negroes are certainly on the march. I watched a TV programme on the poverty-stricken one-fifth of America (or rather, the United States), and the commentator said that the unemployed are not organizing, or protesting, but just accepting their lot. If this is so, why do you think it is so? Perhaps the Negro militancy will eventually strengthen their backbone and give them courage.

English Observer
London

* * *

Committed in non-violent actions during the last year, I had opportunities to know the U.S. peace movements and their literature. I found of particular interest the pamphlet you published in November 1961, the title of which was *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*.

In France, a growing number of people pay attention to non-violence and many read about the segregation problems in the press. For these reasons, I think this pamphlet worth being translated into French. And this is why I should be very much obliged to you for giving me the rights to translate it.

Would you mention to me other books or pamphlets about the same problems, and say whether I may get the rights for them, too?

J. N.
France

* * *

I was very busy during this summer because I had to work for the teachers' union and, at the same time, write and make many speeches about the Negro liberation movement. Your *American Civilization on Trial* is brilliant and I quoted from it several times.

Teacher
Japan

* * *

Editor's Note: See ad, page 3.

Freedom Now Movement

Continued from Page 4

trated every strand of struggle for freedom—abolition of slavery, woman's suffrage, labor movement—and thus released new human dimensions. Look at Sojourner Truth whose creative activity embraced not only the work with the Underground Railroad but also the woman's struggle. Look at the Marxist, Joseph Weydemeyer, who was both a general in the Union Army and editor of a Marxist journal in the United States (which published Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* 17 years before it was published in Europe).

We alone, in *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, not only participated fully in the activity, but in making it possible for the Freedom Riders to speak for themselves have issued the only serious analysis, to date, of that great turning point and its continuity with what preceded and followed.

In the *News & Letters Committees* we have not only supported, reported, and participated in all the great actions, but have compelled world attention to focus on them as central to the global struggle for a new society.*

The *Freedom NOW* movement must not be stopped in its tracks nor derailed. It must be expanded and deepened so that it leads to the total reconstruction of society on new human beginnings.

It is no accident that this second edition of *American Civilization on Trial* comes out when the movement is being put to the test. The road ahead is not smooth or easy. With this edition we invite you to face the challenge and join the *News & Letters Committees*.

—National Editorial Board

* In addition to our list of publications it should be noted that *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves* is being translated into French; *American Civilization on Trial* is being translated into Italian, and widely discussed among Japanese youth.

INTEREST FORM

Name
Address
City Zone State

News & Letters Committees
8751 Grand River - Detroit 48204, Mich.

I am interested in joining the News & Letters Committees. Please send me a copy of your constitution.

With The Committees

The first edition of *American Civilization on Trial* was exhausted less than four months after the first of the 5000 copies came off the press on May 6. Here is the organizational story of those four months as recorded in letters received from our readers throughout the world, and reports sent in by our *News & Letters Committees* throughout the country:

* * *

The *Los Angeles News & Letters Committee* sold almost 2000 copies. They considered it a vital part of their activity wherever they participated in civil rights work, and they sold everywhere—at meetings, rallies, marches, at concerts, factory gates and union meetings, even door-to-door.

* * *

The pamphlet went to the NAACP convention in Chicago and to the CORE convention in Dayton. A teacher in New York bought 20 copies from a Committee member selling the pamphlet at a CORE meeting there, so that he could give it to his history students who were putting on a play to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation based on the pamphlet.

* * *

The *Detroit Committee* sold 421 copies at the June 23 Freedom March alone.

* * *

One of our young Committee Members from the West Coast who participated in the August 28 March on Washington reported: "I was at the rallying point at 8 a.m. By 8:45 all 105 copies I had with me were sold out. That was all I had been able to stuff into my suitcase. I was wishing I had 1,000. I honestly think I could have sold them all."

Perhaps the most significant sales of all, however, were those which were ordered directly from the office. Over 150 individual orders were received during this period, from 32 different states, including Alaska and Hawaii. The orders came from every region — North, Deep South, Border States, East and West.

* * *

From Japan a teacher has written that he has quoted from the pamphlet many times while making speeches on the Negro freedom movement. Similarly, from England, South America and Africa has come news of how widely the work is circulating there. And from Italy a reader wrote us that he had been impelled to translate it into Italian, adding: "I am going to distribute copies among our group . . . it is my opinion that this work should be published in Italy as soon as possible."

* * *

"I belong to the school that thinks there are no such things as 'historical accidents,'" a Journalist in New York wrote us the day he received his review copy. "It is no accident that *American Civilization on Trial* — the result of years and years of work and thought on the Negro struggle — came off the press the very same week that Birmingham, Alabama climaxed years and years of Negro struggle with the biggest demonstrations for Negro freedom that this country has ever seen."

The sales bear out well the contention of our "Journalist, New York" that it was indeed, no accident.

YOUTH

New Beginnings

March on Washington

Youth Mirror True Revolt

By Eugene Walker

I arrived in the capital a few days before the March On Washington. This gave me a chance to observe the feeling in the city and some of the preparations for the March.

It was the only topic of conversation while I was there. Everyone—from people in restaurants to government workers—spoke of the March. It gave one a feeling of making history.

On the day before the March, I met some students from Albany, Ga., who had come up for the march. They were adamant on one point: They were going to show why they had come, by immediately picketing the Justice Department to protest against an indictment of nine leaders of the Albany Movement. They also carried signs against police brutality in Albany. Thus, to me, the tone was set.

YOUTH FOR FULL FREEDOM

I joined them in picketing. Here were youth who had come from the one place in the South where the Freedom Now Movement had not met with success. Yet these youths were more determined than ever to obtain freedom. President Kennedy and some of the leaders of the March may have wanted a march which asked for the Administration's civil rights package and nothing more; but these students showed that they were determined to carry the struggle much further.

Within the March itself, one could see this same spirit. This was especially true among groups from the South. Youth from Cambridge, Md., from Prince Edward County, and Danville, Va.—places where the freedom struggle has been explosive in the past few months—were the groups which showed the most spirit.

The feeling was one of a total struggle, not limited to civil rights legislation. This was brought forth most forcefully in a speech by John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who declared Kennedy's legislation totally inadequate and called for marching through the streets of the South unless something much greater is done.

TOKENISM VS. FREEDOM

To me what one witnessed in Washington was a struggle between those who aligned themselves with the Administration and want to put a brake on, and to channelize, the Freedom Now Movement; and those in the great majority, who want to enlarge it to a movement for full-blown freedom.

It was not just a question of a struggle between those who want tokenism in action against those who want full action; but a struggle against those who want tokenism in thought. It was a struggle between those who only want legislation which would guarantee the Negroes' right to equality in voting, housing, employment, and education; as opposed to those who want to expand the struggle to cover the question of the relationship of the human being to present day society, no matter what his color.

This duality in the March on Washington was evident in everything from the sort of "canned" signs some of the UAW locals carried as against the singing and informality of actions in the contingents from

the South. It was obvious also in the type of speeches the clergy made and that which the youth, Lewis, made.

Above all, the opposition of the two trends was evident in the plans to carry forward the struggles that the local Freedom Now movements were working out for when they get back home as against the politicians who wanted merely to make it an appeal for the passing of Kennedy's weak civil rights bill.

City Hall Pickets Forcibly Expelled

New York, N. Y. — "The newspapers simply lied. That's all there is to it," a N.Y. civil rights demonstrator told *News & Letters*. "All this talk about the pickets attacking the police is complete fabrication."

The demonstrator was talking about an incident which occurred just before the sudden expulsion from City Hall of a group of Negro and white sit-inners who had been carrying on a vigil in the Mayor's office for several weeks. According to eye-witnesses, police officers, using considerable roughness—in both word and deed—forcibly expelled the sit-inners who had been conducting a 24-hour-a-day protest for jobs and equality in the city.

THE CAMERAS WHIRL

As dozens of newsmen looked on and T.V. and newsreel cameras whirled, police were seen to strike with clubs and drag off roughly a group of teenage youth who had chained themselves together as a sign of racial solidarity. A young girl was heard to scream out in pain for several minutes, while brawny cops attempted to break her out of the chain, using her arm as a lever.

Yet the newspapers of this so-called "liberal" Northern city reported the incident under the banner headlines: "Three Policemen Injured In Attack By Unruly City Hall Demonstrators." Both the conservative *Daily News* and the more liberal *Post* carried essentially the same story.

PITY THE POOR POLICEMAN

Yet, the next day, the three law officers who were variously described as "badly hurt" or "seriously injured," were released almost immediately from the hospitals to which they had been taken. The "serious injuries" turned out to be the strained backs of two policemen, no doubt a result of having carried out several limp, non-violent demonstrators; and abrasions on the arm of the third officer, probably came from tugging on the chain with which the demonstrators had bound themselves.

Oddly enough, although photographers outnumbered both police and demonstrators during the incident, not one photograph of the alleged attack on police by the sit-inners ever was published.

Book Review

Army Life in A Black Regiment

by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; with a new introduction by Howard N. Meyer; paperback published by Collier Books, New York, N.Y., 1962.

An unexpected, if not the only, value of today's many centennial celebrations is the republication of such long out-of-print, first hand accounts such as this, which, despite the latter-day revisionists, show the fundamental humanism of Abolitionism as the motive force of the Civil War.

In November, 1862, many weeks before a reluctant Lincoln finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Col.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson left his white Massachusetts regiment for Beaufort, S.C., to take command of the First South Carolina Volunteers. As he wrote in his diary, this was the first colored regiment mustered into the Union Army during the Civil War. It "contained scarcely a freeman, had not one mulatto in ten, and a far smaller proportion who could read or write when enlisted."

NEGRO TROOPS—200,000 STRONG

Far from the picture drawn by the re-writers of American history, Negroes weren't given

their freedom by a kind government, they fought, bled and died for it in the most revolutionary and unyielding manner. Before the Civil War ended, and only during the 2½ years since a desperate government finally mustered them into service, they numbered nearly 200,000 troops—the difference between victory and defeat.

Not only was a greater proportion of Negroes under arms than whites relative to the total population, they suffered a higher proportion of casualties than the white soldiers.

There was a double importance to Higginson's taking command of the First South Carolina. At that time there was tremendous pressure against arming Negroes, slave or free. Politicians and academicians alike were throwing slanderous dust around as to whether Negroes would fight, whether it wouldn't alienate the "loyal" slaveowning border states, etc., etc.

A PRINCIPLED DIGNITY

The First South Carolina were the first of the thousands of colored troops who proved in action that the Union Army had no more loyal, courageous or dedicated soldier than the Negro. This was the regiment to which the government repeatedly broke its promises on matters of pay. Nevertheless, with great dignity, they refused Massachusetts' offer to pay them, saying they'd rather serve without pay until the federal government kept its word to them. Moreover, they fought in South Carolina, in and around Port Royal, just south of Charleston where the war began with the rebel attack on Fort Sumter.

Higginson himself was one of that dedicated band of Abolitionists whose stature has rarely been equalled in American history. A friend and colleague of Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass, he was one of the few who had John Brown's confidence and helped him raise money for his mission at Harper's Ferry.

His diary records the details of camp life and battle experiences, both in South Carolina and Florida, of his regiment from the time it was mustered in, in 1862, until May 1864 when it became the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops. Not only does the diary give the first printed source of Negro spirituals as songs of revolt, Higginson condemns the government's "vacillating half proslavery days" and draws striking historic parallels:

'FOR PERSONAL LIBERTIES'

"And there were, certainly, in the early adventures of the colored troops in the Department of the South, some of the same elements of picturesqueness that belonged to Marion's band (Francis Marion, the 'Swamp Fox' of the Revolutionary War), on the same soil, with the added feature that the blacks were fighting for their personal liberties, of which Marion had helped to deprive them."

To record their great deeds in battle, he quotes a captured letter from a rebel leader who had faced the First South Carolina in Florida: "If you wish to know hell before your time, go to St. Simon's and be hunted ten days by n—s."

One hundred years after, we can see that while the Negro has gained a new dimension in both courage and ideals, the white South has changed not at all—either in vulgarity or pretensions.

Act Against Mother, But Children Are the Victims

LONG BEACH, Calif.—

This month's report concerns the mother of five children who was persecuted by the welfare department because she neglected to tell her social case-worker she was going to have a baby by her ex-husband. She tried to hide it since she knew they would persecute her unmercifully when they found out.

Two days before her check was to be cut off they notified her of their anti-children action. About five days later the baby was born, a lovely, beautiful baby boy. She, too, like the mother I wrote you about in the April issue, started taking in ironings at 10c a piece to keep her little ones from starving. She, too, was penalized by the local housing authority with pay-up or quit notices and late charges, all done legally, of course. Her rent bill for the month of March was \$74 for a slum apartment.

CHILDREN ARE VICTIMS

The Welfare department tried to make the father of her baby a stepfather to the children—when this fellow already has two daughters to support plus partial support to an ex-wife and three children. This fellow does not serve as a sterling example of stability or what every young girl dreams of, but that is not an excuse to take criminal vengeance upon a helpless mother and her children and the new baby.

Her caseworker told her that when her baby reached the age of six weeks and she had her post-natal checkup, she would have to get out and get a light job. The father of the baby is the stepfather in the eyes of the welfare department, yet he does not live with the family and has left the state.

They also informed her that if her welfare check is restored, the baby will not be included. What they meant

was the baby could starve for all they cared.

The mother went to several so-called fraternal organizations for aid, but was turned away. One outfit told her that she had gotten herself into the mess so she could get herself out of it. One organization finally did give her a box of canned goods.

APPEALS CASE

I advised her to appeal her case to the Department of Social Welfare and she did. Her appeal came up the earlier part of this month and she took her sister along to be a witness. They told the board about her worker had bragged about how some people told him everything and that was how he found out she was going to have a baby, in effect showing how the worker is a gossip and scandalmonger and does not belong in welfare work.

She is still waiting to hear how her appeal came out, whether her welfare check will be restored or not. Only two days have passed since the mother was forced to move out of her apartment for failure to pay her rent because of no income and the astronomical rent charges. She does have temporary quarters with a sister.

At the time of her last interview with the welfare authorities this mother asked her appeals worker if they would not be paying a foster mother (more, too) money if her children were to be put in a foster home, and what was the difference if they paid her (the mother) instead? The worker answered that if the children were in a foster home then they wouldn't be helping her.

This mother might have had a chance to win her appeal (I have no proof yet that she's lost) had she been able to have an attorney at the hearing with her. Remember, folks, in FREE AMERICA we are all entitled to legal representation—even if it does cost \$50 an hour. She couldn't pay it.

Indigent Anonymous

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8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan

Exclusive Report From A Ghanaian

'Nkrumah Rules by Terror, Intimidation and Bribery'

Ghana, Africa—It seems the world has not learnt anything from history, for we have a duplication of these bloodhounds who have been placed in power by accident and force in many parts of the world . . . These . . . cover their misdeeds with fine and euphonious pronouncements to fool foreigners. But we who are living within hear more of their actions and deeds than their "fine" words, as the former are much louder than the latter.

To fool outsiders the more, especially those from other African states, they are invited to Accra and are given red-carpet treatment. These official and semi-official visitors, apart from the many amenities they are allowed to enjoy and overtures by Nkrumah—such as a guide of a party-indoctrinated, tight-skirted wench, a pocket allowance of 8 pounds (\$22.40) a day—are awarded diplomas in Economics, Political Science (Nkrumaism) and Trade Unionism after a day's university education at the exclusively Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) Activists' Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Economics and Political Science in Winneba. No people could be so manifoldly fooled!

Last year, a Kenyan visitor to Ghana on returning to Nairobi exclaimed that "Ghana is paradise on earth! It is the political Mecca of Africa! And, Nkrumah, the Muhammad of our time!" I presume that if the last August bomb, that disloyal bomb, had got Nkrumah, the visitor would perhaps have added that he had visited and seen the Flagstaff House, the tomb of Muhammad!

Kenyan, Nyasan, Malian and Somalian visitors, apart from the free board, lodging, and transport expenses, are given as much as 8 pounds per day pocket money, while a Ghanaian laborer, the producer of the wealth, earns 6-6d (91 cents) per day, Sundays unpaid . . . Nkrumah does all this to advertise himself; he has on many occasions claimed that he is the greatest African political leader. But this is a view history will decide . . .

HEAVY TAXES BREED TRICKERY

Here is a trick indebted workers adopt to evade their creditors: If A is indebted to B, A goes to C who is a friend and arranges with him to appear at B's office on pay day so as to snatch A's pay packet from A's hands as if A is really indebted to C. This leaves B in an awkward position; B cannot collect the loan he had given to A, because it is in his presence that C has snatched everything that A has had for the month.

This sort of trickery is on the increase in Ghana because the workers are taxed beyond endurance and prices of commodities and services have risen to the point that the workers cannot make ends meet . . .

A few days ago, in Ghana Parliament, Nkrumah told the world a lie when, in a speech about the Addis Ababa Conference and the Charter of African Unity, he rapped Portugal in these words: "Portugal is the poorest state in Europe and the average Ghanaian, as our statistics show, is now wealthier than the average citizen of Portugal." Yes, he refers to our statistics—Ghanaian statistics. We have also heard of Russian statistics

and Chinese statistics and how false they are. And since Nkrumah has been combining Nazi, Russian and Chinese statistical methods to prove things, we are not surprised when he tells the world that the average Ghanaian, who pays £5 out of a basic wage of £10 to the landlord and one-fifth of the remainder to government taxes, is better off than the average Portuguese . . .

NKRUMAH'S PERSUADERS

Apart from his many instruments of "mass persuasion" or instruments to force the people to follow him, apart from his many overtures to other African states to boost his shaky reputation, Nkrumah has a very well paid court crier, Mr. Akuffo, to compile and sing poetic appellations in his praise over the radio.

There are women who are paid very fat salaries (minimum of £80 per month) in all the Regional centres of Ghana whose only duties are to sing Nkrumah's praises and to shout encomiums while he speaks.

President Nkrumah better . . . stop these "I have done this, and I have done that," for Africans "don't buy a goat by the way it bleats." We have his portrait on our coins, our stamps and a £34,000 statue of him at Parliament square, but we consider all these needless. Where are the many statues built in memory of Joseph Stalin in Russia and in Hungary and in East Berlin?

T.U.C. EXISTS IN NAME ONLY

The Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) of Ghana exists only on paper today. Nevertheless, John Kofi Tettegah still enjoys his fat pay of £5,100 per annum. After Nkrumah had thrown in much money to help build it and united the workers, he realized that the workers can turn the tables on him at any time if they remained together and united, as the 1961 strikes had shown. So, in recent months, he has pruned and trimmed the T.U.C. to a mere skeleton.

All the T.U.C. bosses have been found new jobs in the Statutory Corporations, in the Flagstaff House and in the C.P.P. Secretariat—and yet retain their salaries and designations as T.U.C. officials. They come together only when foreigners come in to meet the T.U.C. officials of Ghana or a delegation of T.U.C. officials is required to go abroad to represent the Ghana T.U.C. But there has been no reaction from members of staff who have been affected by this "trimming" because, as one of them told me, "I enjoy even a higher salary."

GHANAIS STILL CRY 'FREEDOM'

Ever since Nkrumah formed his Convention People's Party in 1949, the slogan of the Party has been "FREEDOM!" How sad it is that this good slogan has tended to be in bad hands! Ghana has been independent for six years now, and three years after Republic and up to the present, the year 1963, the people still shout FREEDOM!

Freedom from what? one may ask. And the unwary may think and answer that it is Freedom from poverty, ignorance and many of the infirmities which tie humanity down to mediocrity that the people are inveighing against. Yes, but no: it is genuine Freedom—the freedom which an American sage has defined as man's inalienable right—that the people of Ghana shout for. Freedom to speak one's mind, freedom to associate

with all peoples, freedom from fear of detention, freedom to enable lawyers to appear in courts to defend accused persons without fear, freedom to enjoy the fruits of our labour, the freedom which emboldened us to fight the British lion and defeated it! Yes, that is the freedom the workers and people of Ghana shout for today—six years after independence and three years after the Republic has come into being.

Nkrumah denies us this freedom, but we feel that freedom is something like the free air we breathe, and one must not make noise about it before one is allowed to enjoy it. With that same emboldenment and sense of wit with which we won our national freedom from British imperialism, we shall win our fight for genuine freedom from this black plutocracy which oppresses us . . .

Nkrumah now rules by terror, intimidation and bribery.

INDICTED LEADERS KEPT

That the present Nkrumah government is composed of crooks can be inferred from Nkrumah's own speech over Radio Ghana on April 8, 1962. In the speech, he indicted all his closest friends: Kojo Botso, Komla Gbedemah, Krobo Edusei, E. K. Beusah, W. A. Wiafe, Ayeh-Kumi, Korboe, Lukumsah and many other top men of his administration of thieves who live beyond their means. He asked them to either surrender their properties in excess of £20,000 to the state or quit their posts.

All refused to surrender a cent's worth of property. Edusei pleaded for time to complete the imposing, magnificent and palatial house he was putting up in Accra, and which was estimated then to be worth £79,000, before handing it over . . . Mr. Gbedemah, being annoyed at Nkrumah's "arrogance," left the country incognito to fight and expose Nkrumah from abroad.

But Nkrumah, seeing the danger Mr. Gbedemah presented, sent emissary after emissary to persuade his erstwhile lieutenant to return to the fold. Gbedemah would not, except Nkrumah assured him that there would be no dictatorship in the country. Nkrumah would not share his powers with any man, so he refused to accept Mr. Gbedemah's condition. He, however, dropped the idea of purging his party of all these "thieves" he had discovered on the 7th of April—the day before his speech—and Botso, Edusei, Bensah and Ayeh-Kumi retained their palatial buildings, the famous £3,000 gold bed and thousands of pounds sterling they had stolen and kept in the banks of Ghana and abroad till this day of writing, and still hold their posts.

NKRUMAH'S WEALTH

Nkrumah also retains his under-estimated personal estate of £120,000 at Aburi, his £500,000 castle in Egypt. His shipping agency, OSCO (meaning Osagyefo Shipping Company) in Accra and Talcorudi flourishes and earns him much profit. His £45,000 building at Sekondi Bakanu, which has been hired by the Western Region's Commissioner for offices at £400 per month, is equally very lucrative.

All this makes the average Ghanaian think that socialism is a fine ideology which has gone astray or is being purposely prostituted by capitalists in socialist garb and many Africans now are so disillusioned that they refuse to listen to the so-called socialists.

When the pernicious Preventive Detention Act was being introduced by the government, many people inveighed against it on the ground that it was being done purposely to arrest political opponents . . . But we were assured that it was meant to detain all bad people, such as thieves, murderers and hooligans who disturb the peace of the populace, and yet are set free by the law courts. However, the Act, after gripping almost all the leading critics of Nkrumah, turned to grip the boys Nkrumah had trained to beat up his political opponents . . .

Nkrumah and his band of party activists who lead the C.P.P. are slyly dubbed by the Ghanaian public as "Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves"—with Nkrumah as Ali Baba. These people use the theme "Socialism," their "open sesame," to fool Ghanaians and outsiders alike, especially unwitting African states, into believing that the ordinary Ghanaian is satisfied and that real social justice prevails in the land. But any visitor who opens his eyes properly to see things clearly and clears his ears and listens to the ordinary man in the street attentively will know that Ghanaians know how phoney all these assertions are.

That the whole of Africa is disappointed by the so-called socialists is clearly shown by the result of the Addis Ababa Conference. Ghana, which has been obstreperous in advocating socialism, was not listened to by any African state. Ghana was excluded from all the important committees, and Nigeria, Guinea, Liberia and Tanganyika scored very highly at the conference, because the delegates were much interested in wit and not noise. They were interested in practical application of decisions and not mere passing of resolutions only, to be put into pigeon holes today and thrown into the waste paper basket tomorrow—as the many Nkrumah conferences had tended to be. In fact, the conference at Addis Ababa elbowed Ghana out completely in an attempt to keep Communism out of Africa. The unity of the African peoples at Addis Ababa was a big blow to Russia and Communism . . .

NKRUMAH BACKS MAO
One point of disagreement between Ghana and Russia is that Nkrumah, like Mao Tse-Tung, is a disciple of Stalin, but the present Russian friends of Nkrumah are trying to dissuade him from this discipleship. Nkrumah very much admires the "tremendous advances" the Chinese Stalinists have made within a decade of Communism and has vowed that Ghana should follow the Chinese line.

Nkrumah says that from next October all Ghanaian soldiers are going to farm. Soldiers I have interviewed say they are not Chinese, but, if they say they should go to the farm, they would very much like to go with their guns as the Ghanaian farmers do!

One officer spoke bitterly against the idea of going to farm, and said that their duty is to defend Ghana not only from physical attacks by foreigners, but "we are also the sentinels of Ghana's liberties. If they mean to take away all our liberties one by one, as they have begun to do, then we as soldiers have to do our duty."

Nkrumah and his men we call SIKADICIOUS people . . . In Ghanaian dialects, money is called SIKKA, and to eat is DI, so literally, a sikadicious person means "a money eater." SIKADICIOUS is a word which has been coined by Ghanaians to describe Nkrumaists, because they love money, women, wine and luxurious things more than the people.

'WORK AND HAPPINESS'

The Ghana Ministry of Health has as two of its branches a Nutrition Unit and a Community or Public Health Nursing Unit which are charged with the responsibility of advising nursing mothers on proper methods of feeding and caring for the child. The staff of the Nutrition Unit is paid a little less than £14 per month after months of training.

But in order to create jobs which offer high salaries for the privileged children and girl friends of the officials of the Nkrumah gang, a Nutrition Board, quite different from the Unit, has been set up. Only the known children of Nkrumah's C.P.P. officials are given jobs on the Board, and the starting pay is £24 per month as against £14 per month paid to the non-nannies in the Nutrition Unit.

These girls of the Nutrition Board do absolutely nothing. They walk about the streets or occasionally dash along the street in a fast car, strongly perfumed and heavily "made up," and indulge in conversation with every man they know in the streets.

I happened to meet one of these girls one day and queried her jovially as to why she was not at her proper office at that time, and her reply was:

"I, too, am enjoying the 'Work and Happiness' which the Osagyefo promises. You may not know, but there are two types of people in Ghana today: those who do the work and those who enjoy the results of the work."

So I cut in with the question, "You mean those who share the work and those who share the wealth?"

She answered with a grin: "Exactly, that is 'Work and Happiness,' isn't it?" I laughed her question off . . .

NEW GOVERNMENT BEING BORN

Ghanaians are, today, very much indignant about this un-socialist socialism being dramatized by the Nkrumah administration. But when they meet in the restaurants, in the barber shops and in the drinking saloons and discuss Ghanaian affairs, they end with the now hackneyed expression, "But when you point out all these evils, the next day you find yourself in Nsawam." (Nsawam is where they have the £600,000 Security Prison.)

Because of this the Ghanaian intellectuals are leaving the country at such an alarming rate that the government has passed a special law to restrain them from leaving. And even Ghanaian students who qualify abroad are reluctant to return to Ghana.

With the unity of Africa looming on the horizon, all workers know, all students know, the peasants and even the politicians know, that sooner rather than later, a new government—which will not indulge in the propagation of any ill-digested theories, that will not live on our backs and suck our blood dry at the expense of the happiness and well-being of the people—is being born.

The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and The Sino-Soviet Conflict

Continued from Page 1

cause of world peace." (People's Daily, Aug. 2)

Because the opposition of all the peoples of the world to nuclear war is total Khrushchev would like nothing better than to reduce all his differences with Mao to a disagreement on "peaceful co-existence." As *Izvestia* put it, Russia was not surprised that militarist, reactionary forces in the West were "atom mongers and madmen," but it was most "sadly" surprised to find that the "Chinese comrades should join their voices to the screams of those madmen."

Now there is no doubt that China, not only in attacking the treaty, but in talking about "cowardice in the face of imperialism" during the missile confrontation between Khrushchev and Kennedy over Cuba last year—not to mention Mao's perennial references to the United States as only "a paper tiger"—has given the impression that China welcomes a nuclear holocaust. It alone has the audacity to speak of a time to follow a nuclear war when: "socialism will be built on the ruins." Nevertheless, this is not the point in the Sino-Soviet conflict. To see what is, and how this affects world conflicts, it is necessary, first, to turn to the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, and then to the new, third, Afro-Asian-Latin American world that came on the historic stage at the end of the 1950's, and especially in the "Africa year: 1960."

OF WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

The challenge to totalitarian power that was issued by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 brought Russia and China closer together than they had ever been, either in Stalin's era or in Malenkov-Khrushchev's times. The class content of the counter-revolutionary crushing of the proletarian revolution is crucial to all else that has happened since. Directly after the show of solidarity with Russian imperialism against the Hungarian revolutionaries, China moved toward expanding its own state power.

China's recent attempts to exclude Russia from Asian and African meetings on racial grounds is only the culmination of something that began on the day, in 1949, when Mao came to power in mainland China, not on racial grounds, but on originality of "Mao's Thought." It had been obvious in all Mao's fights with Stalin, and as soon as the Chinese Communist Party took power it demanded that "Mao's Thought" become the underlying theory for all conquests of power in "colonial countries."

Lest any one think that this makes Mao a "revolutionary Leninist" where Khrushchev is a "revisionist," not to mention "a coward in face of imperialism" (although Stalin has suddenly been anointed by Mao as a "true Leninist"), here are the actual developments of Mao's revolutionary thunder since he won power against Stalin's advice to maintain his coalition with Chiang Kai-shek:

1) China embarks on wars only when it is sure to win, as against Tibet first, and limited to incursions into borders of India now.

2) When it suits its purpose, China peacefully, or, more correctly, shrewdly "co-exists" with European imperialist outposts on its own territory, like Hong Kong and Macao.

3) If Mao, whose "Thought" could exude nothing more original than "a four-class policy", is nevertheless more adept than Khrushchev in the use of Marxist terminology to hide his ter-

ritorial ambitions, he is no "braver" in facing a challenge from the greatest military power in the world—the United States. Mao has backed down more times, not only on Taiwan, but on Quemoy and Matsu, than did Khrushchev when he saw that Kennedy was actually ready to go to nuclear war over missiles in Cuba.

4) Despite his revolutionary thunder, in the abstract, Mao is, in the concrete, an expert in imperialist maneuvering and in dubbing even "fascist regimes" as "peace-loving." Thus, before the Sino-Indian war, Mao called the military regime in Pakistan "fascist", but the moment China was engaged in war with India, Mao lost no time in making a deal with Pakistan which had suddenly become a "peace-loving nation."

5) Nor does his "revolutionary defense" of the Afro-Asian world he hopes one day to dominate keep him from excluding other Communist lands whom he calls "revisionist" while including "the national bourgeoisie, and even certain kings, princes, and aristocrats who are patriotic."

RUSSIA AND CHINA AT WAR?

A shocking question faces us now: Can there be a war between two state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist?

Let us also not forget that the unity among the Communist state powers, during and after the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, greatly surpassed that in the camp of Western imperialism during the Suez war. Not only did the United States fail to come to the aid of old-fashioned British imperialism (much less be swayed by France's support), but in the UN the United States was in so great a hurry to line up with Russia against Great Britain that it was impossible to get an immediate UN condemnation of Russia for its brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution.

In a word, not only was China with Russia in the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, but the United States, too, considered this less obnoxious to its own imperialist ambitions than having its junior partner, Great Britain, strike out alone. Although it has since learned to be more silent on its disputes with France, this may change once again when China begins to use the same interval as France to develop its A-bomb.

After Khrushchev met Eisenhower at Camp David, however, Mao decided to bring the Sino-Soviet dispute into the open, at least in an "ideological" form. Toward that end China used the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth to launch its attack on Khrushchev's "revisionism" with the lengthy editorial "Long Live Leninism!" This time China was stopped in its tracks by the U.S. U-2 spy plane over Russia. Khrushchev took quick advantage of this. In the now famous shoe-pounding incident at the UN Khrushchev got his opportunity to announce to the whole world that he is not only master of the Communist world, but the only hope of the new world opened up by the African Revolutions.

On Dec. 7, 1960, Khrushchev convened the 81 Communist Parties for a conference in Moscow. There he transformed his UN speech into the new Communist Manifesto which declared Russia to be "the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind." The overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties present in Moscow demanded Mao sign

the Declaration so that a "unanimous" Communist front be shown American imperialism. Mao could not refuse to do so without exposing the fact that China considered Russia to be the enemy.

Mao signed, but continued his independent road not only in China but throughout the third Afro-Asian-Latin American world. It is for the benefit of this world that the power struggle between Russia and China is fought out in ideological terms, in "Marxist" language.

It is for the benefit of this new, third world, whose chief preoccupations are not "peaceful co-existence" and nuclear test ban treaties, but freedom and anti-colonialism, that Mao is presently willing to be "isolated" in an independent corner, though that be of an adventurer.

As we see, China's signature to the 1960 Moscow Manifesto did not stop its deviationary road along its own national interests any more than France's signature to NATO stopped De Gaulle from seeking his own glory road. The post-war world of the 1960's is, after all, a very different world from what it was in the late 1940's when both Europe and China lay in ruins, and each had to accept aid and, with it, the "philosophy" underlying the Marshall Plan and the Warsaw Pact respectively.

Mao is trying to do with a barrage of revolutionary phrases what De Gaulle is trying to achieve with spoutings about "French grandeur." In both cases, however, the split within their respective orbits is due to national ambitions for world expansion.

For the present, this is limited to the periods when the two nuclear titans are not confronting each other in a life and death struggle that "automatically" would "correctly" align these junior partners of "the East" and "the West." One thing, however is beyond the peradventure of any doubt: THE NON-VIABILITY OF STATE CAPITALISM AS A "NEW" SOCIAL ORDER IS PROVEN BY THE SAME LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT AS THAT OF PRIVATE CAPITALISM, THAT IS TO SAY THE COMPULSION TO EXPLOIT THE MASSES AT HOME AND TO CARRY ON WARS ABROAD.

Something did give pause to China's "independent" road of wars. Mao found out that, just as the Chinese masses resisted the militarization of labor in the misnamed "Communes" and forced that scheme to collapse about him, so the Indian masses suddenly found themselves nationally united against the Chinese invasion of their land. But, while this caused Mao to backtrack a bit, it only intensified his desire further to challenge Russia's leadership of international Communism which failed to come to his aid in the Sino-Indian War of 1962.

This does not, however, mean that a war between Russia and China is in the offing. While it is certainly not excluded in some distant future, there is no reason to anticipate one now—even if that does make "good copy" to gain reactionary senators' approval of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with Russia. From Russia's side, this would make no sense not only because it is the "have" nation, but also because it certainly would break up the international Communist movement that still considers the State Plan as a fundamental division between itself and "the bourgeoisie."

From China's side, such a war would be suicidal not only because Mao isn't strong enough to challenge the Russian goli-

ath, but also because he is a firm believer in the infamous Dulles policy of negotiating from "positions of strength." Those he will not have unless he first wins to his side both the Asian Communist Parties which are in power (North Korea, North Viet Nam), and also the African non-Communist world—or that of Latin America.

Every ruling class has found it easy to support revolutions—abroad. But, whereas new ruling classes, when they first come on the historic scene, proved themselves full of vitality because they did have a wider support among the masses than the old ruling classes they overthrew, the State Planners of today, like all challengers from the "have-not powers", feel compelled to embark on wars before ever they have proved their right to historic existence on native soil.

The "new" element in this struggle between state-capitalist powers is that they live in a nuclear age. It is not that Mao is less scared of a nuclear holocaust than the rest of the world. It is that he does not allow the question mark this puts over the very survival of civilization to divert him from his feeling that this time the "have" nations—the United States and Russia—will first of all eliminate each other!

MAO, DE GAULLE AND IKEDA

Despite De Gaulle's derisive question, "The ideological split? Over what ideology?" his latest display of arrogance at his latest news conference (July 29) could not clothe his nuclear ambition as Mao does his. Its death features stood out in all their goriness: "France will not be diverted by the Moscow agreements from equipping herself with the means of immeasurable destruction possessed by other powers."

By contrast, Mao was enabled to exorcise Khrushchev for "servilely meeting the needs of United States imperialism" by his agreement to a treaty which "undertakes . . . to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion, anywhere . . ." This, said Mao, means "out and out betrayal" of "the socialist countries and all oppressed countries" since it would keep them "from acquiring nuclear weapons" while consolidating the United States' "position of nuclear monopoly."

Both Mao and De Gaulle chose 1963 as the crucial year to issue their challenges to their varying orbits. But, where De Gaulle has "a position of strength"—the Common Market in general and the Franco-German Treaty in particular—Mao has nothing but revolutionary thunder which, moreover, may have spent itself considerably in the Sino-Indian war. Nevertheless, this being the age also of the struggle for the minds of men, it is much easier to rebut the Franco-German Treaty as "at the heart of the universe" than it is to dismiss the appeal of Mao to the Afro-Asian-Latin American world.

A new kind of proof of this is coming out of the mouths of Japan's rulers. Today's (August 19th) newspapers speak of Premier Ikeda's search for "new ways" to function at the UN. He wishes to put into operation his interpretation of the "age of struggle for the minds of men" by being given room to maneuver in the Afro-Asian bloc. Thus he hopes that Japan as an "Asian nation" would acquire a new power with which to gain further concessions from Ameri-

can imperialism. Since Kennedy too wants to militarize this most industrialized country in Asia, and make it an integral part of "the West" at the same time, he will no doubt help create a "neutral" role for Japan at the UN.

KENNEDY AND KHRUSHCHEV

As was abundantly clear from Kennedy's readiness to plunge the world into a nuclear war over Russian missiles in Cuba, nothing makes United States imperialism show its ugliest face as quickly as any threat to "this" hemisphere. At his recent press conference Kennedy expanded himself on the question of China all the way into the "1970's", by which time it will have acquired nuclear know-how and created "potentially a more dangerous situation than any we faced since the end of the second World War."

Although for different reasons, Kennedy and Khrushchev do see eye to eye on the one question of the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. The partial test ban was undertaken with this in mind. The treaty will free each to have more time to align his own orbit. This is one aspect of the treaty.

The other, more crucial, aspect is that Kennedy and Khrushchev need elbow room not only to isolate Mao and De Gaulle respectively, but, above all, to bear down upon the class struggles and the civil rights struggles at home. The intensification of the class struggles and the national struggles will have the single advantage of revealing the two worlds that truly oppose each other not only tactically, or even strategically, but totally and from class foundations. The absolute contradiction is not between those of private capitalism and state-capitalism, with or without their restless junior partners whether or not any dub themselves "Communist." The two opposing worlds are those of workers and capitalists in each country.

THE TWO WORLDS IN THE USA

Already Kennedy has begun his attempts to divert Negro demands for full equality into narrow legalistic channels, even as he has threatened to have compulsory "arbitration" legislation enacted in order to force the railroad workers to capitulate to the management side of Automation. All the sadder that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has just shackled the trade unions on the Automation front by refusing to back the March on Washington initiated by Negroes to fight for "Jobs and Freedom." Meany's fantastic excuse for the Executive Council's strike-breaking action—that AFL-CIO backing may keep some Congressmen from supporting the civil rights struggle—hardly fools even the bureaucrats themselves.

The one thing that is clear is this: the trade union bureaucracy has become an impediment in the way not only of the Negro Freedom Fighters, but of white labor's fight with management. All the more reason that, from below, white and Negro labor forge a unity in these crucial times when a detente in the Cold War abroad means heating up the class war at home.

White labor has never faced a more crucial challenge to separate itself from the ideology of the ruling class. If they do not meet this challenge openly and positively, it will be the whip of the counter-revolution that they'll next confront. The choice is between totalitarianism and freedom, not abroad, but at home.