

# NEWS & LETTERS

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Contract: Not 12 More Minutes Relief - 24 More Minutes Production

The new contract between Reuther and Chrysler Corporation is an historic contract in auto all right, but not for the reasons given by Reuther or the company. The 36-minute relief time they are all touting as a victory for labor is in reality a victory for the company and the sweat-shop conditions they're after. What it means is that the production lines will never be shut off.

Before this contract we had a 12-minute break in the morning and another 12-minute break in the afternoon. The line was shut down for both periods. The reason the company "gave in" so easily on the added relief time is not that the workers on the production lines need an extra 12 minutes of relief time, but that the company got 24 more minutes of production.

#### DASHING ALL THE WAY

Workers "on a moving line" will now get two rest periods of nine minutes each, every morning and every afternoon. Each worker will go to the restroom by himself. Since the line never shuts down, the workers will not even have the few minutes to talk to each other that they used to have. On the line, you don't have time to wipe the sweat off your brow, let alone talk to the guy next to you. The workers now will have just enough time to run to the toilet and rush back to that ever-moving line.

What it also means is that the line has now been speeded up by seven seconds. Where for the last model the line was set at 37 seconds, this model is set at 30 seconds. This is surely an historic agreement!

Reuther always bargains for the economic packages. As soon as he makes an agreement he says that grievances are left to the local union to work out. They are never worked out. How can these things be worked out when the local union or local officers can't call a strike? The company knows this.

#### REUTHER'S HYPOCRISY

In pre-negotiation talks Reuther yelled that workers must have better working conditions, more relief time and that the companies must slow down the lines. Now he leaves it up to the locals. That's why Local 3, Dodge Main, workers went out on strike after the contract was signed. That is why the GM workers went out.

One of the local officers said that before the contract was signed, one of the International Reps called the union and told them to take a number of local grievances off the bargaining table. One of the local officers nearly cried and told the Rep if they take away all that, there won't be anything left. The Rep answered, "That's the boss's order".

This is an historical agreement all right. For the first time in the union's history workers will not get one penny added to their take-home pay. Everything has gone into equities—something we have no control over. These equities will be paid to workers if they are lucky enough to live to be 75 or 80 years old. What the company puts into this pot of equities they get back by speeding up the lines the following day.

#### WHAT EVERY WORKER KNOWS

Recently at Ford Auditorium, Reuther reported on how the negotiations were going. He said he asked some "genius" on figures in Washington how much profit did he think Chrysler made an hour of each worker. The "genius" said about 85c. Reuther then said he had a genius on figures too, and "I told him the company made \$3.40 an hour profit on every worker in the plant plus some 60% dividends."

All workers know that they are never paid for what they produce.

In pre-negotiations Reuther yelled long and loud about overtime work. He said the company would have to pay double time for all overtime, triple time for Sundays and quadruple time for holidays. Now overtime is just a pass word. The only time we heard about overtime in the negotiation was a news report that the union said the companies will have to give the workers an extra ten minutes relief for ten hours work and 20 minutes for twelve hours work. They also stated that the companies cannot force a worker to work more than 12 hours a day. After 12 hours it must be voluntary overtime.

Workers fought for the eight hour day in 1866! With the birth of the CIO we said no worker should work overtime as long as one man is laid-off. It took an historical agreement to take a long step backwards to the 12-hour day.

#### A MUCH NEEDED LINK FOR UNITY

I can't believe these union leaders can continue to disregard and disrespect the demands of workers until the end of time. I can't believe that the revolt against the contracts year after year will not take on momentum. These workers in revolt will find unity with other workers and the link with the Negro movement for freedom. When this happens it will move with the force of those hurricanes that are wrecking the coast of Florida and Georgia today. Then Reuther and Mazy can yell to the winds that they stand ready to hock Solidarity House to get just demands for the workers — for we won't be listening.

#### ON THE INSIDE

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## Mass Opposition to U.S. Puppets Shakes South Viet Nam Regime

The temporarily successful takeover of the South Vietnamese government by still another military clique in Saigon on Sept. 13—before the U.S. stepped in to restore Major General Nguyen Khanh to power—reveals how shaky is the American supported regime in that country. On Sept. 14 Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon accurately characterized the surviving government as having "all the stability of a weak reed growing in quicksand." Further, and again accurately, he called its leader, Major General Khanh, "a military tyrant-dictator kept in power by the United States."



NEW JAPANESE EDITION of *Marxism and Freedom*. For introduction to new edition and ad, see pp. 5 and 7.

### An Appeal to Our Readers

### Help Us Maintain News & Letters

This is the ninth year since the founding of *News & Letters*, the first and still the only workers' newspaper edited by a Negro production worker, which is, at the same time, a unique combination of worker and intellectual, in which each speaks for himself and each can listen to the other. The result you know as on-the-line stories from factories, mills and mines, on-the-spot reports by participants in strikes, demonstrations, and freedom struggles, as well as Marxist-Humanist analysis of every important national and international event.

From the first issue in June 1955, which headlined "Strikes Against Auto Contracts" and featured "A Day to Remember, the June 17, 1953 East German Revolt"—to the last issue, July 1964, which headlined "Goldwater Victory Symbol of Far Right Threat to America" and featured the only on-the-spot report to appear anywhere in the U.S. of "Two Million Nigerian Workers on General Strike"—each issue is one where you have heard the voices of the rank and file factory workers, of the youth in revolt, of the Negro Revolution here and the Freedom Fighters all over the world speaking for themselves.

*News & Letters* has also been distinguished by such Special Supplements as "Mao Tse-tung: From the Beginning of Power to the Sino-Soviet Conflict," which has since become a special chapter in *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya; and "Workers Battle Automation" by Charles Denby, our editor, which has since become a separate pamphlet. Other special issues that have since become independent pamphlets are *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, the story by participants in Mississippi Freedom projects; *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, which appeared as a special edition in England as well as the United States; and finally, our latest best-seller, *American Civilization on Trial*.

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It was the move of the U.S. Government to change the quality of its involvement in South Vietnam which once again, on Aug. 6, brought the world to teeter on the edge of the nuclear abyss. In the form of navy bombers dispatched from the American 7th Fleet, war feelers probed the Communist world. Five targets were struck in North Vietnam. According to the Dept. of Defense, the air strike was in "retaliation" for two torpedo boat attacks made against the destroyer "Maddox" by the North Vietnamese navy!

By strange coincidence, the issue of *Time* magazine that appeared just days before the Tonkin Gulf incident made much of the fact that there was considerable support in South Vietnam military circles for the idea of bombing targets in North Vietnam.

Neither Russia nor China chose to pick up the gauntlet flung by the United States. Perhaps their current preoccupation with one another accounts for the scant attention they gave the matter. Nevertheless LBJ has chalked up one for his daring do and showed himself willing to vie with trigger-happy Barry Goldwater as top gun in the Western world. Not to be outdone by LBJ however, Goldwater who itches to defoliate Southeast Asia with atomic weapons, accused the Administration of sending American boys to their death by revealing air raid plans prematurely.

#### LODGE'S FAILURES STALL WAR

While the American supported platoon of Vietnamese generals plot furiously against one another, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Ambassador General Maxwell Taylor sit and plot how they can muster enough civilian and military support to wage a military campaign against the Viet Cong. Henry Cabot Lodge toured Europe for the Administration in an attempt to win, if not the minds of men, then at least the heads of state to support American policy in Southeast Asia.

What has temporarily stayed the more aggressive hand of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam has been Great Britain's lack of enthusiasm for the American stance and France's outright opposition and call for a conference of nations for the neutralization of Southeast Asia.

Now as in the past, the lack of unanimity among the NATO allies holds for a time the nuclear holocaust in abeyance. It was so in 1955, when Britain refused to support the U.S. in the dispute over the Chinese off-shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. It was true of the Suez crisis in 1956, when the Eisenhower Administra-

(Continued on Page 8)

# Visit With A Nigerian Worker Sheds Light on June Strike

NIGERIA, West Africa—Nigeria has never seen the like of the nation-wide strike which paralyzed the country in June. Since June, there is one important question to which every articulate Nigerian has been trying to find an answer. What is the real cause of discontent among Nigerian workers?

The country has had all sorts of diagnoses and prescriptions from various quarters — from economists, self-appointed experts, editorial writers and plain prophets of doom. But all their labors have had a common failing. In the maze of economic theories, statistics and charts with which they work, they have often lost touch of the most important object of their study—the human person.

## TWO CLASSES

Nowadays "angry young men" and other would-be reformers talk of the two nations in Nigeria. They say there is an upper privileged class. This consists of successful politicians and professional men. If there is anything which they want and cannot obtain it is because money cannot purchase it.

Then there are the masses—the peasants in the villages and countryside and the artisans in large towns. It is usually stated in airy generalizations that the masses of Nigerian workers live in abject poverty. But how many people really appreciate just how grim their life is?

President Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe recently felt compelled to call for a radical improvement in the living standard of the masses, after his tour of one of the regions. Soap-box orators vituperate about the poor condition of the masses. But do they really know it?

Government statisticians look at their cost-of-living index if they want to find how well or how badly the common man is doing. Here you see them face to face with reality—the life of a 10-pound-a-month worker with a family of five in the city of Lagos.

At the climax of the strike, one of the labor leaders claimed that a police dog earns far more than a worker—about 15 pounds a month. Police authorities replied that no police dog earns more than six pounds a month. Then some labor leaders retorted that for thousands of Nigerians a steady income of six pounds a month is beyond their wildest dreams.

## INTO THEIR HOMES

I went into their homes, saw how some of our Nigerian families lived, slept and ate. Mr. Abu Imoru lives and works on Lagos Island. He is like several thousands of other Nigerian workers. Mr. Imoru works as a painter. He tries to supplement his earnings by working as a night watchman. But all his income in a month is hardly over eight pounds.

With a wife and five children (two of whom are in school) how does Mr. Imoru manage to live on his earnings of eight pounds a month—now ten pounds with the Morgan negotiated award? It is obvious at once that for him life is by no means a picnic.

For those who move in the top set of society they should remember that Mr. Imoru's monthly salary is just enough to buy a carton of beer, or about two bottles of champagne, or about 52 really good cigars.

Mr. Imoru, together with his entire family, lives in a single room in one of the slums of Lagos. And for a room measuring

about eight ft. by ten ft. the rent is three pounds a month. It contains pieces of furniture which are absolutely essential—a bed and low Nigerian stools.

## BRICKS WITHOUT STRAWS

The kitchen is a glowing testimony to the resourcefulness of a Nigerian housewife who is compelled to make bricks without straws so to speak. There are pots, fire places and tin cooking utensils. But for Mr. Imoru and his family, things like electric and gas cookers, refrigerators, automatic dishwashers must sound like gadgets in a material paradise on another planet. In fact, they've never heard of them.

I met Mr. Imoru and his family having a meal. And all hands were on the deck—on the bowl. There was only one bowl of food from which all the family ate.

"About how much do you spend on food every month?" I asked Mr. Imoru. "We all spend four pounds," he replied, "and that is all I can afford."

I did a little mental arithmetic. I realized that after paying for rent, he is left with only one pound.

"I do not suppose that you have a large savings account in the bank," I suggested with some hesitation. "Bank? Savings?" Mr. Imoru growled back at me with a mixture of anger and surprise. "How can I think of a savings when the money is not enough for me? The other things I bother my head about are clothes. And those I buy once a year for my wife and my children."

## A CONSTANT BATTLE

For people like Mr. Imoru it is a constant battle to make ends meet. They have to live their lives without frivolities. "How then do you amuse yourself," I asked, "Do you smoke and drink?" Mr. Imoru looked incredulous, and shook his head vigorously. "Me? No, never. I do not smoke and I do not drink. My only care is to have enough food to eat and that is all.

"But," he continued, "I love watching football matches. I do not go to the football ground more than twice a year. These are the only occasions I can find the gate fees."

Despite his humble station in life, Mr. Imoru did not appear to nurse any bitterness or envy. He told me as I was leaving his house, "I try my best to work hard. My prayer is that God should help me so that I can give my children a sound education."

**A Nigerian Worker's Budget**  
Monthly salary—Eight pounds.  
House rent—three pounds.

Food, for a wife and five children—Four pounds.

Other items, to be paid for out of the balance of one pound after deducting money for house rent and food: Clothes for the family. Miscellaneous expenses of two children in school. Occasional amusement—cinemas—football matches.

**Have YOU Contributed to the News & Letters FUND?**

# Italian Workers' History Shows Way Out

MILAN, Italy — Considering the inability of the Italian workers and their organizations to struggle against the wage block proposed by the government, it would almost seem that the working class had lost its capacity to struggle, had become integrated or subdued by the system — a line that many Communists take.

However, one gets a very different picture when one considers the history of this dismal situation. Immediately after the Second World War, the Italian workers were strong and gained a certain control in the factories, while the capitalists were very weak, almost without capital. There were factory commissions made up of workers that represented them. If the working day seemed too long, they shortened it by going home.

## COMMUNISTS PROPOSE SPEED-UP

The CP said this was not good; that the workers had to produce and build up the economy; otherwise there would be no work. (In some Party cell meetings it was even suggested that the workers themselves introduce into the factory Stakhanovism and the election of "model workers"). In the meantime Togliatti would resolve everything by taking over the government through a parliamentary struggle. Togliatti lost in his parliamentary game while the workers and the Marshall Plan made Italian capital strong.

The workers' commissions, if they still exist in a factory, are almost ineffective. In the last few years the workers have spent many hours on strike at a great economic sacrifice for higher wages and shorter hours. They have gained very little.

However, the Communist and socialist unions have stated that

these strikes have been a great success because union officials will now be able to go into the factories and represent the workers. Another aspect of the "union in the factory" is that the dues will be taken from the workers' wage by the employers so that the boss will pay the union official.

If, it is true, as most workers I have talked to have said, that they never saw the union official except when he came around to collect dues, it is difficult to believe that he will now begin passing his days running through the factory looking for grievances. Now, he can go directly to the boss for his pay without ever seeing a worker.

In many cases the workers don't even know why or when there is a strike; they go to work and find written on the door

## "Strike Today"

In these conditions no one should be surprised if the workers have little faith in their organizations and are discouraged. But totally discouraged—no.

The first wildcat strikes, not of entire factories but of sections, are beginning to occur. The number of final products that have to be discarded in Italian industry is increasing rapidly. This is partially due to the chaotic conditions of production in the modern factory, but studies show that it is also due to the conscious effort of the workers.

So one sees that the Italian workers, like their American, English and French comrades, working in the same conditions, are beginning to understand that they will have to take things into their own hands.

# Charge Police Brutality in Chester

Philadelphia, Pa. — Professor Paul Bender of the University of Pennsylvania law school has declared in a report for the Greater Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union that there is "very good reason to believe" that local police and state troopers were guilty of unnecessary brutality in handling civil rights demonstrations in Chester, Pa.

Police dealt violently with Negro and white demonstrators, both men and women, during a demonstration at the home of former State Senator John J. McClure in Chester. McClure has ruled Delaware County, Pa., as a feudal fief for more than 30 years through the all-powerful Republican machine. He has long served as handmaiden to the reactionary Pew (Sun Oil) and McCabe (Scott Paper) interests.

## POLICE BEAT REPORTER

State police at the McClure home ganged up to brutally and

needlessly beat a young white man, a reporter for the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, thinking he was one of the white students from Swarthmore College taking part in the demonstration.

Stanley Branche, Chester Negro leader, has condemned the shilly-shallying of Governor Scranton in appointing a commission with authority to take punitive action, to investigate the police brutality at the several Chester demonstrations.

Governor William Scranton, the "champion" of the moderates at the Republican convention, who later called for unity with the reactionary Goldwater, was, more than two years ago, selected as the Republican candidate for the governorship of Pennsylvania at a meeting in the home of the self-same John J. McClure in Chester.

# Birchers Drive To Recruit Police

Philadelphia, Pa. — The John Birch Society has long had its eye on the police. In recent months, the Birchites have stepped up their drive to infiltrate police departments and recruit policemen into their own ranks. This has come since police brutality and carelessness with Negro lives was revealed following demonstrations by Negro and anti-war groups, such as occurred in Chester, Pa.

An indication of the Birchite activity came when a Negro policeman made a call to a call-in radio program in Philadelphia, telling about the sergeant of his squad, a member of the Birch society, who was trying to recruit the white policemen on the squad into the society.

## PATRIOTISM—BIRCH STYLE

The campaign also takes the form of mass propaganda. A Birch front group, "Let Freedom Ring," has recorded messages attached to special phone numbers which people are told to call. Besides attacking President Johnson and the Supreme Court, the messages deny police brutality against Negroes and stress the need to support the police in order to preserve "constitutional order." Bumper stickers saying: "Support Your Police," are distributed. The president of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police is given a "patriotism" award at a Birch meeting.

The campaign aims to justify to the white middle class and to the police themselves, the brutal treatment of Negroes and left-wing protest groups. In some cases, Birchite policemen might try to provoke a violent reaction from Negroes or left-wing demonstrators, as an excuse for violent suppression of demonstrations and in order to discredit Negroes and the left among the middle class.

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## Civil Rights and White Labor

### A White Worker Writes

A great deal has been achieved since Montgomery by the activity of Negroes by themselves. But I think the one crying need that has never been brought about is jobs, and better jobs, for the Negro.

At the time of the Depression, the main thing I was concerned with was my lack of a job. I often used to think that freedom lost a great deal of its meaning if you never had a job, a means to enjoy your freedom. The Civil Rights movement needs the help of another segment of the population, the white American worker. He has his own problems, and one of these is also jobs.

### LITTLE ON ALLIANCE

In all of the activity of the Civil Rights movement, only a very, very small part of its activity and thought has been directed towards an alliance with white labor. But all of the elements are present for achieving this within the labor movement itself, in spite of what seems at times insurmountable race prejudice within the labor movement and the working class itself. The point is that an energetic, determined turn has to be made towards achieving this integration.

There is a deep disquietude even among the labor leadership on the question of racial prejudice in the labor unions. In the past year in some of the building trades journals, for example, this has been evident. The leaders have been apologizing, saying "We are not keeping Negroes out because of their color, but because they don't have the necessary skills to qualify in apprenticeship in the unions." ("Methinks the lady doth protest too much," to quote Shakespeare). Now if this is true of the leaders, then it is even more so on the part of the rank and filers.

In the presence of Negroes, whites are so ashamed of their prejudices, that they don't exhibit them. This is not due, I think, to fear or cowardice, but due to the fact that they are unsure of themselves on this question. Five years ago, they would have made no bones about what they felt. Today their thought is changing on this subject. And since this is the positive element, now is the moment to seize on this to make the change of direction.

My feeling is that if this whole question of Civil Rights as related to jobs can be brought up in the local unions by the Negro members themselves, in a firm and persistent manner, to brother union members, they will find allies and sympathy they never suspected they had. In locals

where they have a larger proportion of the membership, they can be even bolder and more forceful. And in locals where they have an absolute majority, they can even take firmer action.

For example, in the Laborer's Union of the Building Trades Union of Los Angeles, which is predominantly Negro and Mexican, if they were a mind to, they could tie up all building in the area. This would certainly bring attention to it to the labor movement and the working class in this area.

The elements, the historic moment, the momentum of the Civil Rights movement, the disquietude among both the leaders and the rank and file members, has brought the situation to where it can be presented on the floor of hundreds of locals for discussion in a sympathetic manner, and sometimes in an unsympathetic manner, but it must be done regardless, and a discussion started on this question of racism and jobs in the labor movement. New friends will be found and enemies smoked out.

—Skilled Worker, Los Angeles

### Negro Worker Answers

There has always been a crying need for jobs, except during world wars, under our present system. There will always be a crying need for jobs.

When the Negro Revolution reached its peak last summer with the Birmingham crisis, Reuther finally came out with his slogan for the union — especially for Negroes in the union — that it was jobs the Negroes needed first and foremost. No one can deny the importance of jobs to anyone who is unemployed. But for Reuther and the other labor leaders, this was only a way to evade giving Civil Rights Movement any direct support or taking part in any of its direct actions.

I had a heated discussion with a Negro bureaucrat on this question. His position was: What good is it if all the public facilities are open to you, and you do not have the money to go in and buy what you want because you have no job? I told him that during World War II almost every Negro who wanted a job had one, and could afford to pay for what he wanted. Yet they were barred from almost all white-owned public places.

A white labor bureaucrat asked me whether I would work with the union in the Political Action campaign to defeat Goldwater in the coming election. He

said that the Negroes have a firm basis to approach voters: Goldwater's position against Civil Rights. He said that the whites have a firm position, too: Goldwater's position against unionism and the Poverty Program. His idea was that the whites would campaign on these questions, and the Negroes would campaign on the Civil Rights question. When I told him I would not work with him on that basis, he was amazed. I asked him how the union could think of separating these basic issues. If I campaign I would campaign on all of the issues, to all of the workers, Negroes and whites. To me it is a total philosophy or it is nothing.

The same thing is true of the Civil Rights Movement. I feel that what is lacking is the total philosophy. The Civil Rights Movement would be more than happy to ally itself with labor, but if they have to do this through the Negro leaders in the labor movement, there is not one I have yet met or heard about who will take a position on any issue that is contrary to the thinking of their white union bosses.

The Communists are saying that instead of the Civil Rights movement, we must fight for multi-issues. Their line will dictate which issue will best fit the occasion at any given time. To them it is not a question of total freedom. They are all just playing games to suit their objectives.

The NAACP made a beginning in the direction of job opportunity here in Detroit several months ago with a demonstration against General Motors Corp. They said they would continue with Ford and Chrysler if those companies were not willing to sit down and talk with them. At Chrysler, the company immediately began to upgrade Negroes and hire new Negro workers.

### NEED UNITY FROM BELOW

Today at the plant where I work the Negroes cannot earnestly fight with the company on job opportunity for Negroes. The company has put Negroes into almost every skill in the plant—from a doctor in first aid, to plant protection, foreman, and all other skills in the plant which the Negroes had given up hope of ever attaining, before Birmingham and the activity of the Civil Rights movement ever since then. They had fought for those positions for years through the union—with no success.

The unity of white and black labor is a necessity for today perhaps more than ever—but it is clear that it will have to be a unity that comes from below, and that it must not only unite Negro with white, but unite both of them with the need for a totally new kind of world.

—Charles Denby, Detroit

## On The Line

### Contract Agreements Do Not Solve Basic Work Problem

By John Allison

Detroit, Mich. — I want to back up to the last set of negotiations we had with Chrysler in 1961. The reason I want to back up to it is to show what *News & Letters* has done in my local union.

In those negotiations we had one big argument because there was an awful lot of unemployment in the auto industry. And the argument revolved around seniority and Automation. These were the two big questions.

The seniority provision in the contract was the first point, and dealt with the question of how workers would move from one plant to another plant in order to work. This was the first thing nailed down by the negotiators—not to the satisfaction of the workers, but it was some sort of an accommodation and the contract was accepted. Nothing, of course, was done about Automation.

### A Hitch Changed Work Conditions

Pittsburgh, Pa. — About a month ago a machinist was sent home for being out of his work area. What happened is that he was about 50 feet from his work shop talking to a Bell Telephone worker for about 15 or 20 minutes.

I tried to tell his foreman that he was hot, so he walked out of the shop to cool off. His foreman wouldn't hear it, so he was sent home.

### ONE HITCH

Instead of going home, he went straight to the union hall to get it straightened out. The only hitch was that the union president is the foreman's brother. The president called his brother and gave him hell over the phone, but the foreman wouldn't take the pink slip back. (The pink slip is given for bad conduct.)

So the worker went to the main city office and demanded to be heard, and he was. He told about the conditions that he had to work under, such as a rough safety program, plus a rough time by the boss and watch-dog master mechanic who stays in our shop trying to catch someone doing something wrong.

### CONDITIONS CHANGED

The city office promised to do something about it and they did. They sent a representative out who observed for three hours and left. The conditions in the machine shop began to change.

The working men and bosses used to think this fellow was crazy, but now he has changed conditions in the shop. The only sad part about it all is that they wouldn't take the slip back and the man was laid-off for a day.

I say that *News & Letters* is in this set of negotiations because of the paper, which always raises the question of man's relationship to work. We have had a lot of articles going around the shop about this subject.

### SKILLED DON'T KNOW

At the last negotiations we had a fellow named Norman Matthews who was a skilled tradesman. The skilled tradesmen are not production people and have never understood the problems of production in the shop. The only people who know production for what it is are the production workers, the guys on the line.

Doug FAW's is the new director of UAW's Chrysler Department. He was a production worker, and understood the problems of production workers. I know that Doug has accepted Walter Reuther's mentality, and Walter's mentality on the question of production is—relief time.

When they hit Chrysler on the economic question, there is no argument on the money question; and there is no argument about seniority this time since all of the "eligible" old workers are back to work.

### "AS WE SEE IT"

But on working conditions, this is where the hitch comes in. When the question hit the negotiating table, "What are we going to do about the working standards?" The company hit the ceiling. They said, "You don't tell us what to do because in the contract you have recognized that the company has the right to work, and control our working force, as we see fit."

This right is at the head of all contracts—that the union recognizes if the company will give them the exclusive rights to represent the workers, the union will give the company exclusive rights to work the men and women any way they want, as long as they pay them.

When the question is raised now, "What are you going to do about working standards?"—the whole thing comes right back to WHO should decide the question? Now, obviously, we know that the workers should decide. And this has been agitated for, reported in the newspaper, and talked about. The workers always come back to this theme. They say you can give us early retirement, you can give us all the money—barrels of it—it wouldn't solve the problem. Money is the sort of thing anyway, that you give it and then you take it back. Which the company does: they give it on the one hand, and take it back on the other.

### WORKERS CAN DO IT

The workers say that on the question of production standards, the company will give us relief time, and take more time back by increasing the speed of the line. *News & Letters* has also made this very clear in the shop. And I think that there are some people in the shop who are beginning to think that the company, and Walter Reuther for that matter, will never seriously deal with this question. More than ever before, it's clear the production workers are the only ones who can and must deal with it.

## Appalachian Committee Battle Lines Drawn on Issues

HAZARD, Ky. — The primary concern of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment is not to take part in the Civil Rights Movement as it pertains to the colored race alone, but to assure that ALL citizens are protected from the arbitrary and discriminatory opinions of local officials who are attempting to deny the protection of the Federal Bill of Rights to the citizens of every state. This Committee strongly believes that if the common people do not organize and pit their combined strength against such inequities, the working class will never benefit from the laws which are passed in behalf of their interests . . .

Some of our people who have been trying for years to get disability Social Security benefits are now dying, because the members of the Medical profession rendered opinion evidence which

the Social Security Board will not accept, because they require evidence based upon facts as to the physical condition of the applicant.

We find that only about fifty percent of our school children are receiving the benefits of the Federal Lunch Program, contrary to the reports that the school children are being adequately fed and taken care of in the state of Kentucky. Propaganda does not feed the empty stomachs of the hungry children . . .

Certain members of our Committee have had their Social Security benefits stopped or frozen because of unsigned letters sent to the Social Security office. We are under the impression that we, as American Citizens, have the right to face our enemies and know the nature of the evidence against us. It is up to the Federal

Government that we get that protection . . .

### STUDENTS HELP

The college students who are here are trying to carry out the command of Lyndon Johnson to wage a REAL war on poverty. Their discoveries are enough to convince this Committee that the Kerr-Mills bill is a failure and it is time that a National Health Plan be legislated by National Congress to adequately take care of all the citizens of this nation. The medical profession and drug companies have deprived the common people through their exorbitant prices of proper medical and hospital care. It is not enough to rely on their solemn oaths, for it takes laws to command performance from these associations, as we have seen that moral issues are not enough. The little girl who died of burns might have been alive today if

she had had proper medical attention.

There are those who would like to stigmatize this organization with the taint of Communism, but the road to freedom lies in the opposite direction, and the road to freedom is the one we are travelling . . .

### ACT ON MANY ISSUES

We are interested in a National Health Plan, in the passage of the Mine Safety Bill, in correcting the inequities of the Federal Stamp legislation, in seeing that all school children are provided with lunches, and that every state law that denies the protection of the Federal Constitution be tested . . .

We intend to put out a weekly newsletter to inform the public as to the work and aspirations of the members of this Committee. —Everette Tharp, Rec. Sec'y (See Newsletters excerpts p. 6)

**Editorial****Reuther's Cake, Frosting and a la mode Mean Indigestion for Workers**

At a time when strikes and threats of strikes are spreading to trades and industries from coast to coast, politicians and bureaucrats turned anxious eyes on Detroit to see what kind of contract "package" Reuther could work out with the auto industry to tie the workers in.

Their stated interest was in the "economic pattern" to be set by the UAW contracts. Their actual worry was whether Reuther could evade the strike deadline and suppress the indignant wildcats with which the rank-and-file have greeted every auto negotiation since 1955.

That past master of deceit, UAW president Walter P. Reuther, is running true to form. At this writing only the Chrysler and Ford contracts have been negotiated. But the new pattern has clearly emerged. It's the old sellout trimmed with a few cute new phrases.

After melodramatic all-night sessions during which Reuther militantly calls management nasty names, he triumphantly emerges, within an hour of strike deadline, to tell a breathlessly waiting press corps that the strike was averted at the eleventh hour. The one thing which neither Reuther nor management dared to risk was a strike. They know well enough how strikes can start, but neither is sure, and both are fearful, of how they may end.

The one time, during the Ford talks, that Reuther showed genuine anger was two days before settlement when he denounced the wildcat by 10,000 Ford workers at the River Rouge plant, as sabotage.

Now he's burbling that the Chrysler package was a birthday cake to which Ford added chocolate frosting and GM will top it with ice cream. How cute! The old pie in the sky has become a chocolate frosted ice cream full of sawdust and fish-hooks.

**THE NOT-SO-HIDDEN COSTS**

All the public talk is about how much the new contract is going to cost the corporations over three years. But the workers are talking about how much it is costing them, not only in dollars and cents, but in their health and their families' welfare and their very lives.

In actual cash, the first year of the contract may give the production worker an additional 25c a day in take home pay — which rising prices converts into take-away pay.

In human terms, Reuther's greatest deceit lies in his hypocritical separation of so-called economic from non-economic problems. Aren't production standards — on which Reuther "won" even more meaningless "gains" than on wages — economic and profoundly social? If that self-appointed expert on social planning doesn't know this self-evident truth any rank-and-file worker can educate him on that.

In the Ford agreement there is provision for something called an "inequity fund" to correct "wage inequities." Under this provision about 26,000—some nine or ten per cent—of all Ford hourly-rated workers could get as much as a 5c hourly pay raise.

Is this phrase, "wage inequities," Reuther's double-tongued way of finally acknowledging the unending existence of discriminatory job practices in plants with which he has signed contracts?

This is exactly what is at the heart of the civil rights movement today. This is exactly what everyone is talking about — friend, enemy and hypocrite alike — including AFL-CIO president George Meany. That is, everybody but not that self-appointed expert on social planning, Reuther.

**THE URGENT QUESTION: WORKING CONDITIONS**

Isn't this exactly the pressure point at which the Goldwaterite counter-revolution is aiming in its terrifying drive to annul every social gain ever won, separately and together, by the labor and Negro struggles?

What would Reuther call this? Is it an economic or a non-economic question. And isn't it at the same time an urgent question of production standards and working conditions? And isn't it at the same time a profoundly social question because today, more obviously than ever before, the life and fate of every single person depends on how this question is solved?

The sad truth is that the UAW bureaucrats don't even know exactly how many of their dues paying members are Negroes, nor in which plants and departments they are employed, nor how their jobs are classified.

This isn't because the bureaucrats are sensitive about giving racial designations to human beings, but because they are deliberately insensitive to the human needs of each and all of the production workers whose check-off dues pay their salaries and on whose backs they sit.

General Motors is now the target. Not so many months ago, Reuther blasted GM as the worst sweat shop in the modern world. At the same time, the NAACP, broadly supported, blasted GM for its discriminatory job practices. The latter "inequity" is obviously not on the negotiating agenda of Reuther's team. The former "inequity"—the sweat shop charge—will be transformed into Reuther's usual mess of unrecognizable verbiage.

But the rank-and-file workers have their own way of negotiating. They have yet to walk out to the bargaining table with their own demands and solutions.

**News & Letters**

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**GOLDWATER AND THE BIRCHERS**

Senator Goldwater is going around saying how he will stop the Negro people from demonstrating and marching to get their freedom. He plans to put the Negro to work shining shoes and apples. That's a crazy slavery-time way of thinking. But that poor man did not think at all.

That is not the way for a president to run the "American way of life" unless he wants to be a fascist president.

Perhaps Mr. Goldwater hasn't heard of the Mississippi governor who told the governor of Alabama, Wallace, not to try to stop the Negro children from going to the white schools, or to pull out and start private schools for the whites because "man, you just can't win." He told him, "Mr. Wallace, I tried it and I failed and you will do the same."

Ethel Dunbar,  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I watched on television the Goldwater Convention. It seemed terrible to think of the support he commands. Somebody said to me that one would imagine people would be too educated to listen to him. I replied that it is the "educated" who support him—the middle-class, terrified of losing, or sharing their economic privilege, with the Negroes and the poor. I see, however, that he at least has had to say that he will not repeal the Civil Rights Bill.

Don't stop sending the paper. It is the one sensible paper with human feelings that I have ever seen. The Socialist Leader here has become a rag. I still think of your article on the Kennedy assassination. It was the best written anywhere.

Steady Reader  
London, England

\* \* \*

In your May issue you call for action by the company and "union bureaucrats" against Birchers who have been placing stickers in the stairways. This is ignoring the basic right of even the hate mongers to express their opinion, no matter how vile. This points up a willingness of both extremes to take away the rights of the opposition when they have the power to do so. It is a dangerous trend and should be stifled when it appears. It is a temptation that must be resisted.

Student  
Kentucky

\* \* \*

I was talking to my doctor recently—just after the so-called victory that Goldwater attained at the Republican Convention circus. We were discussing the future and the possibility of Goldwater's election to the presidency (heaven forbid!). The doctor said that if Goldwater won, and had his finger on all those nuclear weapons at last, the only thing sane people could do is leave for New Zealand. I told him I didn't think even that would be far enough — maybe some isolated Pacific island would be better. His prophetic retort seemed to me a pathetic commentary on the world today, especially the world Goldwater envisages when he "takes over." He said, "And they would probably use that island for nuclear testing. So there really is nowhere to run."

Office Worker  
Detroit

**Readers'****NIGERIAN GENERAL STRIKE**

I thought you would be interested to read the following letter I received from a friend of mine who is currently in Nigeria. Do send him a copy of News & Letters, which apparently was the only paper anywhere that carried the full story of that general strike you featured in the last issue on page one:

"Mail stopped for over two weeks as there was a general nationwide strike. It will be difficult to relay the situation accurately because there is no decent news coverage.

"There are two classes of people. Those who live beyond any description of luxury and those who live like animals. It was said there were workers who had worked for 18 years for \$18 (six pounds) a month. The workers were requesting pay raises which would amount to 4 million pounds. This amount is spent on the purchase and upkeep of cars for the ministers. They reasoned that if some of the allowances for the ministers and senior civil servants were cut, the government could afford the pay raises. Of course, they were right.

"Since most workers are employed by the government the strikes were against the federal government. This meant no mail service; trains stopped; and the few private enterprises shut down as their workers walked out in sympathy. Was there anything in the U.S. papers about the strike?"

Committee Member  
Wisconsin

\* \* \*

We are sending more news about the June strike in Nigeria, and hope it will be useful for the next issue. We received the June-July issue and thank you for presenting our article in so beautiful an issue. We were very happy with that issue, and hope to do much work with it.

Correspondent  
Nigeria

Editor's Note: See article p. 2

\* \* \*

**AFFLUENT SOCIETY**

The working Negroes in America may be living better than the people in the underdeveloped countries, it is true. But the Negro will never be satisfied with the crumbs the white man has thrown our way, no matter how good those crumbs may look to others who have even less.

America is supposed to stand for freedom for all people, but the Negroes are an oppressed people in this country. My husband has worked in the steel mill for almost 19 years. The white worker who started along with him is now making 3 or 4 times the money my husband makes, and has less education besides.

The white man now says that if our Negro youth had a college education he would hire them. But there is a catch to this promise. For once he has the education, it turns out that he must also have "experience." It is a real trick to have experience when you are fresh out of college!

Negro Housewife  
Pittsburgh, Penna.

\* \* \*

I sent your issue on Hazard, Kentucky, to my family back in Scotland. They wrote back to me that they were shocked

that things are really that bad here in America. People over there think that all Americans are very rich. So did I, until I got to the United States and saw with my own eyes how few are rich and how many are so very poor, with all the rest struggling to keep from the poverty level themselves.

Office Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I want to take back home with me copies of all the pictures I can find of conditions in Kentucky. People there just will not believe that there is such poverty in the United States. The pictures will do more than thousands of words to convince them otherwise.

It took the tour of the Ford Rouge factory in Detroit to show me what the life of working men in this country is. I want to tell everyone when I get back home, but I won't know how to describe it.

I will never be able to look at the Mustang as just another car again. From now on when I see a Mustang I will remember that hell-hole and see in that car all the sweat and toil of the workers who built it.

Venezuelan Visitor  
Detroit

\* \* \*

**APPALACHIAN COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT**

Our Appalachian Committee for Full Employment has been very busy working in the school board election, and has at last found three men who are going to run to try for a better future for our schools and our children. The Committee is getting stronger all the time even though we are kicked on every side by the law and all of the "town people." We keep going, and kick back every chance we get . . .

Meanwhile our Committee has begun to publish a regular one-page paper, a copy of which we are enclosing. It is our first issue, and we will continue to send you each copy as it comes along.

Miner's Wife  
Hazard, Kentucky

Editor's Note: For excerpts from the first issue of "Voice for Jobs and Justice," issued by the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, see page 6.

**Editor's Note**

The Kentucky miners need all the help they can get. We urge readers to send all the donations possible — food, clothes, and money. Packages and checks may be sent to the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, 501 High St., Hazard, Kentucky.

**MARXIST-HUMANISM**

I was at a funeral recently, where the men had gathered at one side and the women were talking together on the other side of the room — when I suddenly heard one woman's voice above all the rest talking excitedly about how the English textile workers during the Civil War had chosen to starve rather than let their country support the South. When I heard her start to talk about how Marx had taken the side of the North, and what he had written about Lincoln — I excused

# Views

myself from the men and went over to ask her where she had learned all that. She told me she was very active in the civil rights movement, and at a recent meeting had bought a copy of a wonderful book called *American Civilization on Trial* which she liked so much that she had actually memorized parts of it.

I am looking forward to selling her *Marxism and Freedom* now. If she likes it as much as I think she will, and goes around reciting passages from that as well as she recited parts of our pamphlet, we will have a terrific saleswoman added to our ranks.

Committee Member,  
Detroit.

I have found an old 1961 pamphlet, *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, excellent and I would say it is an example to keep as a record.

I would like to have two copies for two friends abroad. Therefore I have enclosed one dollar for two of them; and also I hope you may have an even more exciting pamphlet on the events of 1963 that you could include with the two ordered.

Pacifist, ...  
Canada

Editor's Note: For a complete list of our literature, see p. 2.

## THE COLLAPSE OF TROTSKYISM

Some time ago, you made the point that the Trotskyists would have to be theoretically destroyed. We agree with you. To me the public collapse of the Sanka Samaja Party is of the greatest theoretical importance. After 29 years the so-called Marxist party has gone the same road as the social-democratic reformists of the Second International, and the Stalinists of the Third International. Why? This is no isolated case, as the capitulation of the American Socialist Workers Party and its support for the Black Muslims, illustrates.

To my mind, the reason is twofold: (1) It stems from the relationship and consequent methods of the "Vanguard" parties to the masses. (2) Allied to this is the failure of the Trotskyists to see the USSR as it really is, a state-capitalist orbit of the world.

At present, I am doing a short article for the *Scottish Marxist-Humanist* on this question, and hope it will help. Nevertheless I do feel that it will require someone of Raya Dunayevskaya's intellectual standing to deepen the analysis. Could something be written for *News & Letters* on it?

The sales of *Marxism and Freedom* are starting to move. They are mainly among Scottish youth and industrial workers. I am sure they will sell well.

I.C.  
Scotland

## THE SCOTTISH SCENE

At each of the Public Holidays over here there have been riots at the big sea-side resorts involving groups of young people fighting amongst each other and with the police.

Nearly all the recognized authorities have condemned this and have asked for stiff penalties for those caught. No

one seems to realize that these youngsters are an excellent proof for the concept of alienation.

They are expected to be good citizens and spend their money just as the ads tell them, but when they reject the society which is exploiting them with all its manifestations, they are threatened with conscription, jail, heavy fines and so on.

Yet they are the typical products of a society dedicated with body and mind to the fetishism of commodities. At least they have shown that they will not be told what to do by well-meaning adults and there is hope in this. It is not likely that they will allow themselves to be conscripted as their fathers did, despite the fact that there is a great likelihood of this being reintroduced.

J.F.  
Scotland

The Communist Party is in a bad way here. The Mao section has made some progress in the South of England, at the expense of the Khrushchevites, but it is a complete flop in Scotland. They had 15 people present at a well-advertised meeting recently.

H.M.  
Glasgow

## THE ITALIAN SCENE

I found the chapter on Mao Tse-tung in the new edition of *Marxism and Freedom* very interesting. It is important that we should discuss that. The interest of China's leaders is clearly in power and not a real revolution. One major problem is that among literary and intellectual groups, even if they are of the left, it is difficult to find real revolutionaries.

I think a new Italian edition of the book, containing the Mao chapter would be very good. I shall do what I can to help.

I don't know many people who really accept the Chinese position, although a small group here at Milan—mostly University professors—have begun in the last month to publish a pro-Chinese newspaper. At the same time, here (I don't know about the rest of Italy) a very small number of Communists have left the party, putting up signs that they adhere to the line of the new journal.

Among my contacts, the general idea is that the Chinese don't have anything to offer to Europe; however, they are allies in attacking Togliatti. They haven't read Mao, they think he writes only about revolutions in under-developed countries, and they don't know that "On Contradiction" is a result of the Hungarian Revolution, nor of the part the Chinese played in that revolution.

M. Crociani  
Milan

You may have heard or read of an Italian "crisis." True, some small shops have closed down, house builders are less required than a year ago; the lire is not as strong as before; and we import much more than we export.

The bosses speak of an "unfavorable congiuntura," but if one analyzes all these data, following capitalism's "natural" development, I think it is absurd to speak of crisis.

The crisis would come if the workers oppose the capitalists' planning.

M. M.  
Turin, Italy

## LEADERS AND RANKS

Recently workers at the Verol Helicopter Division of Boeing at Morton, Pa., who make helicopters for South Vietnam, walked out in protest against the laying-off of 30 men who had refused compulsory overtime. The wildcat strike was opposed by the union bureaucrats (Local 1069 UAW), but 300 strikers (out of the 4,000 who are in production) met at a UE hall (Local 107). All the union officials were barred from the meeting. The meeting was led by a production worker.

The strike protested the compulsory overtime and the punitive firings and lay-offs, and of course, the capitalist system itself, although that is not being mentioned. The union officials were not able to get the workers back to the assembly line, although they tried mightily to do so.

Observer  
Philadelphia

## A DOCTOR'S WORK

We here in Nigeria received the sad news of the death of Dr. Louis with great grief. We shall ever remember his work and observe June 15 as "Louis Day" in Nigeria. His spirit will continue to live on in our lives and work.

Marxist-Humanist  
Nigeria, West Africa  
Editor's Note: See "A Doctor Speaks," Page 7.

## WORKERS AND AUTOMATION

Capitalism is digging its own grave. It is inconceivable what goes on. And pitiful to think what capitalism will do for a few dollars. It is a society mad to make money.

I know first-hand what Automation has done in the auto shops, but it stretches my imagination to realize what is going on in the coal mines. I saw the picture of the monster-machine that scoops out 3000 tons at one swoop! It is just inconceivable. And it is frightening too, because if they build these machines, they will certainly use them.

Capitalism is taking too much out, and putting nothing back. They don't care about how people live, or even if they live, or anything. They only care about their "boom." They do not even seem to care that if it were not for government support and spending their so-called boom would be a gigantic bust.

Auto Worker,  
Detroit.

There is a new shovel that digs coal out of the earth—3000 tons at one bite. Where are we headed? What happened to the coal miners can happen to all of labor. Automation is the problem all workers must face, and unemployment is the future all of us face. We have been desperately unemployed for years. But we are opposed to the companies taking their plants from Detroit down to Kentucky to get cheap labor here. That's not the answer for anybody—except the companies.

Ex-Coal Miner,  
Kentucky.

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

## Introduction to New Japanese Edition of *Marxism and Freedom*

The plunge into freedom by the postwar youth of Japan presents a challenge to anyone who would write for such an audience. This author frankly admits that the great pleasure at this opportunity is not unmixed with trepidation. In a country where the link of continuity is so all-enveloping that even discontinuity appears to be only a form of continuity (as witness the initiation of Japan's industrialization and "modernization" in the last quarter of the 19th century via the Meji Restoration), the present generation has made its break with the past so total that it has, literally, leaped over centuries.

### JAPANESE "NEW LEFT" SEEKS PHILOSOPHIC FOUNDATIONS

Under the impact of the postwar labor struggles, the first genuine mass movement of students in Japanese history was no sooner (1948) born than it found itself challenging both capitalism and communism. By the end of the first decade of its existence, the mass protests led by the Zengakuren had inspired the growth of a New Left of many varied tendencies. In contrast to the European New Left which, despite its revulsion against Russia's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, had by now either found its way back to the Communist fold, or joined the pole of "Western" capitalism, Japan's New Left is pursuing its political differences to their philosophic foundations. Therein lies its strength, and thereby it has lit a beacon that extends far beyond its national frontiers. It has emboldened this writer to turn to this audience with a special edition of *MARXISM AND FREEDOM* which, from its publication in 1958, had as its aim the re-establishing of Marxian philosophy in its original form, designated by Marx himself as "a thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism."

From the beginning of my break with Leon Trotsky over "the Russian Question"—during the Hitler-Stalin Pact which gave the green light to the start of the Second World War—I became interested in the economic development of Japan. The reader will find brief references to this in Chapter XIII ("Russian State Capitalism vs. Workers' Revolt") where I show that neither the rate of economic growth nor "planning," in and of themselves, are synonymous with the existence of a workers' state. On the whole, however, *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*—a study of our machine age from its birth in the industrial, political and intellectual revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, to the freedom struggles of our age of Automation and the H-bomb—deals mainly with the United States, Europe, and Russia. It was natural, therefore, that the Japanese Marxist-Humanists would ask that my subsequent and separate analysis of Mao Tse-tung be published as a new appendix for the Japanese edition.

### NON-VIABILITY OF STATE-CAPITALISM PROVED IN LIFE

At the end of the 1950's Mao's revolutionary abstractions could no longer cover up the reality of sweated, militarized, depersonalized labor in the so-called communes. By 1963 the fig-leaf of Marxist terminology can no longer cover up the power politics in the Sino-Soviet conflict. Thereby the non-viability of state-capitalism as any "new" social order has been exposed. "Mao's Thought" can act as a polarizing force only to one who begs to be intellectually raped. Thereby the revolutionary petty-bourgeois intellectual exposes that he bears the mark of our state-capitalist age, that, in and out of power, he would rather lean on some State power and State Plan than subject himself to the creativity of the proletariat and the compulsion to a unity of thought and practice which alone can release a new human dimension.

It is here that the tendencies within the Japanese New Left have broken new ground. For, in probing deeply into the philosophic foundations of socialism, they questioned, how could the Russia of the 1917 Revolutions have ventured into the Pacific war between the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

History will never absolve American imperialism for this wanton, inhuman, nuclear holocaust. Neither will it forget the degeneracy of international communism as the bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, August 6th and August 9th, 1945. Listen to what dares call itself L'Humanite on August 8, the day between the atomic explosions:

"The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima seems to have caused considerable destruction. American reports suggest nothing less than the disappearance from the face of the earth of a town of 300,000 inhabitants. The effect of the discovery is considerable. Nevertheless, the Vatican has been pleased to disapprove of it! May we be permitted to express our surprise, because when the Nazis had the privilege of waging total war with a total cruelty the Holy See was not equally indignant."

The Italian Communist paper, *L'Unita* on August 10, 1945: "The news that an atomic bomb was dropped by the American Air Force has made an enormous impression throughout the whole world and has been received on all sides with a sense of panic and words of condemnation. This shows, it seems to us, a curious psychological perversion and a doctrinaire obedience to a form of abstract humanitarianism . . . We do not share the sense of terror which has been expressed in certain press comments because we bear in mind the concrete use which was made of the fearful engine of destruction."

And finally *The Daily Worker* of Great Britain on August 14, the day before Japan surrendered unconditionally:

"There was no official hint of the length of delay that the Japanese are to be allowed before the full force of Allied power—including the atom bomb—is loosed against them in a blow intended to be final."

In providing an empty a shelter for mind, as the fall-out shelter is for the body, Communist state-capitalism is giving full proof of the schizoid Marx had long ago predicted for the decomposition of the capitalistic system. This has never been truer than since World War II ended with but two victors—the United States and Russia—each more degenerate than the other, outdoing each other in mounting phrases of peace while preparing the nuclear holocaust, each striving for world domination.

(Continued on Page 7)

## YOUTH NEW BEGINNINGS

### 'I Decided to Go to Mississippi'

By EUGENE WALKER

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — As a youth, I decided to spend the summer in Mississippi because a Marxist-Humanist is active not only in expounding the philosophy of freedom, but also in the actual struggle to get freedom. Two of the Marxist-Humanists who went on the Freedom Rides in 1961 wrote a pamphlet on their experiences.\* Since that time, the main activity of our youth in the North has been in the civil rights field.

When the Los Angeles youth published "The Marxist-Humanist" on the UCLA campus, the very first response we received was a criticism of tactics used in the civil rights movement. After the publication of 11 issues of "The Marxist-Humanist" during the winter, the question that naturally arose was the form in which to continue this activity for the summer. This was when I decided to go to Mississippi.

Before I arrived in Mississippi, three civil rights workers were murdered, although their bodies had not yet been recovered. This seemed to make it more imperative than ever to show another white America in Mississippi—as well as to show that Marxist-Humanism is something to live and die by, and not just something we say on a platform.

I worked for the most part with youth of 15 through 19 in the Freedom Schools, the schools which COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) have set up in various communities throughout Mississippi. In the schools, Negro youth met daily with teachers, mostly Northern white youth, and held discussions on Negro History, the Freedom Movement, Negro Literature, as well as academic subject matter.

#### FREEDOM MOVEMENT A WAY OF LIFE

I found that the Freedom Movement to a great many of these youth is the central part of their life. I worked in Jackson, Mississippi, where a great many demonstrations had occurred last year. Almost all of the youth who were in my class had participated in these demonstrations—many had been arrested three or four times.

One girl began her own individual demonstrations with a girl friend soon after the Freedom Rides. She was 13 at the time and proceeded to go from store to store in Jackson, trying on clothes. She walked out of any store in which she was not called "Miss." She has been actively involved in the struggle since then.

The old term of "Yes, Sir," to any white man is gone among these youth. One girl was told by a cop, "Boy, come here!" She said, "You are the only boy I see here!" They would rather call you "boy" than say, "Yes, Sir."

The Freedom Schools were a very integral part of the Freedom Movement. The students had not been allowed to discuss the civil rights fight in their normal classes. This was the first real opportunity wherein they could freely discuss the Freedom Movement, and not only discuss it, but act on it. We would often go out and get people to come to a civil rights meeting that was held that evening.

Registration in the Freedom Democratic Party was another activity of the Project. Some of the youth on the Freedom School would go out after class and go door to door to register people in the Freedom Democratic Party. The youth were interested in a great many things, from poetry (we had a poetry teaching and writing session) to Negro Literature (we read excerpts from James Baldwin and Richard Wright). But especially was there an interest in the Freedom Movement as applied to their own lives. One youth wrote:

"To me, freedom means to be human. It means that I have not only the right to be treated human, but also the right to work for the right of others to be treated human. This is primary. If this right is threatened, then I must muster all of the resources possible to end this threat at the cost of time, energy, physical well-being, and even life itself."

The tremendous human potential, while most prevalent among the youth, was also present among the adult population. My contact with them was through attempting to persuade them to send their children to integrated schools. This was the first year that any grade school children were to be sent to integrated schools in Mississippi.

#### REGISTRATION A SUCCESS

There was naturally a great deal of fear among the parents about sending their children to previously segregated schools, but despite this, fully 50% of the families I spoke to about sending their children to integrated schools came with me to register their children.

While I was canvassing for school children, word spread around the neighborhood, and three women came up to me asking about registering their children. One woman who came up to me by herself wanted very much to send her daughter, but was afraid of repercussions, especially that of cutting off her welfare check. Another woman wanted to send her twins to school but was embarrassed because she did not have clothes for her daughters. We dug up a couple of dresses for them, and she brought them to school.

There is still a fantastic amount of terror in the state. Some twenty Negro churches which have played some part in the civil rights movement have been bombed. Every day there are arrests and beatings throughout the state. It gets so you read about it in the COFO office and then forget it and go about your business. I guess there is no other choice.

#### NO AFFLUENT SOCIETY HERE

Lyndon Johnson is now throwing around the phrase, "The Great Society," and many people seem to feel that the greatest problem America now faces is how to deal with "The Affluent Society." Somehow, he and they must have forgotten Mississippi, because there certainly is no affluence in Jackson, and Jackson is better off than the rural areas of Mississippi.

I spoke to one woman who makes \$2.70 a day working as a waitress. Cotton chopping in the Delta pays 30c an hour. Negro school children in the Delta go to school in two split sessions in order to accommodate cotton chopping, which is done by their labor.

#### HUMAN TALENTS UNLIMITED

There was an unbelievable amount of human resources and

talent brought into play in the Jackson area. Some COFO workers became actors for the summer to put on the play, "In White America," which deals with the life of Negroes in America from the days of slave-trade to the present. It toured the Freedom Schools all over the state.

A lawyer's committee was set up to aid the workers in the state. Law students spoke at the Freedom Schools in Jackson concerning the new Civil Rights Law.

A medical committee of doctors and medical students was set up to aid the workers. Medical students spoke to the Freedom Schools on the role of the Negro in American medical history.

Folk singers toured the various Freedom Schools, not merely to sing but also to talk about the Negro's role in folk music.

All of this was put together by people who are in their twenties. The person in charge of the Jackson Freedom Schools is a young Negro woman of twenty-one. Most are college students.

Because of the Mississippi youth's great interest and feeling for the Freedom Movement, and also his interest in, and lack of opportunity to study Negro history, there was a great demand for information of the Freedom Movement and on Negro History. And so the response to both Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves, and American Civilization On Trial\* was naturally very good. Over a hundred of both pamphlets were distributed to students, mostly at the Jackson Freedom Schools, but a few also in Gulfport, McComb and Canton. There was an eager acceptance.

#### FREEDOM IS

#### PLURI-DIMENSIONAL

Their interest is in the world as a whole, in life, in freedom—and not confined to the race question alone. Their interest is pluri-dimensional because freedom itself is pluri-dimensional. This is not an easy concept to explain or to grasp. The boundaries of freedom are not those of the immediate struggle.

The multi-dimension of freedom is the guarantee that the struggle is not limited either to integrated schools or to equal treatment in public accommodations. The call may be, "One Man, One Vote," which in itself would be a revolution—but this is only the opening of a whole process.

Political emancipation, formal equality, may be possible to achieve in our society. Human emancipation, however, means transcending alienation and allowing universal human attributes to come forth, developing all human potentialities. This cannot occur in a capitalist society, whether it be private capitalist America or state-capitalist Russia. Thus the drive for freedom pushes the struggle continuously beyond the boundaries of the immediate demands.

\*Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves, by M. Hamilton and L. Inghram, 25c, and American Civilization On Trial, a statement by the National Editorial Board of News & Letters, 50c, may both be ordered from News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Detroit, Michigan 48204.

For a sample copy of "The Marxist Humanist" send to: PO Box 27652, Los Angeles 27, California.

## The Movement Needs Whites And Whites Need Movement

DETROIT, Mich.—When a white person goes to Mississippi as part of Freedom Summer, it is important for him to work in the Freedom Schools and help out, but even more important for him to get an understanding of the Negroes themselves. Because I feel that so long as any minority group is not free in this country, then NOBODY is free. Including the majority.

I don't want a white man to have sympathy for me or to pity me because I am not free. I want him to pity himself also. Because if he doesn't understand me, and if I don't have all the rights of the country—then he doesn't have them either.

#### WHITES NEED HELP

The white man down South needs help worse than anybody anywhere in this world, because he is really mixed up. He does not know what is happening at all. This is the reason that we need not only black people in the movement, but also white people. It is very, very important to have white people in the movement, because they must understand what we mean when we speak of freedom or equality.

We do not mean equality to come to the white man's level, because if I had to come to the level of a white man in Mississippi, I'd rather die than do that!

The black people in this country have been looking and sort of analyzing the white man, even though they might not have known they were doing it.

I think they understand the white man better than he understands himself. But the white man can't make head or tail of the Negro, most of them. A cotton picker in the fields of Mississippi has more intelligence than a white man who has gone to college in Mississippi and who STILL has no understanding of society.

But unless we have the white man and the black man together in this fight—we are going to lose. And I can't see letting all the people who have died, and been tortured and put in jail, all die in vain

just because of prejudice or feeling against a white man in the Freedom Movement.

Once, a man who said he was a preacher came to our Civil Rights organization and said he was going to join, if we did what he said. If WE were going to take HIS viewpoint of things. He said we were doing it all wrong and if we just listened to him, then he would give us \$300 and give us the backing of all the members of his church, and said he had a whole lot of power in the NAACP. He said that he was the president of the NAACP Youth Group. I told him I had met the president of the Youth and that it was not him. He said that he was the vice-president then.

You can't come in and be a dictator that way. You can't give orders, and say it has to be done my way and it is wrong to do it any other way. It won't work.

#### YOU HAVE TO LISTEN

I think that in the process of getting people together, it may be the working class, or the unemployed, or whatever, you have to have a sort of blankness of mind. What I mean is you can't go in and start giving orders, because you can't learn like that, and you don't really know yet what you are talking about. You have to listen.

I hope that whenever a white integrationist goes somewhere with a group of Negroes, that all the while he says to himself, "What is he really saying to me? What other than things about freedom, does he mean? What is he in himself? What energies, what principles does he hold?"

—Teenage Freedom Fighter

#### Appalachian Committee for Full Employment Says:

## TIME FOR A CHANGE

"Such meals shall be served without cost or at a reduced cost to children who are determined by local school authorities to be unable to pay the full cost of the lunch. No physical segregation of, or other discrimination against, any child shall be made by the school because of his inability to pay. School-lunch programs under this Act shall be operated on a nonprofit basis."

—Section 9, National School Lunch Act.

There is a school board election coming up in November and if ever a change was needed, the time is now.

Many of our good teachers have already left the area. What is forcing these people to leave? We have heard that teachers are losing jobs or getting transferred to undesirable or inconvenient positions because of their political beliefs or lack of support for the school board member who can use his position of power to his own advantage and to the detriment of those who should be considered most—the school children.

There is a national school lunch program which is to be served without discrimination. A certain amount of federal funds and government commodities are given for this. Is it not discrimination when a child has to take an hour out of his school time to work for his lunch? If a student is taking five subjects, one hour out of study time takes away his advantage of using the school library. Some children

have even had to miss a class to work in the lunch room.

Why aren't the sums of money that are taken in at football games and from the federal government made public? It is time for us Perry Countians to wake up and show our concern for our children's future.

## Dollar an Hour

It was heard many times that the men on the dollar-an-hour project would get a raise and transportation money in this month's check. As far as is known there is not a man on the crews that got a raise.

We should have \$1.25 an hour, lunch money, and transportation money. We should be working on our roads close to home instead of State Highways. There is a lot of work that needs to be done on the county roads and our working on the State roads takes jobs away from the State Highway men.

If we are doing this work, we ought to get something from it in the way of training, and there it not any training in walking along the road cutting bushes and pounding rocks. If the men were using machinery, good roads would be built and the men would get training for a job when this is over. The men of the project should get together to go in and talk with Mr. Wells to see if they can get some machinery to work on the roads with.

(From the Newsletter "Voice for Jobs and Justice"—Issue No. 1 September 3, 1964)

## Two Worlds Introduction to New Japanese Edition of *Marxism and Freedom*

(Continued from Page 5)

The fact that the proletariat is unarmed has never stood in its way as it opened new stages of freedom in humanity's development. Surely the nuclear titans have the power to destroy civilization as we have known it. But the nuclear age is also the epoch for the struggle of men's minds. To stay the nuclear hand by winning the minds of men—this is the road to human survival and to freedom.

### "THE HIGHEST BEING FOR MAN IS MAN HIMSELF"

To rise to the challenge of the times requires altogether new banners. Marx was the first to see this in all its breadth and depth—as both a birth-time of history and the realization of philosophy. Because he had put the human being in the center of all his thoughts, he could unite theory and practice, idealism and materialism, and, unarmed, throw the gauntlet down to the armed bourgeoisie. When asked why he, a bourgeois intellectual had broken with his class and become a "radical," he replied that "to be a radical means to grasp something at its root. And the highest being for man is man himself." It still is.

The urgency that our epoch of necessity imparts to the Humanism of Marxism has brought Marx's struggles with vulgar materialism and vulgar communism as well as with private capitalism and reactionary idealism out of history and of theory and into the quintessential practices of the day.

Lenin did not know the Humanist Essays of Marx—they had remained in the vaults of the Second International until after the Russian Revolution pried them open—but he felt the compulsion to return to the philosophic foundations of Marxism in Hegel. The shock of betrayal made it manifestly impossible any longer to consider matters on a political plane alone. His break, indeed, was not only with those who betrayed, but with his own philosophical past. His Philosophic Notebooks laid new foundations for future revolutions, and permeated everything he was to write from then until his day of death, that is to say, from Imperialism and State and Revolution to his last speech to the Russian Communist Party's 9th Congress and his Will. Unfortunately, this remained a dead letter to the Marxists of the post-Lenin period. Not only was this true of those who, like Stalin, symbolized the transformation of the young workers' state into its opposite, but to those who, like Trotsky, lost his life fighting the Stalinist bureaucracy.

So total has been the void in the Marxist movement since the death of Lenin that one would think that Lenin's admonitions against the "administrative mentality" of Trotsky, as well as Nikolai Bukharin's failure to "fully understand the dialectic" were the words of an academician in an ivory tower instead of the words of a great revolutionist on his deathbed, warning about the downfall of the first workers' state and its "return backward to capitalism" unless one began not only with the removal of the "rude and disloyal" Stalin but also with new philosophic perspectives: the shock of recognition of the Marxian dialectic in Hegel's Science of Logic which made Lenin note: "Practice in the theory of cognition. Alias: Man's cognition not only reflects the objective world, but creates it."

### A TOTAL PHILOSOPHY AND A NEW THIRD WORLD

This is the task that confronts our age: how can the movement from theory meet the challenge of the movement from practice which strives to reconstruct society on totally new, truly human beginnings. The challenge is not to machines, but to men. The compulsion for a unity of theory and practice arises both from the impulses toward a new society and a total philosophy. It has now enveloped the whole globe. In Europe we have witnessed new tragic decades—from the 1937 Spanish Revolution which sought to combine politics with economics by at once taking over the factories, through the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, where Workers' Councils, Councils of Intellectuals, Councils of Revolutionary Youth, all sought to unite politics, economics and philosophy under a new banner of Humanism which the Communist totalitarians dared call "Revisionism."

This search for a total philosophy has disclosed a new, a third world in the post-war revolutions in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. It is this new, third Afro-Asian-Latin American world, which is at the root both of the struggle for world domination between Russia and the United States as well as within the Sino-Soviet orbit and within Western colonialism and neo-colonialism. And it is this world which opens the greatest challenge to the intellectuals as well as the proletariat of the most industrialized land of this third world—Japan. A country which could, from the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, have such an astonishing industrial development that its rate of growth now challenges both Russia and the United States, and at the same time, give birth to a generation that has totally broken with its past, is a country that is sure to produce the future theoreticians of genuine Marxism—Marxist-Humanists.

For what cannot be separated from this break was that it was not only a break with Japan's capitalistic and militaristic past, but a refusal to submit to any established authority, whether that be the American imperialist occupying power, or established Marxism, that is to say, the existing state—capitalist societies passing themselves off as "socialist." Hence the splits in the Zengakuren. The great demonstrations in 1960 proved all this beyond the peradventure of a doubt. A theoretical development to match the practical activities of youth and labor and women, all striving for a new society, is on the order of the day.

Revolutions do not arise in the fullness of time for the purpose of establishing a party machine; *partinost* (party-monolithism) is there to throttle the revolution, not to release the creativity as well as the energies of the millions. Marxism is either a theory of liberation or it is nothing. In thought and in life, it lays the basis for achieving a new human dimension, without which no new society has viability. This author feels confident that the Japanese people—workers and revolutionary intellectuals—have an important role to play in the creative drama of human liberation.

August 6, 1963

## Try Freedom Out And You Won't Ever Return It

DETROIT, Mich.—To tell the truth, I used to hate white people. I guess the reason I hated them was because my great-grandmother was treated so badly during slavery times. But when I went to a couple of News & Letters meetings and met so many wonderful people who were interested in the Negro's freedom and also their own, my feelings changed. And believe me it has helped me in many ways.

So often my cousin tried to get me to come to a few News & Letters meetings, but I told her life was too short and that I didn't want to spend it that way. None of my friends were in it, so why should I waste my time when I could be with them? I used to be one of those little Jitty Poppers, (Jitterbugs, Beebops, or whatever you choose to call them).

### GOT TO ME

I had just started to Mackenzie High School, and at the time was sick to death of those white kids with their teased hair and tight pants. But although I tried to discourage them, they remained friendly towards me. So about two or three weeks later it began to get to me.

But I'm still not in love with them, but I look at it from a different view-point. They can't help it if all of them are not smart enough to realize that freedom has to be secured by everyone.

I still hang around with those Jitty Poppers. But not one of us is ashamed to be fighting for freedom.

### WHY GIVE THE COMMUNISTS THE CREDIT?

So often people have asked me, am I a Communist? Well, I didn't know. But the other day someone answered that question for me when he said: "How come so many people give the Communists all the credit for the freedom struggles—not only in this country but world-wide?"

The Communists sure know how to use words of freedom, but in the end we all see what they DO. Now, when people ask me, I say I am not a Communist—but I am someone who fights for equality.

As I told in my last article, freedom is a precious thing—but only if it is secured by everyone. To get a taste of your ideal freedom, you must take it and try it out and see how it feels. Once you do you will never want to return it.

— Josetta Reid

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## A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M. D.

TO OUR READERS: The column reproduced below is part of the collection of writings which appeared over the past decade as the column "A Doctor Speaks." It was a favorite of workers and intellectuals alike because it spoke of every human problem man faces today. We hope to issue it in book form and ask readers who have favorites to tell us which other columns they would like to have reprinted in future issues.

### The Air We Breath

Night and day, awake and asleep, almost 20 thousand times every 24 hours, we breathe air into our lungs. Until recently we have been little concerned with what this air contained so long as it had oxygen.

It took millions of years for animal life, through a process of evolution, to leave the sea, give up gills, and replace them with air sacs, called lungs, whereby to take oxygen out of air instead of water. Now, at the very time we are making plans to leave our own atmosphere of air and visit other planets, we become interested in particles present in the air that enters our bodies.

There are three basic ways by which harmful substances, living or dead, can enter our bodies: through the skin; by way of the stomach and intestines with food; and through the lungs with the air we breathe. Over many generations, the body has had time to develop protective mechanisms for the surface covering, and for the digestive system.

In more recent times, with the coming of industry, our lungs and bronchial tubes have been hard hit by a variety of irritating material often expelled into the air as wastes. The breathing organ has not had time to adjust to these poisonous chemicals. The result for the human body has, in many instances, been catastrophic.

### THE COAL DUST THAT MINERS INHALE

It has been known that the lungs of modern city dwellers become gray and black over the years, as compared to infants' lungs or even those of farmers. Not many of us, however, are aware of a disease peculiar to miners who inhale coal dust—Pneumoconiosis. This disease is caused by retention of coal dust in the lungs.

The dust forms black spots around which fibrosis or scar-like tissue forms. This process tends to obstruct some of the finer air passages and results in an expansion of the blocked air sacs—a condition called Emphysema. As more coal dust is inhaled, the inflammation continues; hard masses form and the lungs become distorted. Not infrequently, Tuberculosis becomes associated with this condition. The end result is increased work in breathing, and a heavy load on the heart which often leads to failure.

In a recent study of miners in a general hospital in the soft-coal fields of West Virginia, out of 480 miners who were patients in 1955, 168, or 31 per cent, gave X-ray evidence of Pneumoconiosis. There are no adequate statistics of this disease in the U.S., but there are in Great Britain. Prior to 1952, 30,000 cases of Pneumoconiosis were certified in South Wales. There, the incidence of disease increased with both the age of the patient and the length of his exposure to coal dust. X-rays of lungs of working, disabled, and retired miners revealed Pneumoconiosis in over 50 per cent.

### THE NEW POISON OF THE ATOM BOMB

Physicians have been aware of poisons generated in the manufacturing process and inhaled into the lungs—various solvents; gases formed in the intense heating of melting metals; chemicals related to specific industries; and sprays used in agriculture. Until recently little attention was paid to irritants from automobile exhausts and from tobacco smoke. However, the phenomenon that has truly alarmed us, by directing attention toward the poisonous materials we take in with our air, has been the explosion of the atom bomb. This new poison in our atmosphere seems to be the one to end all poisons.

In the coal mining industry of this country, through pressure of the organized coal workers, some hazards have been eliminated or lessened. I am certain that steps to prevent the inhalation of coal dust are possible.

The coal operator differs from the coal miner only in the way he looks upon work. Because of his position, it is only the product of the laborer—his labor power—that is important to the mine owners; it is as if he wished to separate labor-power from the laborer entirely.

The worker, on the other hand, is now bringing into consciousness something that has been in his blood and bones a long time—that it is the very way of looking at his labor that is at the root of many evils in his life. He is beginning to see that the very maintenance of his status as a human being requires that his work produce not only a product, but that it is a self-developing activity wherein he extends his faculties and powers as a human being and creates new ones.

## Marxism and Freedom

by Raya Dunayevskaya

is now available under the following titles:

IN JAPAN: Alienation and Revolution — Reformation of Marxism — from Gendaishishoshiya (Modern Thought Publishers) 2-19 Nisikanda Shiyodaku, Tokyo, Japan

IN ITALY: Marxismo E Liberta—from La Nuova Italia, Firenze, Italy—Cost 2700 Lira \$ (4.50).

IN ENGLAND: Marxism and Freedom—from Harry McShane, 31 Balbeg St., Glasglow, S.W.I.—Cost: 10/6d

IN THE U.S.: Marxism and Freedom—from News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48204. Cost: Paper back edition—\$1.98; hard cover—\$5.00.

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# U.S. Puppets In South Viet Nam Opposed; Regime Shaky

(Continued from Page 1) tion refused to go along with Anthony Eden's grab for the Canal.

## DEGAULLE FOR NEUTRALIZATION

The French, for their part, are simply not interested in any military commitment in Vietnam. The attempt of France to regain Vietnam as a colony after World War II saw her put 40,000 troops in the field and suffer 172,000 casualties in a nightmare that was climaxed by the ignominious defeat and surrender at Dien-bienphu.

It is grandeur that General DeGaulle seeks. He knows his best chance for influencing Southeast Asia will come with its neutralization, and after that, trusting in the survival of French culture which was close to a hundred years in the planting. No doubt he feels too that his display of "independence" will not do him any harm in future dealings with Mao.

More and more the U.S. State Dept. seems to feel it is their war and they are stuck with it. A year ago Secretary of Defense McNamara predicted that by 1965 the United States would find it possible to start withdrawing troops from South Vietnam. Today more troops are being sent in and the military claims only 20,000 Americans will be in Vietnam. The war costs American taxpayers \$2 million a day, but it costs the Vietnamese their homes and their lives.

## U.S. SUPPORTS DESPOTS

Some observers have expressed the feeling that the most surprising political development in South Vietnam has been the fact that there hasn't been a far greater defection to the Viet Cong. Since America's entry into the picture a decade ago, it has helped erect, support and direct a succession of despotic regimes, all headed by tyrants, even though their names have changed. Possibly some Americans may believe the war in Vietnam is to preserve freedom. The South Vietnamese knows better. He has seen greater and greater political repression that unfortunately did not end with the downfall of the government of Ngo Dinh Diem and his vicious Dragon Lady sister-in-law, Madame Nhu.

The South Vietnamese witness now the Americans throwing their support behind General Nguyen Khanh who never even had the prestige of Bao Dai as a Vietnamese nationalist. Far from it. During the war of national liberation from the French, Paratrooper Khanh was an officer in the ranks of the French imperial-

ist army! Is it any wonder the Vietnamese show little interest in fighting the American war.

In the North, Premier Ho Chi Minh has proved himself quite adept at taking advantage of the errors and atrocities of the Americans and their puppets. As old as DeGaulle, he has weathered at least as many storms in his political career. In the past he has fought the oppressing French. At other times he made common cause with them to eliminate anti-imperialists who were also anti-Stalinists. A clever opportunist, he survived to see the end of French rule and the consolidation of his own power in the North.

## OPPOSITION IN THE NORTH

There has been serious opposition to his regime. North Vietnam has known crippling peasant revolts even though Ho Chi Minh never went as far as to introduce Mao-styled Communes in his country. He no doubt wishes he had not followed the Chinese example of permitting the undercurrent of dissent in the nation to emerge through a "hundred flowers" campaign. However, he did so in May of 1956, and before he could clamp the lid back on the boiling pot, it was evident to all that there was plenty of opposition to the venerable old wisp of a man.

His opponents, men like Phan Khoi who had spent nine years in prison during French rule, seized the moment of freedom to launch a review called "Humanism"—at the very same time when Hungarians and Poles a continent away moved in the same direction. The North Vietnamese Communists quickly suppressed their critics, as did Mao in China and Khrushchev in Poland and Hungary.

It is precisely the overwhelming vulgarity of American force in South Vietnam that obscures the past crimes of Ho Chi Minh and his own despotic rule in North Vietnam.

Yet when all the facts are marshalled, they clearly reveal that the choice for Vietnam is not between the puppet governments of either the North or the South. The choice is between the chaos and despotism they both represent, and the will of the Vietnamese peasant masses and the students who daily reject every government that has been thrown at them and wait to create the new.

**BULLETIN!** The general strike of workers in Saigon, as we go to press, shows how the masses intend to have their say.

# Help Us Maintain News & Letters

(Continued from Page 1)

News & Letters has been supported in the nearly 10 years of its existence entirely by contributions and subscriptions of members and friends. We must now appeal to all our readers to help us continue regular publication of this unique paper. Each issue now costs \$340 for printing alone. The postage for each issue costs another \$25. Almost all the work in our office is done on a voluntary basis, but the rent, the phone, stationery and supplies cost another \$100 minimum each month.

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# Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

## Corruption of State Power: Italy, England, U.S.

The first section of this column is turned over to a friend who has just returned from Europe and expresses his opinions on the situation there. He describes some of the traps that self-proclaimed radicals all over the world have fallen into.—P.M.)

There are three rather kindred developments which I have noticed — one in Italy and one in England (the two countries where I recently spent considerable time), and the third in the United States, to which I have just returned.

First of all, in Italy. Pietro Nenni has for years headed the Socialist Party—not the Social Democrats, which is a bourgeois party, but the Socialist Party, which is essentially a labor party, with a great union membership.

For the first time in the history of the Socialist Party in Italy, it has entered the government as part of the movement called "The Opening To The Left." Nenni figured, "If I can't lick 'em, I'm going to join 'em." By joining the Christian Democratic coalition, he felt he would be able to accomplish at least some of the reforms his program called for, and maybe even get some revolutionary demands through the government.

## Congo

Now that Tshombe, the murderer of Patrice Lumumba, is back in power in the Congo with the political, military and financial backing of the U.S. government, it is clear that he is about to attempt to destroy all opposition to his rule through the use of South African white mercenaries.

Films have shown former British Army officers, as well as ex-Nazi officers, in the pay of Tshombe, recruiting white South African mercenaries to conduct a war against sections of the Congo which Tshombe cannot get any black Africans to fight. It has been said that these men are being dressed in American uniforms, and are being trained to use

Recently, the government fell. Do you know what issue it fell on? The major issue of a little bit of aid to schools.

It fell because the Socialists were, quite rightly, opposed to aiding the church schools in Italy, when there was such poor education all over, particularly in the South of Italy in the state schools, where money was so badly needed. The point is that not even one of the mild social reforms that Nenni wanted to initiate as part of the government were put through. As for the late Communist leader, Togliatti, the only difference between him and Nenni was that Togliatti thought, "What we need is a real opening to the left, let us into the government, and we'll get something done."

Now as for England, where I spent more time. There was a very large mass movement in England, a very large Peace Movement. It attracted, among others, a great number of the youth of England—both students and non-students.

But what happened is that the Peace Movement got absorbed into the English Establishment. There were all sorts of English Establishmentarians who simply decided they were the Peace Movement and who spoke for it—from the

Labour Party, whose great contribution to the Peace Movement was simply to let the Americans pay the bill, to the Communist Party which talked about "worker's bombs" (as did the Trotskyists) at international conferences.

When I returned home, I found a movement here called "Realignment." It seems to be aided to some extent by the anti-Goldwater panic.

I don't believe that the only alternatives are socialism or barbarism. I think that we've lived for years somewhere in between, with maybe the hope for one, and the threat of the other, but neither actually happening.

Goldwater brings the possibility of barbarism a good deal closer, certainly, and Johnson definitely is preferable to Goldwater. But voting against Goldwater, by casting a vote for Johnson in November, does not necessitate all-out support for Johnson. "Realignment" does precisely that, however. It gives all-out, uncritical, wholehearted support.

In Johnson's acceptance speech, he said, "The Democratic Party is the party of the rich and the poor, the East and the West, the North and the South." I think he meant what he said.

U.S. military weapons against black Africans in the Congo.

As a policy, it is equivalent to hiring the murderers of Medger Evers, the three Freedom Summer martyrs, the bombers of 20 Negro churches and the White Citizens Council to patrol the streets of Harlem. If this were carried on with full access to the overflowing armories of the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force, you would have some idea what to expect in the Congo over the next few months.

Moise Tshombe is desperate. So is the U.S. State Department. After the elected leader of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, was turned over to Tshombe to be assassinated by this stooge of the Belgian mining interests, and the U.N.

failed to establish a democratic government, the situation deteriorated. The failure of Khrushchev to participate in demands for, or support of, any form of democratic government has left the way open for Mao Tse-tung to plant his ideas in the outlying provinces.

The now naked intervention of the U.S. Government in support of Tshombe is not only cruel to the Congolese people, but could cost the U.S. the support of any government in Africa which is devoted to freedom, self-determination and African self-rule. They will wind up being supported in Africa only by the forces of those who support white rule over an African majority which is black.

# Miss. Freedom Party Won Much Support

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. — Recently I had a job in a three ring circus — the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. The only important and serious thing there that was not a joke, was the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and the vigil held on the boardwalk right in front of Convention Hall where this circus went on.

From Monday at 12:01 a.m. to Thursday afternoon, there were at all times at least 100 people in the vigil from all over the country, but mainly from the New York and Philadelphia chapters of CORE. The vigil was called by SNCC and CORE to support the seating of the Freedom Democratic Party, and included many people from Mississippi, both white and black. For 24 hours a day people sat making a silent statement on behalf of the Freedom Movement.

## FREEDOM'S IMPACT

Many of the young teenagers, demonstrating for Johnson, were going around in a circle, also in front of Convention Hall.

But these same kids were so

affected by the Freedom vigil that while they were walking around in red, white and blue Johnson garb, they also put on buttons for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

The Freedom Democratic Party's drive to get seated made an impact on even those who fought against it, and those who were opposed to it. In the news room of one of the press services they had a television set covering the credentials committee session, on Saturday afternoon. Martin Luther King, Aaron Henry and Reverend Ed King of Tougaloo College were giving testimony.

All of these cynical, hard-bitten reporters and newsmen—people who like the status-quo because they are making their living from it, and it is a good living—stopped in the midst of their work and drew over to the TV set to listen to the eloquent and moving speeches by Ed King and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer. They sat down, and even though these guys really don't care, they were forced to listen to these speeches because they were so moving. It moved them against their own will. Some of the upper echelon

said, "Legally of course, they have no case. But morally they presented a pretty powerful stand."

## TESTIMONY OF TERROR

The SNCC and CORE people brought with them from Mississippi not just themselves, but also a burned out car which had been used in the movement, and a bell from a burned down church which had been used in the movement. They also brought down the charred remains of a cross burned by the Ku Klux Klan. They put all this in a parking lot near the hall.

They won a lot of sympathy, more perhaps than they could have won almost anywhere else, because it is a vacation town, and the Freedom Movement made much contact and won support from many people that they would not have encountered otherwise. If it had been up to the tourists, both black and white, not only would the all-white Mississippi Democratic delegation, as well as the Alabama delegation not have been seated, but the whole integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic delegation would have been seated.