

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

From Sweat of Production Workers

All the auto contracts with the UAW are just about settled. The past several contracts have been a complete sell-out of the workers, and you cannot hear workers say anything good about this one, either. Some say the retirement plans seems fair, but you must have 1700 hours a year for 30 years to be eligible to get \$400 a month, and it has been stated that only two per cent of the entire working force in Chrysler can qualify.

Chrysler workers had their contract ratification meeting Sunday, Oct. 4, and the first word that hit the shop on Monday was that Dodge Local 3 in Detroit had rejected this all-mighty, "historical" contract of Reuther's. At Local 212 of Chrysler, Reuther's assistant, Art Hughes, was the salesman; he talked for three hours, then showed figures on a screen for 45 minutes. By that time about 30 or 40 workers were left out of about 500 or 600.

After he finished, he wanted to know if there were any questions. Eight or ten older workers asked questions on retirement, practically all of them saying how disappointed they were, since what they thought they would get was entirely different from what Hughes said they would receive. Some said they had high hopes of retiring as soon as it went into effect.

A SILENT MEETING

Workers in 212 always applaud when any speaker makes a point or a statement that affects them, but there was no applauding Sunday. It was the most silent meeting I ever witnessed in that local. Before the meeting began, the union president said skilled workers could vote on the national agreement and then go to the basement for another meeting to discuss the local agreement. A worker yelled out, "I thought we were all in the same local." Another got the floor to say, "I am sure you are familiar with Reuther's new pet phrase, 'the inhuman use of human beings', and I am sure you know he was referring to production workers. How is it that the production workers are the only ones that pay for every raise they get out of their own sweat and blood? I know the importance of the unity of all workers, but it is no good if it is only to use the production worker in order to achieve other workers' goals. The skilled workers at this very moment are in the basement, discussing and voting on their local agreement; and whatever they get, they will not have any more work to do. The office workers are the same, and the city firemen and policemen get a raise with no extra work attached to it.

"You have stood here for three hours and told us about improved working conditions, and yet when one of the workers here asked you who gets the extra 12 minutes relief time you said that has not been completely worked out as yet. Last model, our line was running at 37 seconds. Since this contract, it has been speeded up to 30 seconds. If you watched TV, the very first day that the GM workers struck, they were interviewed on the picket line and every single one of them said the trouble is speed-up, and inhuman working conditions. Nobody had to guess whether or not they were production workers. This is the most important question in all production workers' minds, and yet that is what you have not yet worked out."

In the paragraph in the contract titled "Strike Prohibited and Lockout Prohibited", there are four and a half lines which say the company will not lock us out, and 20 lines saying that a worker cannot strike, attempt to strike, slow down, or curtail work, or interfere with the production of the corporation. With this sort of clause, what is it that can stop the company from speeding up the line? If a worker cannot keep pace, he can be charged with slowing down.

There is another statement in the contract that any grievance that is not processed by a steward or committeeman is considered closed. What the contract makes clear is that the International Representatives and company have all the power and rights over the production workers. Everyone is asking how in the world did GM workers accumulate 17,000 grievances in two years? Reuther is going to make sure this will not happen again, and the way to do it is to simply tell the union officers to tell the stewards and committeemen not to process the grievances.

A GAIN FALLS FAR SHORT

Reuther is boasting now about the GM committeemen having 12,000 more hours a week to handle grievances. The only thing this shows is how bad representation has been in GM plants for years—even with this added time, it is still short of Chrysler and Ford representation. One worker in Local 212 said that when we had a union that really represented us, we had a steward for every foreman. That was when the union was for the workers. Now we have a steward for every 250 workers, and some stewards have as many as 700 workers, and 50 foremen.

For many years Reuther has said that he will get the national agreement, and the local issues will be for the local unions to settle. After the last contract two years ago, GM workers told him, "No." They walked out the day he said he had a national agreement. They probably will be sold out again in production, but they have sounded a warning.

We must remember that the GM workers were the first in the auto industry to sit down in 1936. What they did is history now, and known as the great Sit-Down Strike. I have always heard that the ones who are the most oppressed are the ones most likely to burst out into open revolt against their oppressors, and all UAW workers say that the GM workers are the most oppressed in the union today. These workers will transform Reuther's abstract phrases into realities and put a stop once and for all to the inhuman use of human beings.

Goldwaterism Will Be Around In Presidential Campaign and After

The presidential campaign, which will end on Nov. 3, will not have decided a single fundamental issue other than the rebuff that labor and the Negro will no doubt administer to Barry Goldwater. This will not, however, overcome the phenomenon of Goldwaterism, and it is the phenomenon which will continue to plague American civilization at the crossroads, with or without Lyndon Baines Johnson at its head.

The degeneracy of American capitalism is something to behold. At a time when profits are at their highest, American capitalism produces a Goldwater whose stand on every question of the day makes him not merely the true spokesman for the lunatic fringe of Birchism, KKKism, etc., but for the Republican Party.

WHAT DOES GOLDWATER WANT?

The mudslinging by both the Republican and the Democratic parties cannot change the facts of the present campaign. Moreover it is not only Goldwater's "past" record. Nor is it only that as a friend of the late, unlamented Senator Joseph McCarthy he learned well the lesson that although you can create havoc as an individual you end up without anything unless you have an organization with which to do it.

The sad truth is that in the current campaign, Senator Goldwater manages to spew out greater reactionary "principles" than those attributed to him either by his own past or by others. Take his latest diatribe against the minority groups—not just the Negro or the Jew, but the Irish, the Italian, in fact ALL the minority groups of the famous American "melting pot." He dares now call them "hyphenated Americans." He says they truly "run the country"—and not—not who? pure white racist Americans?

Or take the question of state's rights. This euphemism for racism has nothing whatever to do with any genuine state's rights, as witness his demand that the Federal Government put down by force the "riots" in the North. His running mate, William E. Miller, actually dared to say that the Federal Govt. had no compunction about entering the Phila., Miss. situation to protect a few, but had not gone to Phila., Pa. where it was needed to protect the property of many.

Goldwater speaks only of the "violence in the streets." His whistle-stopping campaign was marked by the turn-out of all-white crowds who responded to his call to the "Aryan race." He told such a crowd in Indiana that the elections would determine the "protection you and your families have on the streets." He seems determined to change "give me your weak, your weary, your poor" to "give me your bigots, your racists, your segregationists." The Republicans' cry before the campaign that they were responsible for the weak-kneed Civil Rights Bill cannot overshadow the deliberate and direct appeal made to all prejudices in this country.

RIGHT WING ON RAMPAGE

Although Hitler rose to power in depression Germany and Goldwater appears in affluent America, the parallel to the rise of Hitler is almost unbelievable. The new storm troopers will be the Birchites, the Minute-men, the KKKers. No one has made this clearer than Georgia's top KKKer himself. "Grand Dragon" Calvin Craig said in endorsing Gold-

(Continued on Page 8)



"Well, that settles that!"

All Roads Still Lead to Berlin

Mao's Bomb and Khrushchev's Fall

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA,
Author of Marxism and Freedom

In the short space of 18 hours the world scene has changed so radically that it's very nearly beyond recognition. Or is it? China has exploded its first atomic bomb and, like all other destructive agents from United States imperialism to Russian state-capitalism, from McMillan's Great Britain (now Labor) to De Gaulle France, the claim has been that this flirtation with nuclear holocaust has all been "in the interests of peace." At the same time China's atomic explosion followed so closely upon the heels of Khrushchev's fall from the seat of power that the Sino-Soviet conflict has overshadowed all other probable causes for the sudden shift in power from Khrushchev's exercise of total power to the new "collective leadership" of Leonid I. Brezhnev, as First Secretary of the Communist Party, and Alexei Kosygin as Premier.

No sooner had The New York Times gone to press, assuring its readers that "sources said . . . that a new leadership might well have decided, even before coming to power, to call off the meeting," scheduled for December 15th, with the ostensible purpose of expelling the Chinese Communists, than Pravda came off the press with the first official statement that the new Communist leaders are pressing for this meeting, and "expanding" its agenda to include also "problems of peace" and "national independence." An agenda so expanded can, of course, mean "yes" and "no" at one and the same time. It is meant not to illuminate, but to confuse.

THAT TRIP TO WEST GERMANY

What neither the Western experts nor the Communist totalitarians are talking about is the one thing that is truly new in the situation leading up to Khrushchev's removal from power—his sudden decision to try for a new rapprochement with West Germany. All one has to do to see how crucial it must have been in Khrushchev's downfall is to take a close look at the slogans released by the new ruling clique for the upcoming celebration of the November 7th Revolution. The central ones are those dealing with a demand for cessation of nuclear testing and for a "Free Berlin."

No sooner had the announcement been made of Khrushchev's removal from all posts of power allegedly because of "age and deteriorating health" than a new announcement was made as to the removal of Khrushchev's young and vigorous son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubei, from editorship of the official government newspaper, Izvestia. This was in no case a simple move against any possible nepotism on the part of the former ruler. Nor was it just a move against "general" policies.

Specifically, what was involved, though not openly stated, was the fact that the last important act of Mr. Adzhubei was his trip to West Germany to arrange for Khrushchev's visit there. Further-

(Continued on Page 5)

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Marching Forward to the Rear

What is wrong with the leaders in the world today? They have begun to move backward in their planning for the future. Nothing is "new" in their plans for a new world but the old ways that were passed up a long time ago.

Mr. Goldwater seems to think it is better to go back to start all over again. He would be happy to throw America a hundred years behind every other country in the world. But he doesn't know just how to go about it, because he doesn't really want to put the rich man back any farther than he is—just the black race, and the workers, black or white.

Anybody who is for the black race going forward is nothing but a Communist, to him. I sometimes wonder what leaders like Goldwater call their ideas—the ideas that seem to stand only for being AGAINST progress, and AGAINST treating human beings as human beings.

I think the day may come when the Republicans and Democrats both will be called the same name that they now call all the other countries, that is, Communist. Any time a party is trying to stay in power, or get in power, they call the other Communist. The way I see it, if you judge that way, the whole world is a Communist world.

The word "Communist" has been so spoiled by now by both Russia and the U. S. that they will soon have to learn another name to throw at each other. And mankind will have to learn another word to describe the sort of world common people have always looked for, a name to describe human rights for all.

The day the world sees human rights for all will be the day people will enter into a new world and do away with all this crazy hating of each other just to permit the "leaders" to lead people the wrong way.

When people say American politics is crooked, they mean that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats mean to give the black race a fair chance—and that the poor whites stand a poor chance at justice, too.

Mr. Johnson considers himself a kind friend to the black folks just because he sat before the TV cameras to let the people of the world see him sign the civil rights bill, which he has never yet made any state put into action. And Mr. Goldwater doesn't care whether a Negro ever tips his hat at him at all; the only thing he cares about is taking everything from the Negro and putting him back into slavery. That is why the white South is going strong for him.

Strike in Nigeria Building Trades Over Wage Demands

NIGERIA, Africa—Most of the workers in the building industries in Lagos began a sit-down strike in July to back up their demands for full payment of June salary. The workers, members of the 102,000-strong Amalgamated Union of Building and Wood Workers of Nigeria, and employees of 22 building firms involving G. Cappa Costains (West Africa) Limited and Taylor Woodrow, had rejected their June wages following what they described as "failure" of the managements to pay them for the days they joined in the last company-wide strike.

The managements of G. Cappa and Costains (West Africa) Limited refused to comment, but said they were subject to the ruling of the Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors. Throughout, labourers employed by G. Cappa at Customs Street, Lagos, sat idle refusing to work.

STRIKE WORD SPREADS

Mr. E. Ekabattor, president of the union, said that his union was not prepared to budge on its decision, adding "the building workers must have their own share of the national cake." He further stated that the union's executive had sent messages to all the regions informing all their members there to follow suit immediately and to remain on strike until such a time as they got further directives from the central office in Lagos.

A spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Labor said the union's notice of strike had been received and hoped that something would be done quickly to arrest the situation.

All the secretarial offices of the commercial and contracting firms were partially closed at Port Harcourt as more than 8,000 members of the Amalgamated Union of Builders and Wood Workers began a sit-down strike following dispute over the pay-

ment of their June salaries. Business was paralyzed while their premises were heavily policed with anti-riot squads.

In a counter statement, Mr. E. Okpa, secretary of the union, said that the strike would last until the terms of the Morgan agreement were fully implemented. In a petition to Chief J. O. Udoji, Chief Secretary for the Eastern Nigeria Premier, the JAC in Eastern Nigeria reported that various industrial, commercial and engineering establishments in Eastern Nigeria have "flagrantly refused with impunity to honor the terms of the agreement."

CHEATING THE HEN

The petition, signed by four officials of the JAC, claimed that "this vindictive mania is outrageous derogation of right and justice. It is also a provocative inroad into the sanctuary of democratic traditions and basic observance of labor conventions. The JAC warned that Eastern Nigeria is now on the brink of a new industrial unrest precipitated by capitalist racketeers who because of selfish bogey choose to cheat the hen that lays the golden egg." The petition urged the Eastern Nigeria Government to issue a categorical statement on the matter in order to clear the air.

Two Observers View the British Election

Election Farce

"It is not by accuracy or profundity that men become the masters of great assemblies. And why be at the charge of providing logic of the best quality, when a very inferior article will be equally acceptable?"

(Lord Macaulay)

Lord Macaulay was referring to the parliamentary leaders of his day. Having read the withering attack by Marx on Palmerston, I often wonder how he would deal with Home and Wilson if he were alive today. Both of them have made weak references to Marx, but try and imagine what he would say about them. Home says that the British economy is "bonyant" while Wilson wants to end the Tory policy of "stop-go-stop" and promises to make Britain "great" and "dynamic." Up to now, the singing of "Land of Hope and Glory" has taken place only at Home's meetings.

Socialism is not the issue in this election, but Sir Alec has charged Wilson with supporting the views of Marx, which, according to Sir Alec, have failed wherever they have been tried. It is well known that Wilson has acknowledged his ignorance of Marxist theory. Sir Alec, who claims to have studied Marxism, seems to imagine that the Russian regime has something to do with Marxist theory. He has been reading the wrong books.

STRIKES A WORRY

It is clear from his speeches that he is worried about strikes. He talks of them as "restrictive practices" if he would read and think a little more he would discover that the readiness of the workers to take action against their employers is a vindication of Marxist teaching. The conflicting interests of the workers and their employers leading to open struggle is the most important feature of present-day society.

When he, like Mr. Wilson, talks of "modernization," he is referring to a speeding-up process which Marx showed to be inseparable from capitalist production. He declared that the machine employed the man, instead of the man employing the machine.

Mr. Harold Wilson, if returned, may vary in his methods, but, assuredly, he will play the same role as his predecessors in office. By trying to make the system more efficient he will come into conflict with the men and women employed on production. He may win the support of trade union leaders but he will help to create a new anti-capitalist force among the workers which, despite inevitable vilification, will carry the struggle on to a higher level.

It is regrettable that nowhere is there a candidate standing for

the principles of International Socialism. The "Communist" opposing Sir Alec led a number of his supporters to the grave of the cattle-thief, Rob Roy. One of his followers said that Rob Roy took from the rich and gave to the poor. This is a new brand of Marxism. The farce is complete.

We have reached a new low level, but it clears the way for a new beginning. The struggle will continue. We must all make our contribution in theory and in practice. The election will change nothing—but the workers will.

No Poet This

GLASGOW, Scotland—Strikes forbidden, thousands of political prisoners tortured and rotting in jail, a giant organization of secret police with spies everywhere, a Government that was not a Government at all—just Murder Incorporated. That's how things were in Hungary eight years ago, until on an October day, 1956, when workers, students, and writers revolted. For 14 days the Hungarian people wrote new chapters on man's struggle for freedom and liberty. Written in blood, courage and heroism—surely this is the stuff of which poets are made.

Byron, Shelley and Robert Burns would have soared to lyrical heights. Even the much-laughed-at McGonagal might have been moved to scrawl a bit of doggerel verse. But the man rated by the "Daily Worker" as the most famous Scottish poet of the 20th Century, Hugh MacDiarmid, could only scribble his name on a Communist Party membership form. He signed himself a supporter of modern barbarism. Without shame or conscience, he has boasted about it ever since.

A KILTED HACK

Up in Kinross, where he is a Communist candidate, he'll pose as the true Scot, the native son, a kind of John Commonweal who has come to slay the wicked baron from "The Hirsell," Sir Alec Douglas-Home. Who will fall for this? He is at heart just a little Russian Communist dressed in kilts, peddling the usual hackneyed and exaggerated claims about life in "the land so dear to every toiler."

Come to think of it, the wicked capitalists have been very good to him. He gets a Civil List pension from the Government for services rendered to literature. That bastion of The Establishment, Edinburgh University, clapped a mortar board on his head, a gown on his back, and conferred on him an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. The posh Scottish Field Magazine sings his praises in prose

and in pictures. Soon he will be initiated into the "Speculative Society," a highfalutin literary body with an exclusive membership of 30 persons which includes the Duke of Edinburgh, Judges from the High Court, and no less a person than Sir Alec himself.

A POET FOR WORSE

What has MacDiarmid ever done for the Socialist Movement? Absolutely nothing. There was a time when the Communist Party would not have allowed him to carry their platform, let alone speak from it. All his days he has fought the class struggle from the customer's side of the public house bar. After the votes are counted, he will return to the usual haunts, his ego satisfied by publicity. But in "Conspiracy House" King Street, London, there will be moans and groans from Mr. Gollan and his friends. Deposits will be lost all over the place. Biggest regret will be the stunt they staged in Kinross, and the antics of a poet who made a bad situation worse. (Reprint from the "Scottish Marxist-Humanist," Aug. issue)

In Came Watches, Out Went Men

As the men with the stop watch came in, the men who do the work went out. That happened at the Rootes car factory, Linwood, a few days ago. The men are now back at work and negotiations are now in progress. A day or so earlier, Sir Alec Douglas-Home asked an audience whether a Labour Government would have brought this factory to Scotland.

This is the factory where the management and trade union officials made a secret agreement regarding conditions in the factory. The right of the management to screen workers in the factory was granted. It was also agreed to recognize lower rates of wages than paid in the same concern in the South of England.

The terms of the agreement were made known at a meeting of Renfrew Trades Council. Despite demands that the officials come clean, the workers have been told the facts.

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by Raya Dunayevskaya

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Early Morning Bullets Riddle Home of Leader, Office of Appalachian Committee

HAZARD, Ky.—Six rifle shots were fired into the home of the Rev. Jason Combs, retired miner who is vice president of the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment, at about 2 a.m., Tuesday, Oct. 6.

Five shots were fired shortly thereafter into the office of the Committee. Combs lives about four miles from Hazard; the office is in Hazard.

No one was hurt in the shooting, but Combs and his wife were sleeping in the path of one of the bullets fired into their home, and it was stopped only by a piece of furniture. They were alone at the time. No one was in the Hazard office when the shots were fired.

The Appalachian Committee has been working to organize the unemployed in Hazard and Perry County; its main objective is to seek improved governmental programs to help the unemployed and to create new jobs for men who have lost their jobs because of mechanization of the mines.

Everette Tharp, a secretary of the committee, said the Oct. 6 shooting followed a campaign of intimidation against the committee that has been going on for the past several months. Tharp charged that school operators and county officials in the area are "attempting to destroy our committee."

SHOTS SPREAD OUT

Neighbors of the Combs said they saw two cars leaving the scene just after the shots were fired. They could not describe the cars because of the darkness. The range of the fire progressed from one side of the house to the other, indicating that the cars were moving when the shots were fired.

The cars were headed toward Hazard, the neighbors said, leading witnesses to conclude that the shooting at the office of the Appalachian Committee was later than that at the Combs home.

Officials of the Appalachian

Committee immediately wired Governor Edward T. Breathitt informing him of what had happened and asking for police protection. They also called on city and county officials for protection and asked W. M. Engle, state senator from Perry County, to take some action.

The telegram to the Governor stated that when the Committee for Full Employment has asked for state protection in the past it has not been forthcoming.

"It is our contention," Everette Tharp said, "that this committee does not get the protection of any of the police powers of this state—local or state."

Combs said he telephoned the state police office in Hazard immediately after the shooting, but was informed that they had no one to investigate and could not do anything until morning. He said a state police officer finally arrived at the scene at 12:30 the following day.

PATTERN OF HARASSMENT

Just last week, Philip Sipser, New York city attorney for the Appalachian Committee, wrote a four-page letter to Governor Breathitt outlining a pattern of harassment in Hazard during the summer and asking that the Governor order an impartial inquiry into the situation by a committee of reputable citizens of the state. He urged in the letter that the Governor intervene immediately "before serious damage is done."

Appalachian Committee officials say the harassment was directed especially against students who were working with them in Hazard during the summer. The young people were victims of repeated arrests on minor traffic charges, etc. This finally culminated in a two-hour interrogation of two of the students, Sally Suskind and Chuck Koehler, by county officials. The students said that during that session they were ordered to leave the county, told that "the hunting season was on," and they were "fair game."

There have been constant telephone threats against committee

leaders. Recently there was a grand jury investigation of the committee.

The committee leaders believe the recent events are related to the approaching trial in Lexington of Berman Gibson, a leader of the unemployed miners in Eastern Kentucky. He is scheduled for re-trial Oct. 14 on a federal charge of conspiring with seven others to dynamite a railroad bridge in June, 1963. The charges arose during the campaign of roving pickets against non-union mines in this part of the state. Gibson's first trial on the charge ended with a hung jury, with 10 of 12 jurors voting for acquittal.

Gibson has repeatedly claimed that the charges against him are a 'frame up' by coal operators and local officials to destroy the unemployed miners movement.

On the Line

A Different Kind of Backlash — This One Against Contract

by John Allison

The backlash the UAW is getting from the national contract agreements is the voice of the men and women who work in the auto shops across the nation.

The contract signed by Walter Reuther three years ago was a patch-work of confusion. This set of negotiations and what they produced broke the record for confusion.

But local contract agreements are better understood by the workers, who know that the government of any auto shop depends on the type of representation the workers get from their union.

In many cases, the local president and the boys from Solidarity House, along with the company, put pressure on the Bargaining Committee to drop half of their demands to settle the local issues during Chrysler contract negotiations. Of course, these settlements were at the expense of the workers and their piled up grievances.

DEMANDS AND GRIEVANCES

One thing should be made clear here, and that is the difference between grievances and demands. The grievances are those protests by workers against management oppression that have been formally processed and are at some particular stage of the grievance procedure. Demands are the list of things the local bargaining unit draws up at contract time to use in the horse-trading procedure, that are not subjects of grievances. A strike may be called over demands, but not over a grievance that is being processed.

And at contract time the grievances of workers are usually sacrificed. One recent example stands clearly. A worker had the classification and was doing the work of a dispatcher for 10 years, but was being paid the lower rate of a stock chaser. He filed a grievance, based on his work and classification, for back pay. His case went as far as the appeal board, and there seemed to be no question but that he would get his back pay due him even if the case had to go up to the highest step—the referee.

But once it got to the appeal board, nothing more was heard about it. The worker couldn't find out anything about what had been decided about his case. Then, after he told men in the shop who began to put pressure on the local officers, the union suddenly came up with a "Memorandum of Understanding" between the union and the company that simply threw the worker's case out.

The worker was so mad about this obvious double-cross that he refused to do the work of dispatcher, and went back to doing the work his paid rate called for.

This is only one case. There are thousands, and these are the reasons that working conditions, the treatment by management, is the burning issue in the shop.

PASSING THE BUCK

The reason the locals have the problem is that the UAW has ducked the question and passed it back to the locals. Now the UAW has the whip in their hands and uses it on the Bargaining Committee to settle grievances and plant problems to get production rolling again.

If it wasn't that the workers on the line have it so tough, it would seem funny how the union depends on the working man to keep production rolling for the company—and yet not one of the Bargaining Committee, local president, UAW staff members, none of these people work on the line.

Bulletin

An Oct. 9 special news item from the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment reports that the federal case against Berman Gibson was dismissed because of a lack of evidence.

Program Forces Welfare Families to Work on Farms

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—"Either work or you will not get food." With these words the Los Angeles county supervisors adopted a program to force welfare recipients to take farm labor jobs or get off relief.

This action is an attempt to solve the farm labor shortage which may occur when the importation of braceros ends at the end of this year. The braceros are Mexican nationalists who have been imported into California to pick the crops. The federal government has ordered an end to that program. Thus farmers in the county of Los Angeles will be faced with a shortage of labor to pick their crops.

This is not because there is a shortage of laborers. There are thousands of unemployed workers in Los Angeles county. However because of the poor working conditions, the very low pay, and the temporary nature of the work, few unemployed workers are willing to take this type of labor.

The bracero program has long been known as sweatshop conditions in the fields. The county supervisors are now trying to assure the farmers of an adequate

labor supply by supplying them with welfare recipients.

FARMERS PROTEST WAGE

In order to make this directive more palatable the county ordered a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour (the minimum wage of county workers is \$1.72 an hour) and the providing of adequate sanitary facilities. The farmers immediately protested that they did not want a minimum wage as that would encourage loafers. They would prefer to pay on a piece work basis.

The emphasis of the new program is youth. Under this program not only would adults have to work, but any youth between 16 and 18 in a family qualifying for aid must be enrolled full time in school or must be working and contributing to the family's support.

One county supervisor estimated that some 30,000 unemployed youth are available to take over in the fields after the bracero program is ended. At this stage they can reach only a small percentage of these youths, those whose families are on welfare. But the supervisors would no doubt be happy to supply the farmers with all the cheap labor they need.

In the Grip of Abject Poverty

"In South Carolina there were youngsters only 6 and 7 with the grownups from early years old working in the fields in the morning until it was too dark for them to see what they were doing." (Eye-witness report which appeared in the New York World-Telegram.)

In an era when laws, unions, and associations guard the rights of most Americans, why has the migrant been forgotten? Why is he so often cheated and lied to; generally forced to live in filth and squalor; usually denied adequate medical attention and schooling for his children; consistently forbidden even the basic benefits of minimum wage legislation, unemployment insurance, disability compensation, and child labor laws?

The reason is simple. Desperately poor workers, unprotected by law, will accept miserably low wages. Migrant farm workers are weak, unorganized, unable to defend themselves. Their employers, on the other hand, are well organized. Their powerful lobbies are active—and effective—in perpetuating poverty and legislative discrimination against workers in agriculture.

As a result, the disease rate among migrants is twice the normal; their children four years behind in school; their wages a bare third of average factory pay.

Unable to protect himself, the migrant needs help. And help, frankly, means money: money to counter-lobby for remedial legislation; money to tell their story to the public; money to support collective bargaining attempts.

While five bills to help migrant families were adopted by the Senate in the last Congress, four of them died in the House. Only one, the Migrant Health Bill, was passed. Ten bills to help migrants have been introduced in the present Congress.

The National Sharecroppers Fund must work harder to build public support for them if they are to become law. Only with the support of people like you can we keep up our efforts to obtain for these forgotten Americans a decent share of the abundance they toil to produce.

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Editorials

Magnolia Jungle Lynch Law

The arrest of five Mississippi "law enforcement" officials early this month on charges of violating the civil rights of Negroes — namely, the false arrests and vicious beatings of five Negro men—has removed the slightest doubt anyone could have had that in South USA not only is the law on the side of the lynch-mob, the law and the lynch-mob are one and the same. The only surprise was that the FBI did not yet charge these officials directly with the murders of the three young civil rights workers this summer.

It is this complete breakdown of any law and order in the Magnolia Jungle of the Deep South that has resulted in the burning and bombing of more than 40 churches and countless homes in Mississippi in the past six months. In McComb alone, where 10 white segregationists have finally been arrested as suspects, there have been no less than 17 bombings, four church burnings and nine vicious beatings since June.

The widespread knowledge that it is precisely Mississippi "law and order" that is responsible for these crimes finally led the FBI to report also that the Mississippi Highway Patrol is heavily infiltrated by the Klan. Just how token was the subsequent dismissal of two of the Highway Patrol officers, can be seen from the fact that all the others were merely required to bring signed statements from their local Klan chapters saying that they were no longer members and were released from all vows! For good measure a memorandum was also sent out "reminding" them that the Ku Klux Klan is listed as a subversive organization by the Attorney General, and "as such," membership is a violation of the patrolman's oath.

Even with completely conclusive evidence against him for the murder of Medgar Evers, Byron De La Beckwith was set free by an all-white Mississippi jury. Worse than that, even with the confession of one of the accomplices, the murderers of Lemuel Penn, an Army officer killed while in uniform in Georgia, were set free by another all-white Southern jury.

There is little hope that the five Mississippi police officials will ever be convicted as long as they, too, are tried by the standard racist jury of the South. And there is no evidence that the Civil Rights Law of 1964 has made any difference whatsoever in the way of life—and death—in the Magnolia Jungle.

An Understood Misunderstanding

Once more Reuther has proved himself the past master of substitution. This time he seized upon the eloquence of the rank-and-file's demand for "human decency and dignity on the job"—but is again winding up with a contract that only perpetuates the inhuman working conditions of today's automated production.

That the GM workers would have struck with or without Reuther's blessing is reasonably obvious. When four of the locals who had been exempted from the strike, walked out with 260,000 authorized strikers the very minute the strike was announced, Reuther called it "just a misunderstanding" and dispatched a UAW regional director "to get the people back to work" immediately. But there had been no misunderstanding three weeks earlier when the GM workers let him know they were so anxious to shut down the inhuman pace of the infamous GM assembly lines that they threatened to walk out with the Chrysler workers before their own contract was even taken up.

Remembering his embarrassment two years ago, when GM workers wildcatted in protest against a national agreement that had not taken up a single one of their local grievances, Reuther this time decided to cover his flanks and hold off on the national agreement to see if the local grievances could be settled first.

Ever since Automation, local grievances have been THE grievances, in every industry in the country. And in the auto industry, General Motors has led the field in imposing the most inhuman of local working conditions. In two years over 17,000 unsettled local grievances had piled up.

Louis G. Seaton, GM vice-president in charge of personnel, has said only 15% of these 17,000 demands were "properly" related to working conditions. The "proper" 15% include demands for improved lighting, ventilation, safety conditions, lavatories, smoking rules, and the like. The other 85%, said the company, "are improper for local negotiations because . . . they seek to change the national agreement."

The clause in the national agreement that these 85% seek to change is the iron-clad insistence by the corporations that management alone has the right to set the pace of the line and determine how much production they can sweat out of the worker.

This, and this precisely, is what the workers are disputing. And this is precisely what Reuther has sold them out on. How far he has sold them out can be judged by the meaningless statement he accepted as a policy-letter from General Motors on the key issue of excessive overtime: an agreement by the company to "take into consideration" the personal problems of a worker when telling him to work overtime!

The workers' attitude to the contract is seen in their outright rejection of it in some of the key locals like Dodge Local 3 in Detroit, and such outspoken opposition to it in other locals that many ballots were invalidated because workers supposedly defaced them by writing their "no" votes in unmistakable language. (See Readers Views and Worker's Journal.) Even where they have not rejected it, the workers know that this contract only guarantees the continued inhuman use of human beings by both management and the labor bureaucrats. This is what they can never accept.

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

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Readers

THE INHUMAN USE OF HUMAN BEINGS

I don't really care how much profit GM or Chrysler or Ford make. They have been making it every day anyway. The most important thing is how we can exist, how we can live in that shop every day. The most important thing is how we can keep them from dehumanizing us into nothing more than a machine.

We have just had a model change. They go around and time the machines and see how many pieces the machine can put out in how many seconds and minutes. And when you come back to work, that is YOUR production. You are a human being, but they don't time YOU, the way they used to in the old days. Now they just time the machine. And Reuther and everyone else knows this. But this is what they have given away for their big "economic demands."

Welder
Detroit

The Dodge workers rejected the contract, and in our local I think it would have been rejected too, except some of the workers were so mad that they invalidated their ballots by writing on them things like "Hell, no!" and "No damn it!" and some other things I couldn't even tell you about. The officials voided all of these votes, and one of the workers I know said he overheard one of them saying that if it hadn't been for all those voided ballots, the contract would have been rejected by 40 votes.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

Seaton has boasted that General Motors' safety record, housekeeping and industrial hygiene safeguards "stack up . . . against any other modern industrial enterprise in the world." And he has cited as proof of how glorious are these conditions the fact that GM has conducted open houses during 1964 in which over a million visitors "could judge, on their own, the type of working conditions which we have." The only way a single one of these million visitors could judge the conditions the workers are talking about would be to take the worker's place on that moving line for one day—or even one hour — or perhaps even five minutes.

Ex-G.M. Worker
Detroit

They have the working-people so tied up. When we got the last five-cent raise, I came home to tell my wife when I brought the pay-check home that Friday—but when I handed it to her, before I could say a word, she said, "You must have got a raise this week." I said, "How did you know?" She said, "Everything is up a nickle or a dime in the store." A raise doesn't mean a thing to us. Any worker will tell you that.

Working Man
Detroit

Before Chrysler settled with Reuther, and Reuther was threatening to strike if they didn't come across—the GM workers just flew apart. They said they wanted to strike, too. Reuther tried to calm them down by telling them it

was not a special honor to be first. He even tried to make a joke of it, saying that George Washington was first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his country-men, but married a widow who had several children. I don't think the GM workers were in the mood for jokes, though.

One GM worker told me that the rumor was flying through the plant that if Chrysler went on strike, the GM plant would walk out with us. Reuther must have been very happy he didn't have to strike Chrysler. And he certainly knew that if he didn't authorize a GM strike, they would wildcat anyhow.

Auto Worker
Detroit

They tell me that in GM the discrimination is so bad that some plants even have separate showers for Negroes and whites. This was brought out at the time the NAACP put the picket line around the GM building.

It was generally known before negotiations began anywhere, that neither Chrysler nor Ford were the real targets. They were just the easiest. GM was the real target, because it is absolutely the worst sweat-shop in the country. It has more discrimination and more speed-up and more inhumanity than any other place you could name.

I know what conditions at Chrysler are like. And if GM is worse, it must be terrible.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

The GM workers I talk to were saying a long time ago that they would never accept another contract by Reuther or anyone else unless it did something about the production standards.

The foremen have all been talking about production standards, too. The way they work it all out is very simple. There is a little wheel under the line which manipulates the speed of the line. You can make it faster or slower. So the union gets a little more relief time for the workers? Well, all the company has to do to get it back is turn that wheel a little faster. And the workers all know this. Nobody is fooling them.

Auto Worker
Detroit

THE VERY SECRET SERVICE

The Warren Commission has already documented the inexcusable actions of the FBI and the Secret Service last November, when they did not bother to watch for Oswald, though they had plenty of material on him. Now it seems that the FBI and the Secret Service also knew all about Jenkins, but did not bother to pass on that information either. One thing you can say about the Secret Service anyhow: they certainly keep their secrets well!

Journalist
Chicago

I have read reports from almost all of the civil rights people who have worked in the South that the Mississippi FBI, which is made up of white Mississippians, have been absolutely useless to

them in any attempts to get protection from the terrorists down there. I am wondering if the reason J. Edgar Hoover himself is now getting worried about what is going on down there (finally!) is because he is afraid that he can't even control his own organization.

It wouldn't surprise me one bit if the Mississippi FBI agents cared as little for the lives of the Northern agents Hoover might send down, as they care for the Negroes and civil rights workers. Hoover might rightly feel that one of his own FBI men from the North will get the next sniper's bullet.

Activist
New York

THE EICHMANN SYNDROME

Just recently I heard Allen Ginsberg the poet, on television. He was telling about meeting an American bombing specialist when he was in South Viet Nam not too long ago. It was about three o'clock in the morning, the man was a little drunk and he told Ginsberg, "I have the Eichmann syndrome."

When asked why he was doing what he was doing, the man answered that he had a wife and two kids and was making \$20,000 a year there in South Viet Nam. Then Ginsberg asked him if that was much more than he as a highly skilled specialist could earn back in the States. The man said that it was a little bit more.

Observer
Philadelphia

MARXIST-HUMANISM

I thought the last issue of N&L was great. Especially the letters and "Workers Journal." But I gave my copy away to a friend from the South who was here to see me. I talked to him about Marxist-Humanism all weekend. He doesn't feel the same way about the working class as I do, and therefore doesn't feel about N&L and Marxist-Humanists the same way I do, but he was very much impressed with American Civilization on Trial and with the Young Marxist-Humanist. He has been around young Socialists for a long time, and he said American Civilization on Trial said many of the things he had always felt, but had never seen presented that way.

Student
Philadelphia

VAUGHN VS. POINDEXTER

The national scene is not the only interesting and important part of the coming elections. Here in Detroit we are faced with a Common Council vacancy and a candidate who has the qualifications to fill it. His name is Jackie Vaughn III, and he has the support of both labor and Negro groups.

Mr. Vaughn is running as a non-partisan candidate. He is a Negro but his interest and concern are with all the people of Detroit. His opposition, Mr. Poindexter, is of the Gold-water caliber. Therefore, to defeat Poindexter is to help defeat the racist, fascist element in our city.

Reader
Detroit

Views

WHAT AFTER NOV. 3?

I am worried about all this "lesser-evil" talk I keep hearing in the civil-rights movement. I never did go for that theory. I am scared of Goldwater, too. But I can't see Johnson painted as any "liberal," just because Goldwater is an outright fascist.

At the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City there were a lot of young kids—the Young Dems—carrying around signs saying fantastic things like "Be Alive in '65; LBJ's Fallsafe Drive."

It was very sad to think that anyone could believe that Johnson would really keep us safe from nuclear holocaust. Barry Goldwater means to make nuclear war the first item of business. Johnson only fights "little wars." This, however, is hardly a positive thing. Johnson would also fight a nuclear war, he would also send bombers with H-bombs and A-bombs and missiles to different parts of the world.

And yet these teenagers enthusiastically carried these signs. They really thought that there was a choice and that Johnson was a hope, a real hope.

Journalist
Penna.

* * *
This year everyone is saying that Goldwater's defeat is a sure thing—but I am going to

swallow my socialist "principles" in order to try to make sure it's sure. To me Goldwater and Johnson are far from "twins." LBJ is a representative of capitalism, to be sure. And one of their strongest supports, I admit. But Goldwaterism is qualitatively different, so far as I am concerned. I cannot see repeating the infamous "Red Referendum" of German history when the Communists voted with the Fascists against The Weimar Republic.

Long-time Socialist
Detroit

* * *

I vote only for those who are friends of the Judean nation, whether they are Jew, Gentile, Black or white. I had every intention of voting for Mr. Johnson, the lesser evil of the two certainly, but it was Mr. Johnson himself who changed my mind.

Some time ago, there was a Jewish conference regarding the persecution of the Jews in Russia. When Mr. Johnson was asked to receive a delegation of that assembly, he refused. Is this the action of a friend?

I would also like to ask who passed the most anti-labor laws we have ever had, if not a Democratic Congress? One of the sponsors of the Landrum-Griffin law was even the late J. F. Kennedy. These vicious laws are a sharp whip against unions. I can't con-

ceive of a union man being for any candidate who does not promise at least to attempt to abolish them.

This is why I cannot conceive of Robert Kennedy being passed off as a liberal either. He was the one who prepared the most vicious of the anti-labor laws. I must admit, he is a good lawyer. But not a liberal.

The other day he put on a skull cap and made the blessing we do on the holiday that just passed. What a clown! Mr. Kennedy was the Attorney General until just recently. Why did he allow an inhuman such as Lincoln Rockwell to rave against the Jews and Negroes? He should have sent him to prison for life, as far as I am concerned.

Workers should demand that all anti-labor laws be abolished. Neither Mr. Goldwater nor Mr. Johnson will bring the solution to the needs of the workers. That solution can come only from the militant action of all who toil for a living. Give me a genuine socialist and I will vote for him. In the meantime, I will continue to fight for a better and really free world.

M. E. Ben-Ami
New York

* * *

If, as a socialist, I ever had doubts about voting "for" LBJ to make sure that Goldwater doesn't make the White House, it was dispelled once and for all when I read that among the people Goldwater would pick for his cabinet he had chosen: Richard Nixon as Secretary of State; General Lucius Clay as Secretary of Defense; and none other than that infamous China lobbyist and arch-reactionary, Walter Judd, as Ambassador to the United Nations!

Alarmed
New York

* * *

In the middle of his campaign Goldwater choose to attack the crime rate of Wash., D.C. For whatever his own reasons may be, the acting Attorney General pointed out that Goldwater attacked the crime in Wash., D.C., whose population is 50% Negro but he forgot to mention the city of Phenox, in his home state of Arizona, where the crime rate is 30% higher than Wash., D.C., and the population is 95% white.

A. T.
Detroit

* * *

Who does Goldwater think he is? This country is strong but not so strong that some other guy isn't going to fight back. That man would probably have us in war within three months if he were elected.

Negro Worker,
Detroit

* * *

Pearl Harbor was bombed, December 7, 1941. I was drafted and sent to the Pacific by January, 1942, and I didn't get home from there until October, 1945. I know a war today would be a lot different, but World War II was too much for me and I don't want to see another. I remember seeing the people on those Islands, seeing small families trudging by us on the road, they would stop and bow to the soldiers and continue behind a hill and live there for a while. Who wants another war? Who could vote for Goldwater?

White Worker,
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Mao's Bomb and Khrushchev's Fall

(Continued from Page 1)

more, Mr. Adzhubei then spread himself out in the paper he edited with a series of articles which raised the question of a new Soviet policy to West Germany, including "a new Rapallo." This reference was to the treaty in the early 1920's which initiated not only close economic collaboration between Russia and Germany but also a military flaunting of the conditions of the Versailles Treaty against German rearmament.

The Chinese Communist Party immediately charged Khrushchev with a "sell-out" of East Germany to the West. We must keep this in mind when we read the official announcement from Peking on its atomic explosion allegedly because "The United States is now putting nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists through the so-called multilateral nuclear force and thereby threatens the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other East European Socialist countries." It is to be doubted that East Europe will feel safe under Peking's "atomic umbrella," but Mao is not one to miss an opportunity to create distrust in Russia's readiness to protect "the socialist countries."

THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT

I am not trying to say that Khrushchev's attempts at rapprochement with West Germany is the only cause of his downfall. The Sino-Soviet rift, especially as it also led to "polycentrism" among the European Communist Parties, East and West, is a very important cause for the downfall. No doubt the Russian propagandists are at this very moment covering the length and breadth of the land, illuminating to the Party faithful what "harebrained scheming, immature conclusions and hasty decisions" means not only in relationship to the Sino-Soviet conflict but also on the domestic scene, ranging from the "failure on consumer goods" and means of production, including the military, to "phrasemongering" on the virgin land program and the 20 Year Plan for "constructing full communism."

What I am saying is that, for Russia, Germany has always been the key to the international situation. This was so in Lenin's day when he banked all on the German Revolution to save Russia from its backwardness and isolation. It was so when Stalin transformed into opposite this total reliance on revolution, and banked, instead, on collaboration with Nazi Germany—the infamous Hitler-Stalin Pact which gave the green light to World War II. And it was so when Hitler attacked Russia and Stalin had to reverse himself. Since de-Stalinization Khrushchev always knew how to heat up the Cold War: create a crisis over Berlin.

Nor can we forget that an important reason for the downfall of Beria was his call for a new "international detente." Of course, the furthest thing away from the mind of that police chief was a detente such as the East German Revolt of June 17, 1953, which led to his downfall*, even as the furthest thing from the mind of Khrushchev when he embarked on de-Stalinization was the Hungarian Revolution which nearly caused his downfall. That it now came from in-fighting rather than revolution speaks volumes for the type of state-capitalist society Russia is.

THE NEW POWER STRUGGLE

Whatever induced Khrushchev to reverse himself here and attempt a new type of relationship with West Germany, it couldn't have been very popular either in Russia or in East Germany or in Poland. Indeed, no policy so quickly unites not only Communists in Europe but Europe as a whole as fear of a rearmed West Germany. Any change, any change whatever, in the relationship with West Germany would have created the opportunity his opponents within the ruling clique would have wished for. Khrushchev never commanded the undivided authority Stalin had. His defeat of the "anti-party group" in 1957, did not mean the elimination of the conditions for a new power struggle. On the contrary, he himself had laid down the conditions for new apparatus men, with no part in the Russian Revolution of 1917, to come to power and wish to move faster and "more efficiently" down the state-capitalist path.

The new power struggle in Russia is, at the same time, a new stage for the struggle for world power, beginning with dominance over the Communist world. While it by no means excludes a rapprochement with China, this is quite unlikely at the moment. The point is that, again, all roads lead to Berlin.

This is an issue that can unite the Communist Parties of both East and West Europe who have been balking at the call for a meeting that would be exclusively concerned with expelling the Chinese Communist Party and thus reestablishing Russian monolithic control over them. The "expanded agenda," which now calls for discussion not only of "Communist unity" but also "problems of peace" and "national independence," will now not only give a new impetus to the meeting but a new expose of Chinese "adventurism"—should the Chinese Communist Party still refuse to come. Thus all roads leading to Moscow, through Berlin, are both open and closed.

The irony of this is that the European Communist parties so value the little independence they have gained by the Sino-Soviet rift not being settled that they are now questioning the method of Khrushchev's removal. Such a skeptical attitude is hardly what Brezhnev counted on as a response to his first major public speech on Oct. 19, in which he promised that the party is striving for the unity of "the Socialist countries on a fully equal footing." What the attitude, and the promise, do reveal is that the rise of the new ruling clique is only the beginning, not the end, of the divisive forces at work.

*In 1953 I was the only one who thus related Beria's downfall to the East German Revolt. In 1956 Seweryn Bialer, who had been a member of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party but then fled to the West, revealed that a document for internal circulation about the fall of Beria had spoken of this, accusing Beria of proposing a policy which would have led to the abandonment of East Germany. Is this accusation now being refurbished for the "trial" against Khrushchev?

An Appeal to Our Readers

Help Us Maintain News & Letters

In this year—when well-heeled, native, Far-Right neo-fascism has dictated the choice of presidential candidate for the Republican Party and shown that, whether or not it loses this election, it is out to break white labor as well as the Negro revolution, and push Johnson's war-brinkmanship into the nuclear abyss itself—the need for a workers' paper such as News & Letters assumes an inescapable urgency.

In this year—when the Freedom Movement is at a turning point and must decide where to go—the need is greater than ever for a paper which combines the talents of worker and intellectual, in which each speaks for himself and each can listen to the other.

* * *

News & Letters has been supported and financed in the nearly 10 years of its existence entirely by contributions and subscriptions of members and friends. The September Convention of the Committees voted this year for a \$5,000 Special Fund as the minimum needed to guarantee the continued regular publication of the paper, and set Dec. 31 as the deadline for the first \$2,500.

Over \$3,000 was pledged immediately by those present—and to date \$1,445 has already been sent in.

* * *

Some of the checks have been substantial, like the \$100 we received this week from New York. Some have been smaller, like the \$5 sent in weekly by a youth in Detroit, who pledged to do so for 20 weeks, until he contributes a full \$100 from the salary of his first regular job. A student in Philadelphia, who has no job, sent in \$10 with a promise to send \$40 more by "deadline."

From a steelworker in Pittsburgh came a check for \$20, and from a housewife there, another \$10. In addition, she sent in \$5 for literature sold there last month. The Los Angeles Committee has already sent in \$200 on pledges, and \$87 for literature sold there this month. And Detroit has contributed \$1,105 toward the \$1,850 pledged by that Committee at the Convention, and is making plans for holiday parties to help raise the \$2,000 needed above and beyond the personal pledges made at the Convention.

* * *

Whether you can contribute \$10, \$50, or \$100—or whether you can only buy a \$1 subscription for a friend—WE NEED YOUR HELP! Please clip the coupon below and send it with your check to:

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YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

U. of C. STUDENTS PROTEST BAN ON FREE EXPRESSION

by Eugene Walker

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Over three thousand students at the University of California at Berkeley protested the school's ban on political activity by staging a sit-down around a patrol car to prevent the arrest of a man who had been stopped from soliciting funds and seeking members for the Congress of Racial Equality.

The sit-down lasted some 32 hours before a settlement was reached. During that time leaders of the protest movement stood on the roof of the patrol car and delivered speeches to the crowd. Two hours before the agreement 500 police were assembled, apparently to arrest the students.

400 SIT-IN

Political activity has been permitted in recent years in an area outside the main gate. However, a week previous to the sit-down protest, school authorities said that no solicitation or recruiting would be permitted there or anywhere on campus, for off campus political and social organizations.

The plaza, where political activities have been carried on, immediately became the scene of a series of protest rallies which climaxed in the sit-down. Some 400 students staged a sit-in in Sproul Hall, the main University administration building, the night previous to the sit-down around the patrol car. Eight students leading the protest were suspended indefinitely from the University.

AGREEMENT REACHED

The demonstration was called off after an agreement was reached with the President and Chancellor of the University. The agreement allowed the police to book the man, who was in the patrol car for the entire length of the sit-in, but the University would not press charges. The eight suspended students would

have their cases taken out of the hands of the administration and left up to the academic senate made up of faculty members. An area of land owned by the University would be donated to either the city of Berkeley or the Associated Students so that political activity can be carried on without interference by the University. Organizations which participated in the protest will not have campus privileges suspended.

The immediate action which the U. of C. students took to protect their rights to free expression shows what can be done. I have recently returned from working in Mississippi where civil rights workers who attempt to talk to individuals on the street can be arrested for vagrancy; if they talk to someone in a public building they can be arrested for trespassing. The man arrested at the University of California was charged with trespassing. The University of California is a state university built with and maintained with public funds.

FETTERED DIALOGUE

It seems most ludicrous that the right of individuals to express themselves or their organization's point of view including the act of getting support for their organization by recruitment of members or solicitation of funds should be inhibited by an institution which calls for "free inquiry" and "unfettered dialogue."

That the administration's decision to curtail political activity contradicts this call for inquiry and dialogue without restriction is obvious. But it is no isolated incident. There have been a number of attempts of various kinds to limit active participation in events since the House Un-American Activities Committee demonstration a few years ago. University of California students are fortunately letting their voices be heard in this attempt to stifle free expression.

'If We Just Keep Fighting Long Enough and Talking'

DETROIT, Mich.—When you walk up to a young teenager here in Detroit and you ask him about his point of view on civil rights, or what he thinks about the power structure, or the economic system, all he says is one thing, "It's a dog-eat-dog world, and I'm looking out for myself. I'm getting there the best way I can, and if that means putting a woman on the streets, then that is the best way I can."

Then if you talk to a girl, and you ask her about it she says, "I haven't got time. I've got to get through school. And I have got to get clothes on me, and if the only way I can get clothes is out there on the street, then that's the way I'm going to get them."

DOESN'T HATE WHITES

I don't blame them for this attitude. I don't hate white people because they have given them this attitude, really, by forcing them into this ghetto neighborhood. But I think I can change this attitude, if I work at it hard enough.

This is the "Land of the free and the home of the brave" — which is a lie. "With liberty and justice for all" — which is a lie. If I, by fighting, can stop prostitution, and get the bums off the

street, and don't have to go to a sloppy, run-down school, then that is what I am going to do to better my position, and my people's position in this country. If I can do that by fighting, if those people in the South can better their condition—because we are the richest country in the world and they don't have to live in the "black bottom" as we call it, they don't have to go to run-down schools, they shouldn't have to work in cotton fields and pick cotton for 30c a day—then they are going to fight.

I still think it's a dog-eat-dog world too, but I'm not "every man for himself" anymore. Because I used to be for me, and for me only. And whatever happened to somebody down South, well that was their business. I used to

'We'd Have Cold Water, No Bread'

I have been to many places in Detroit and have seen many things that make me think I know just what it would be like if Goldwater were elected President. In school we were asked to write an essay on that subject and one girl wrote: "The first day after Goldwater was elected we'd have bread and water. Then for the next four years we'd have cold water and no bread."

I have only pity for those people who are all for Goldwater, pity that they can't see what he stands for. Every Negro knows what he represents—he is against equality.

WHO'LL TRADE PLACES?

Nobody can tell a Negro he has equality. Is it equality to go into a restaurant and not get waited on until they are ready? Is it freedom when Negro women are still down on their hands and knees, scrubbing some white woman's floor? Of course, they're getting paid for it. But would the whites get down on their knees and let us pay them a few pennies, and call it freedom and equality?

Why have the white men always been free? They had no more to do with their color than we did. When I was a child I thought we were born with our freedom. But I have seen how wrong I was. I thought these things were fought out a long time ago. But how wrong I was again.

Maybe I'll find answers to my questions if I search long enough. But in the meantime it is hard to be confused and hurt. Some white people care more about a dog, cat or bird than about Negro freedom. That is hard to understand. But maybe getting to understand is part of growing up.

EQUALITY AND FREEDOM

All Negroes can do is pray and try it together, fighting on for what is denied us. But we cannot fight it alone. Some whites say, why should we give Negroes their freedom—they're not important. But oh, how wrong they are. Those whites have pushed and hit and hurt us long enough. They have had our freedom, and now we want it back. In a way, they are the patients and we are the doctors, and they are going to have to take their medicine in big doses.

I have never experienced a lot of things most Freedom Fighters have. I have never been dragged from the entrance of a store, or shoved into a police van. But the people who have, are not only fighting for their freedom, but for generations to come. My name, age, address—these things are not important. What is important is equality and freedom for all.

Josetta Reid

feel that they could take care of that, I didn't have anything to do with down there, I wasn't down there.

FREEDOM'S KEY

But I found out that it is up here, and it's over there, and it's everywhere around you. You are all in a little cage, and there is a key up at the top—but the wall is just a little too high, and until you get everybody in it, we are not going to be able to reach that key. I feel that if we just keep fighting long enough, and talking, and getting people together, and argue viewpoints — then we will have enough people to make a change and reach that key to open that door.

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.

Benjamin Rush-M.D. and Revolutionist

Most doctors have found their place alongside conservative and even reactionary groups in maintaining existing conditions of living long after these conditions have turned into a cancer on society. Their allegiance appears to lie with those elements among us that hold a privileged economic position.

The medical profession's lack of serious influence, not only in government and industry but on the thinking of ordinary people, is explained away by the need to concentrate on an ever-expanding science as well as the limitations necessitated by specialization.

IGNORE SOURCE OF SYMPTOMS

But while there is increasing perfection in the management of symptoms and disease that is local, there is little concern with what is defective in the total living of millions of Americans as a source of these symptoms.

However, organized medicine and its leaders (which must be distinguished from the individual doctor) feels itself somewhat isolated. It has therefore entered upon a campaign to bring the profession into favorable public light by advocating better relations with patients and by encouraging political activity among physicians. But, in view of the fact that organized medicine discourages any fundamental change from what exists, it is difficult to foresee any success in these ventures.

A recent issue of the weekly Journal of the American Medical Association reported that over the years 359 physicians have "helped to shape the destiny of the country as members of Congress." A sketch is given of some of the more prominent physicians. Here is one about Benjamin Rush, M.D., a close friend of Thomas Paine.

"Benjamin Rush of Pennsylvania, another practicing physician who signed the Declaration of Independence, was easily the most famous American physician and medical teacher of his generation. Dr. Rush was a rugged character, brash and bold in debate and in conduct. His correspondence was so indiscreet — he feuded violently with Washington, among others — that his family kept his private secret until recent years . . . It was to him that Jefferson wrote the famous line: 'I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of men.'"

In 1773 this is what he had to say on slavery: "The first step to be taken to put a stop to slavery in this country is to leave off importing slaves. For this purpose let our assemblies unite in petitioning the King and Parliament to dissolve the African Company. It is by this incorporated band of robbers that the trade has been chiefly carried on to America . . .

"Let such of our countrymen as engage in the slave trade be shunned as the greatest enemies of our country . . .

"Extend the privileges we enjoy, to every human creature born among us, and let not the journals or our assemblies be disgraced with the records of laws which allow exclusive privilege to men of one color in preference to another."

AGAINST DEATH PENALTY

In 1792 he urged the abolition of the death penalty. He argued for a complete change in the treatment of civil prisoners who, often jailed for no worse crime than debt, were sent to labor on city streets chained with heavy iron balls.

In 1799 he advocated the establishments of a Peace-Office and asked that military uniforms and military titles be laid aside. "To affect the minds of the citizens of the U.S. with the blessing of peace" he asked that the following inscriptions be painted on the door of the office of the Secretary of War:

1. "An office for butchering the human species."
2. "A Widow and Orphan making office."
3. "A broken bone making office."
4. A Wooden Leg making office."
5. "An office for creating public and private vices."
6. "An office for creating a public debt."
7. "An office for creating speculators, stock-jobbers, and bankrupts."
8. "An office for creating famine."
9. "An office for creating pestilential diseases."
10. "An office for creating poverty, and the destruction of liberty and national happiness."

Because of this, Alexander Hamilton blocked his appointment to the medical faculty of Columbia University on the grounds of his "too radical views."

It's not very hard to bring a new society. Maybe we're not even ready for that society that it would bring. Maybe I'm not ready for society, the change that it would make. Maybe the white man isn't ready. Maybe poor Negroes, and the black people in the middle-class, maybe a lot of them aren't ready. But I don't think it is going to take 400 years for them to get ready. And I think we are going to make it our business that it won't take 100 years for them to get ready either.

What effect will China's possession of the atomic bomb have on Sino-Soviet and world relations?
Read Chapter 17, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in Marxism and Freedom

As Others See Us

London Tribune's Review of Marxism and Freedom

Marxism and Freedom
Raya Dunayevskaya (Twayne, USA, available from Harry McShane, 31 Balbeg Street, Glasgow, S.W.3. 10s. 6d.)

A RECENT Panorama programme dealt with the seventieth birthday of Nikita Khrushchev. Among the contemporary politicians invited to comment on the Russian leader was Mr. Harold Wilson. Wilson started his remarks by saying that Khrushchev "had never had much time for theory." He went on: "I've never really been very interested in theory myself."

Perhaps unwittingly, the leader of the Labour Party was voicing one of the most remarkable trends in the modern Labour movement—the headlong stampede from theory. Reasons for this are hard to come by, but among them, certainly, is the fear of reviving an old and terrible ghost—that of Karl Marx.

FOR those Socialists who are still interested in the questions "Why are we in the game at all?" and "What best can we do?" (which Socialist theory answers), and who are not in the least terrified by Marx, the range of relevant literature is scant indeed. The works of the old masters are still with us, of course, but we are now a hundred years on from the foundation of the First International. Lenin and Trotsky have been dead for 40 and 24 years respectively. For Socialist theory conceived in the forties, fifties and sixties we have had to make do with sectarian arguments.

That is why the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom* by the American lecturer Raya Dunayevskaya takes on perhaps an exaggerated importance. The book was first published in America in 1958. Recently it has reappeared in paperback form, and is for the first time easily available in this country. The appendix to the old edition is replaced by a marvellous last chapter on the Sino-Soviet dispute and Mao Tse-tung.

MISS DUNAYEVSKAYA'S main thesis is that the healthy development of Marxism as a political philosophy has been blocked by a dull, dry economism. For decades Marxists of every nationality have confined Socialist theory to a discussion about economics. A deluge of "organisation" and economic definition has swamped the true substance of Marxism—which is rooted deep in the day-to-day lives of working men and women.

The long chapter on Marx's earlier philosophical works abounds with quotations about "that thoroughgoing Humanism (which) distinguishes itself from both Idealism and from Materialism and is at the same time the truth uniting both." In his diatribes against Proudhon and Lassalle, for instance, Marx savagely disposed of the idea that changes in property forms made any essential difference to the worker at the bench. It is the workers who matter above all—the workers as human beings, their passions and energies cramped and channelled by the dictatorship of the machine. Changes in property forms which do not establish a society of "freely associated individuals" have nothing to do with Socialism.

Raya Dunayevskaya disposes once and for all with the popular view that these were the romantic fantasies of an immature adolescent, and that Marx "got down to brass tacks" when he wrote *Capital*. On the contrary, as the best three chapters in the book show, the "humanist" substance formed the very basis of *Capital*. In letters to Engels Marx wrote that in the process of transform-

ing the *Critique of Political Economy* into the masterpiece that is *Capital* he "had to turn everything round." The format of the *Critique*—"an intellectual, that is a remote work"—was drastically revised. History and theory were fused. The vital 70 pages on the Working Day were written (for the first time in 1866). Detailed explanations about surplus value and historical materialism were oiled with the sweat of working man and women.

IN MISS Dunayevskaya's own words "Marxism is a theory of liberation or it is nothing." To lose that libertarian thread is to strip Marxism, literally, of its flesh and blood. The dry bones which are left are not only useless, they are dangerous. Their three main effects are spotlighted by Miss Dunayevskaya against an exhilarating background of 20th century working-class history.

First, there is the obsession with organisation. As the famous reformist Bernstein put it: "The goal is nothing; organisation is everything." Yet the superbly organised Second Socialist International, its theory grounded in the works of the "intellectual" Kautsky, found it possible to give its assent to the futile slaughter of millions of its adherents in the First World War.

Secondly, the hypnosis of property forms distracts the minds of modern Socialists from the real human class relationships. Latter-day Marxists saw the Stalinist Plans and the 1936 Stalinist Constitution as the millennium, while the unspeakable misery of millions of Russians in the cause of "Socialist accumulation" was carefully overlooked. Monstrous bureaucracy, industrial stagnation, lies and murder have become "minor details" compared with the fact of State ownership.

FINALLY, there is the arrogance and condescension of modern Marxists fighting against capitalism. Communists and Trotskyists all over the world form themselves into "vanguards" which will one day lead the workers to glory. Yet in Paris, Petrograd, Barcelona and Budapest—at crucial points in history—the workers themselves showed a revolutionary, an organisational potential far in advance of the "vanguards." Workers' Councils and Soviets as organs of power over production were not dreamed up in advance by a self-appointed elite. They were formed by working men and women in the course of struggle.

Raya Dunayevskaya draws these three threads together into one grim paradox. Just as the feudal barons celebrated their bloody victories with renderings of *In Terra Pax* and quotations about sending the rich empty away, so the High Priests of modern Marxism wash away the blood of Russian, Spanish and Hungarian revolutionaries with incantations about "emancipating the working class." The thought and works of Marx, designed to help the struggles of working people all over the world to smash the constricting chains of capitalism and to release their energies in a new freedom, are exploited to serve the ends of a mean, barbarous and chauvinist State Capitalism.

THE PROBLEM of our age, then, is State Capitalism or Freedom. Adam Smithian capitalism has vanished. So, as Marx predicted, has "planlessness." On both sides of the Iron Curtain bureaucracies make their plans and counterplans to invigorate their national capitalisms... (in Wilson's—or Home's—own words, for instance, "to make Britain

Negro and Jewish Mothers Look Back, Ahead

B.T. Stood for Big Tom, as Granny Said

DETROIT, Mich.—I do not consider myself a "Marxist-Humanist," but it amazes me how parallel my thoughts and the ideas of NEWS & LETTERS are.

I am an American Negro, a human being. To me and my foreparents this struggle for equality has always persisted. I remember my father bringing home a bust of Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass and placing them on the mantle facing one another. This didn't please my grandmother at all. She was no B. T. Washington fan—in fact, she always said the B. T. stood for Big Tom.

She never went to school, and when I asked her how come she knew so much she just told me, "Don't judge the depth of a well by the size of the pump."

She made us read our history books to her, and she and my parents (one was a minister, the other a school teacher) called our history book hogwash-lies. I never have learned all the words to our National Anthem, but I could recite the Negro National Anthem before I could recite my own name. There was always a debate going on at our house about Christ, John Brown, Frederick Douglas, DuBois; even Marcus Garvey and the Communists got into it. In 1931 she gave me a copy of DuBois' *The Soul of Black Folk* which I still have, and cherish.

GREAT PROMISES

Harry Truman, Gill Burke, Cuth Wells and Tom Pendergast all came to dad's church to sway Negroes to vote Democratic. They all promised great things for the Negroes. Dad came home telling us about the nice things the Negro had been promised, and Granny listened and then announced: "Reverend, every Christmas you preach about the

great"). The plans serve only to intensify the control over living labour by dead labour—the alienation of man from the machine. To hysterical cries for higher productivity, human beings are supervised closer and closer to the grindstone. In Dag- enham, Detroit, Prague and Warsaw the "wildcats" make their irrepressible protest.

Miss Dunayevskaya's book has several glaring flaws. Her attempts to prove that Marx "predicted" State Capitalism on Russian lines are often strained beyond reality. In her eagerness to turn her fire on Russian and Chinese State Capitalism, she scrimps on her enormous experience of American labour. We are left without a proper analysis of capitalism (still predominantly "private enterprise" capitalism) in the United States and Western Europe.

Yet it is a supremely intelligent book, attractively written. Above all, it is inspiring. To the Socialist of today, fed to the teeth with the barren opportunism of contemporary party politics and shocked by the gangster-like dishonesty of "vanguard" revolutionaries, *Marxism and Freedom* will bring a new inspiration and a new hope.

Paul Foot

(Reprinted from the London TRIBUNE, Aug. 21, 1964)

Virgin Mary and the Three Wise Men. Well, if these things come to pass, you call up those Three Wise Men, tell them to get their gifts together, find that star and start their journey—because another miracle has just happened."

There was no public recreation center for Negroes, no public library, only the schools. I can say that after Truman was politically successful in state government my father did receive catalogues from stores that we couldn't go in, but could order from (with no return or exchange—all sales final).

We could eat at the dime store counter, at a counter marked "Colored," with paper cups, spoons and plates. We could go downtown to the shows, through an alley entrance to the balcony. Light-skinned Negroes were given a few jobs as elevator operators, porters, and scrub-women in some of the public places.

My dad, some other Negro ministers, doctors, lawyers and two white men (one on the board of education) went to Truman's men's clothing store on 13th and Cherry streets one day and tried on hats and clothing. This was a lynching crime then. The manager called Truman, and sold them some articles. But he closed his store shortly after.

FLIP-LIPPED AND REBELLIOUS

I finished high school and because there was no college for Negroes in Kansas City went to Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, and later became a student nurse in the General Hospital for Negroes, General II. General I was the city hospital for whites. Most of our teachers were whites. Our Social Hygiene teacher (white) kept telling us such things as that all Negroes had VD in their blood; or Negroes

had bowed-legs, scarce hair, and TB from heredity. I'm afraid I was pretty flip-lipped and rebellious by this time, and I spent so much time in the office for insubordination that the other student nurses nicknamed me the "Directress of Nursing."

The real directress had asked me, when I had to go for my oral interview, why I had chosen that field, and suggested I should be a teacher instead, or go to an all-Negro nursing school. She seemed surprised that Negroes would even seek medical care, and said she was always under the impression that castor-oil, sulfur and molasses, sassafrass tea, bags around our necks, and pierced ears, cured all our ills.

I was almost speechless. But not as speechless as SHE was when she asked me my aspiration in nursing (on one of my many trips to her office for "insubordination") and I told her that it was to be Directress of Nursing in General I.

THEORY FOR JOURNEY

My granny and my parents and many others have had ideas and dreams of what the world should be like. But thought and activity must be linked to me. I am now a parent and a granny myself. Today our thoughts are action. We've demonstrated with bus-strikes, sit-ins, wade-ins, marches, boycotts, and every other possible means of being seen, heard and understood. But I think we are at a cross-road, a junction.

The road to take is not too clear, and we are badly in need of "theory" to conclude the journey. There are too many so-called leaders on the scene—some sincerely for the cause, some perhaps for personal ambitions—but none seem willing to give what the masses of freedom fighters need. The big questions are still to be answered.

Nazis, Rights and Terror

DETROIT, Mich.—Until September, 1939, I lived in New Jersey—Passaic, New Jersey, to be specific. These were the pre-World War II years for America. Yet I can remember the Nazi Party exercising the rights that were theirs in this country in rehearsal to curtail ours.

Nazi Bund and Youth members were rampant all over the state. Saturday night was party night. On the corner of our block was a beer-garden, as it was known then. This was the gathering place for the Swastikas. Although I was a child, my memory of all this is very vivid and the fascination I felt watching and listening to the cavorting and singing is easy to recall.

PART OF LANGUAGE

I am Jewish. Living in a predominantly German neighborhood at that time did not bring peace of mind. From the day I started kindergarten, I was taunted and forced into fights. The expression, "dirty Jew" was said so often that I began to regard it as part of the language.

When children refused to play with me after being friendly before, I soon realized that their mothers had ordered them not to play with a Jewish child. When a teen-aged Nazi youth fought with me, the result was a court-case. The judge, who was also Jewish, advised my parents to move into the Jewish section of town in order to be "safe."

There were other court cases which I didn't attend because the authorities thought I was too young to be subjected to such adult matters. The school princi-

pal advised my mother that there was nothing she could do, and that my mother could accompany me to and from school—in other words, guard me.

HITLER WAS COMING

My father's business began failing. Some of his faithful German friends who had discussed family matters and sought advice previously, suddenly heard Hitler's maniacal voice from Berchtesgaden and told my father that they no longer could do business with a Jew and that Hitler was coming to America "to take care of all Jews."

In all this there was a humorous incident. A lady stopped me on the street one day and asked if I would like to attend summer-camp. I told her to ask my parents. She came to the house and told them that she was recruiting for the Nazi Youth Camp. The reception she received is unprintable.

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE

There are those who read this who might be shocked that this could happen in this country. It did, and more! And as history does repeat itself in various degrees, it could happen again—all over the country. Whether Goldwater is a tool or a phenomenon, or both, is unimportant when the totality of the situation is considered. Goldwater is not alone as a candidate for the presidential election. He is not backed by a political machine, but by a totalitarian machine which is Nazi, racist, and completely dictatorial. This is the Birch Society.

I don't want the children of today to have the same memories of their childhood as I do. That is, if they survive to be adults.

Presidential Campaign and After

(Continued from Page 1)

water, "I believe what he believes in. I think the same way he thinks." Another expert in this field who also supports him is Alabama's top KKKer Robert Creel. What spoke more eloquently than any words was the uncovering of a cache of arms along with swastikas in Corpus Christi, Texas, on Oct. 13.

It is estimated that there are now more than 1,000 right wing organizations in the U.S., with the John Birch Society having chapters in 48 states. It is also estimated that these organizations have a membership of four million.

Making it even more ominous is the emergence of ex-Nazis and neo-Nazis as Friends of Goldwater organizations in other countries. In France, besides the "American Friends of Goldwater," a French group calling itself the "French Association of Friends of Goldwater" has sprung up. The head of this group, Mr. Phillippe Heduy, is a friend of General Bidault, the leader of the French Terrorists in Algeria, and made it clear that his aim was to win "Frenchmen" to the ideas of Goldwater, "His political ideas are parallel to ours."

WHAT ABOUT LBJ?

As if to prove the sorry state of American capitalism with LBJ at the head, the very day after the New York dock workers went on strike (Sept. 30) President Johnson set out to get a Taft-Hartley injunction against them. The "cooling off period" of 80 days conveniently spans election day but will not fool dock workers into thinking that Johnson is for Labor, any more than the Negro people are for him. The vote for Johnson by both is simply a vote against Goldwater. Labor and the Negro simply feel that they must rebuff the neo-fascist American phenomenon.

President Johnson's promise last spring to fight poverty culminated in his "war on poverty" program. The 88th Congress, the majority of whom were Democrats, not only could not see fit to pass a \$1.06 billion aid to Appalachia bill, but were insulted that they should be asked to work the last week of this Congress, and under this disguise, closed down Oct. 3 and did not let the

bill even get to the floor of the House of Representatives.

This same 88th Congress made sure that the limited aid to the aged, the Medicare Bill, met the same fate, that of defeat. One wonders how the mighty Democratic whip, President Johnson, could maneuver the whole Democratic Convention to his every whim but not a Democratic Congress.

The truth of American Civilization is that the day after election day the unemployed miners of Appalachia and 38 million other Americans across the land will still be living in poverty, and the labor bureaucrats will continue to sell out the American workers. Such sell-outs can be seen in the recent contracts signed with the auto industry in September and October. (See *Worker's Journal*, page 1, and *Editorial*, page 4.)

THE DAY AFTER

The day after Nov. 3 the Negro Revolution will show that though its leaders could command it not to demonstrate "in order not to help Goldwater and the KKK," the momentum is such that neither they nor the labor bureaucrats nor LBJ will be able to do so the day after the elections. It is then that the Civil Rights Movement will either force the Administration to put into operation the Civil Rights Bill or it will not be put into operation. It is then that labor will learn that those a la mode contracts have not changed by one iota the inhuman conditions of labor. It is then that the relations with other countries can no longer be sloughed off by pointing to the need to defeat Goldwater.

A sign on the horizon is Labor's victory in Great Britain. This victory over the Tories means not only an internal change, but a reconsideration of Britain's so-called special relationship with the U.S. regarding a multi-nuclear-Polaris-force.

Only if the whip of counter-revolution that the Goldwater candidacy represents awakens labor to the need for fundamental change and forges a unity with the Negro revolution will it be possible to stop American capitalism's headlong rush to nuclear war. Time is running out.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Our Friendly Fascist Butchers

The American Generals who led their men to slaughter during World War II were, by and large, the product of a political system which rewarded reactionary thought as "brilliant" and punished independent thought as subversive. As products of the system of political patronage whereby American Senators from the segregationist South held the commanding positions in military affairs, finance and appropriations, they held power over the appointment of military officers.

It is small wonder now, after 20 years, that one of their favorite Nazi Generals has been exposed as a butcher. The American intelligence officers of top level who arrested him first in 1945 described him as "a fascinating and highly valuable German Patriot." S. S. Chief Butcher Himmler called him "Wolfie". U. S. Super-spy Allen Dulles worked with him to negotiate the surrender of the Italian front commander, whom he

personally arrested when he refused to surrender.

An American friend of the Nazi General, U. S. Brigadier General Edwin Howard, his admiring camp commander, said of him, "The Nazis couldn't have been all that bad if they had generals like Wolff."

Under the tender care of the U. S. Army, the kindly General was permitted to keep his blonde wife, children and attendants in the prison camp of his friend, Gen. Howard, and have PX privileges like American officers, even to the extent of using his private yacht in the Lake Gmund for pleasure cruises with his segregationist friends.

It was not until 1962 that Nazi General Karl Wolff was charged with "aiding and abetting the murder of at least 300,000 Jews." The prosecution charged that "Wolff had been Heinrich Himmler's closest confidant

and his chief liaison officer to Hitler, had supported and guaranteed their plans to exterminate the Jews, and, between July and September of 1942 supplied the boxcars that took 300,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghettos to the ovens of Auschwitz."

The German court which recently found him guilty and sentenced him to 15 years in prison said, "He was continuously engaged and was deeply entangled in guilt." Judge Mannheim further said, "Himmler found in him his bureaucrat of death."

Butcher Wolff has been sentenced, but what about his American friends? General Howard and the American General Edwin Walker, who led the segregationist riots in Jackson, Mississippi, are today supporting Barry Goldwater for President of the United States.

These people deserve a place in our maximum security jails, not an honor place on our pension rolls.

South Viet Nam

Never has a government seemed to be less stable than is the regime of Premier Khanh. He has been in and out of power so many times in the last few months that writing a report on the current situation could become outdated in hours.

The facts that do stand up are: He is opposed by practically every segment of Viet Nam society, the Buddhists, the Catholics, the workers, the students, elements of the Army and Air Force, the peasants and the hill people. His infrequent "victories" over the Communists take place ever closer to his capital, Saigon. Despite his obvious incompetence, he finds support in every way from the American State Dept. and the U. S. Military forces.

His troops, armed with U. S. weapons, stay close to headquarters to protect him from the wrath of his opposition.

His raiding parties into the countryside are more for the purpose of collecting taxes from the peasants, than they are for winning the war.

When a helicopter was recently shot down within 15 miles of Saigon, two explanations were offered. First, it was explained that the plane was shooting at South Viet Nam forces which it could not distinguish from the enemy, and was shot down by its own army. The second, it was shot down by Viet Cong anti-aircraft fire. The first excuse indicates gross incompetence; the second reveals that the Viet Cong have heavy anti-aircraft batteries within 15 miles of the capitol. Believe what you will.

Despite reports that Khanh is about to appoint some civilians to government posts, the government is a military dictatorship. It was never elected by the people of South Viet Nam and no date has been set for democratic elections in the country to let the people choose their own government.

Northern Segregation

In New York City a white parents group known as PAT is conducting a campaign aimed at destroying the integration efforts of the City Board of Education. The policy set up by the board involved sending white pupils into Negro school districts by bus and sending Negro students into white schools by the same method.

PAT, which was organized by professional trouble makers, is conducting a well financed campaign to destroy the effort at integration.

Despite the fact that they are able to gather no more than 50 to 75 legitimate parents in their demonstrations, they have achieved enough publicity so that Robert Kennedy and Senator Keating, both candidates for the same N. Y. Senatorial seat, have come out in opposition to the plan of the Board of Education. So much for the difference between a "liberal" Republican and a "liberal" Democrat!

Cairo Conference

The leaders of 57 non-aligned nations have recently concluded their conference in Cairo without very much new emerging from their efforts.

When they met last, at Belgrade, there had been a greater urgency for their meeting. The world was threatened by the Berlin crisis and the testing of nuclear weapons seemed about to contaminate the entire world.

At Belgrade they set themselves up as a "third force," between Washington and Moscow, but sounded more friendly to Moscow than Washington.

At Cairo the fine hand of Peking has entered, voiced by Sukarno of Indonesia and supported by Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Burundi and Tanganyika. The issue, pro and con "peaceful co-existence", that is splitting the communist world, found more than an echo at the conference.

Who, however, would take seriously the thunder of revolutionary phrases when the orator delivering it is Sukarno, who, despite his checkered career of collaboration, not excluding with the Japanese occupiers during World War II, roars now against the impossibility of "peaceful co-existence with imperialism." Will he next be with Mao against one of his present colleagues, Shastri of India? For that matter, Shastri could not get anyone to even approve his simple appeal to Mao not to go in for nuclear testing.

A semblance of unity was achieved only when the Resolutions against American imperialism were voted on. Otherwise there was no truly independent spirit pervading the conference, which is what you might generally expect of rulers—except that some of these were of truly independent African states. And, at the next conference, there will be further divisions, and, again, the main issue will not be one of freedom but one resulting from the Sino-Soviet conflict. The conference no sooner ended than Khrushchev fell and Mao exploded his bomb. (See *Two Worlds* p. 1).

The next conference which most of these nations will attend and at which Peking will also be present, will be the African-Asian conference in March. Ben Bella of Algeria has cooled off toward Peking to the extent that he has withdrawn his invitation to hold the conference in his country. It will be held in Kenya instead.

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