

NEWS & LETTERS

"This Paper Belongs to the People Who Read It and Write for It"

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

Many people are talking about the crisis that everyone seems to be facing, and no one seems to know where to turn or what to do. The attacks by the White Citizen elements of the South against the Negroes have this country in a dilemma never witnessed before in history.

The fearless stand that Southern Negroes are taking for their democratic rights has caused the Southern whites to face the worst crisis known in United States history. The satellite that Russia launched several weeks ago has added to the many woes we already face. The gangsters and crooked labor leaders have not lessened it. The laying off of thousands upon thousands of workers has put the working people in a situation never known before in the history of the CIO.

Workers are saying, "What is wrong?" Some say the labor leaders have openly sold us out to management. Some say the Union leaders are so crooked that they are afraid the McClellan committee will have them up for investigation, so they just have to keep quiet while management runs wild over the workers.

SUFFER THE BURDEN

Where we work the company has speeded up to the point that one worker is forced to try to do what two did last year, and two are trying to do what four did and so on.

As some worker said, this situation is like a piece of rubber. You may stretch it, but if you continue to stretch it, it is going to hurt, and the ones that are doing the stretching will get hurt the most.

The reactionary Southerners are stretching the Negroes in the South. Workers are so beat after a day's work that, as one said, "I cannot speak a kind word to my family." Others say they cannot leave home after they get there, the work and the pressure from the foreman is so great, they can't talk to anyone.

The Union says we will strike. Workers don't believe they will, and if we do it will only be to get the 15 fired workers back. Production and speed-up will remain the same.

We have been losing in this Union struggle for years. Now we are at rock bottom. We have lost our relief period from 6 minutes to 3. It takes 3 minutes to get to the rest room, and what can a human do in 3 minutes when he has to walk 100 to 200 feet to get there?

The company uses the same language they did before we organized: if you cannot do it, we can hire people off the streets who will. That is some of the pressure we are forced to work under.

DON'T FIGHT BACK

The Union leaders tell us to stay on the job and don't fight back, because when a worker gets fired they have two problems: to fight to get the fired worker back, and to solve the original problem. The joke is that when and if they get the fired worker back, the issue is settled. They separate the fired worker from the speed-up or the condition under which he was fired. If they can get the company to re-instate them, they say to the workers, "See, we fight. We got those workers back." But they never mention the speed-up afterwards.

Management is stretching the working people. The Senate investigating committee is stretching the labor movement under the guise of fighting corruption. This may be true, but their purpose is to destroy the labor movement.

Something is going to burst and open the road where working people and Negroes will not be forced to separate their thinking from their work. We want a combination of mental and manual labor.

COMBINE DOING AND THINKING

How many times have workers suggested how a job should be done, and still were forced to do it as the foreman said? How many times has the foreman told a worker, "You are not paid to think, you are paid to work and do as I say"? The only time a worker was paid to think was several years ago when the company put up suggestion boxes for ideas.

Some workers fell for it, and the Union did not oppose it. For a winning suggestion, workers were paid from \$10 to \$500, but every single one pertained to the elimination of jobs.

Today some 4,000 or 5,000 fewer workers are in the plant. Many of these suggestions have helped cause this drop in the number of jobs. Some workers who turned in suggestions are now out of a job. Today the Union is quiet about it. The company knows a worker can think. He can also think in his own interest.

Little Rock, USA

It is the Negro people themselves who are bringing school integration and new conceptions of better human relations to the South. It is not the Supreme Court, not the Republicans, not the Democrats, certainly not the Communists, and least of all Eisenhower. If it were not for the American Negro continuously pressing for freedom through activity against lily white buses, schools, housing and other economic and social inequalities all of the politicians of the North and South, and their newspapers, and their television, and their radio, would be entirely happy to forget the troubles of the Negro.

IKE, FAUBUS, & TROOPS

Throughout the entire school integration crisis Eisenhower has not shown one spark of human sympathy with the Negroes. After seeing Eisenhower on television

a Negro worker said, "I got the impression he didn't say he was for integration. He didn't even seem neutral. He acted opposed. His heart wasn't in it."

Eisenhower did not want to send troops to the South to enforce integration. But when the world heard of the bravery and dignity of those Negro youth in Little Rock who faced armed troops and a mob to gain admittance to school and learned of the equal bravery of the Negro adults who took the beatings intended for the children, the government was compelled to act.

It is plain that the administration is committed only to the policy of a token integration—a few Negroes here and there in formerly all-white schools. U.S. News and World Report, a leading magazine of big business, reports that Eisenhower believes this token integration satisfies the requirements of the Supreme Court decision. This magazine goes much further in spelling out reactionary plans by suggesting in fancy double-talk that token integration nowhere be allowed to go so fast or be so thorough that relations can not be reversed back to total segregation if political conditions change and there is no need to appease the Negroes.

THE "MODERATES"

The ultimate aims of Eisenhower and Faubus are not very far apart, as was seen by the fact that both accepted Southern Governors as intermediaries. Not only did Faubus himself enjoy the reputation as a "moderate" Southerner "for" limited integration—before the Little Rock crisis—another "moderate," Gov. Griffin of Florida, has since showed that they all think alike. At the Southern Governors Conference, while federal troops were guarding Negro students at Little Rock's Central High School, Griffin made some mild criticism of Faubus. Then he turned around, just recently, and had the Florida legislature pass a special bill to enforce segregation by turning public schools into private schools if federal troops were sent to Florida to enforce integration.

IF THE YOUTH WERE LEFT ALONE

A white construction worker, from Missouri, told us that if Faubus had not



(United Press Telephoto)

Auto Workers Try Something New

Workers in the Chrysler plant where I work walked off the job for 8 consecutive days, protesting the unreasonable speed up by the company. The whip this new supervision put over our backs is worse than anything before.

Usually with wildcats some workers get tagged as the leaders and fired. This was done by pointing out the first few that left the job. Or the first five or six workers who punched the clock.

The new plant manager of several months made his boast that there would be no more walk outs in this plant. He said he "knew" how they were "agitated" by several workers and that he knows how to catch the leaders.

This caused the workers to think of new forms. This time he found himself dumbfounded by the way the production workers cooperated. He couldn't exactly pin-point any certain one as the "ring-leader" the way they used to break us up. Everyone in the department walked out at the same time, and no one punched out thus making it impossible for the company to pick on the few who happened to hit the clock first.

In all of the days during the striking there'd be a rumor that the men would be going home at a certain hour. This would send the labor relations men and supervision hurrying out on the floor to spot themselves around trying to catch the "leaders."

But the men would keep on working past the time said in the rumor. About 10 or 15 minutes later, these big shots would say, "They are going to work," and they would leave. Then out the men would go. We kept them running in circles. They did not know when or where the production workers would strike next.

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COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

What Can We Do About It?

MINERS' HARDSHIPS INCREASE WHILE THE UNION CONTINUES TO IGNORE CO. ABUSES

WEST VIRGINIA—Much has been said about the miserable conditions, low wages and discriminatory treatment which has generally been the lot of the many old miners who have no recourse other than to work in small mines and who have been dealt with more or less as these small operators see fit.

In discussions that miners have among themselves, they never cease to condemn this treatment; the operators for their lack of respect for the workers; and, where the mine is unionized, the lack of support from the District bureaucracy when these conditions are made known to them. The almost universal conclusion from these discussions is, "But what can these men do?"

ONE SMALL MINE

A friend of mine who works in one such small mine told me something about what he and the men in his mine were forced to do.

The mine in which he works employs about 20 men. They are old men, generally speaking. There are several men who have small farms and work in the mine to help make ends meet. Others, like my friend, are

too old to hope to get a job in a larger operation, have worked only in mines and are trying to keep working in them until they are eligible for the pension.

The mine is unionized and the men who work there have tried to maintain themselves as union men. One of the men, who has been in the forefront when disputes would arise, is the president of the local and has continuously fought to maintain union standards. There have been many disputes, but they were generally settled without too much difficulty. Then, the company started to put pressure on the men and to violate the contract in general.

COMPANY ADDS INSULT TO INJURY

Bosses were starting to do contract work, and the company laughed off the efforts made to correct this violation. It reached the point that if a motor-man was missing from his work, instead of putting another miner on the motor for that day, the company would put a boss on the motor to run it. This was saving the company money, since the boss is paid his salary by the month. But it knocked a miner out of a motor-man's shift, which generally

amounted to more than what the miners who were hand-loading were able to make in a shift.

Then the union president's wife became ill. He and his son, both of whom were fighters, reported off to go to the hospital. The next day, they had car trouble and could not make it to work. When they got back to work on the following day, the company gave them discharge slips and fired them. This was another violation of the contract, for while a miner may be discharged for missing two days in a row without a legitimate excuse, these men had reported off for one day and had a legitimate excuse for missing the next one.

ACTION ON THE SPOT

A meeting was called on the spot, for only two men had gone into the mine, and they came back out after a short while when they did not see any of the others come in. The men convened in a field off of the company's property and went over the situation. They were all of a like mind. They poured out their water and went home.

The next day, the company said it had lost an order and closed the mine down, a common trick in such circumstances. Now the word is that the mine is going to be reopened — under new management, another common trick. One of the investors in whose name the mine was listed will sign everything over to another and they keep on their merry way. But here, at least, these men are setting limits on how much they will be putting up with.

Negroes Gave Public Schools to the South

A Negro aircraft worker said, "There has always been prejudice but it's grown more because the Negro in the South is steadily taking his place and becoming more of a threat to the white man. The white man fears, perhaps, that the Negro will actually take over."

If the South had not taken such pains to corrupt the historical record of Negro achievements after the Civil War it would be clear that the white worker has nothing to fear from social, economic and political equality with the Negro worker.

When the Negroes gained the vote, after the Civil War, with the support of the Republican Party, it was greatly feared by the poor Southern whites that the Negroes would use their new political power to gain revenge on the whites. Not only did this not happen but the Negroes, who had representatives in many high

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

WE JUST WANT TO BE FREE

Some of the daily papers and the magazines are telling how the White Southerners are saying that this is the beginning of a new world for them to live in. This is because the President of the United States has turned his back on them in favor of the Negro people; because he sent soldiers to enforce man-made law on them; because of what Eartha Kitt and Louis Armstrong said about President Eisenhower being a nitwit and to hell with the government.

WHO IS WRONG?

But so many people think that Eartha and Louis said something wrong when they talked that way. They should have said it a long time ago. Whenever the President or any other white leader says something about the colored people, no matter how bad it is, they just go on and say it. They call them what they want to, and nothing will be said about it.

I say that Eartha and Louis didn't say anything too bad, because if they had not said it, the poor Negro people would have been killed every day for trying to break up these segregation laws. In all the Southern cities like Little Rock, Arkansas, and Montgomery, Alabama,

the Negroes are struggling hard to get out from under those low-down white people.

There is no more slavery in America, so why can't we colored people go into any public school or any public place where the government pays the bill? Colored people help pay the taxes like anyone else.

WANT TO BE FREE

Why do so many white people think that we black folks want to mix with them when we only want to be free? To be free doesn't mean we want to run over your white women, or marry your white daughters or your sons. We colored people don't mean to put ourselves on any white person at all just to say that we are in love with them.

We never make a break at any white person unless they put themselves on us. We only want you to know that we are human beings too. If you don't want to mix with us colored people, we don't mind staying one of a kind. Just as long as we can be free Americans and not be beaten and kicked like cats and dogs.

We are just as much Americans as you are; and we just want to be free.

Miner Gets Blamed When Pit-Boss' Negligence Endangers Men's Lives

OSAGE, W. Va. — My boss has got it in for me for some reason. I don't know what it is, but I think it's because he wants me to kill myself in keeping up with two cutting machines. I'm shooting on this section, and sometimes the conditions are so bad that nobody, I don't care who it is, can keep up.

The boss doesn't see it that way though. If a loading machine has to wait for a couple of minutes until I get a place shot, the boss is right there on my back, telling me that I'm holding up production and the whole crew. He'd like to see me fired, but he knows that he doesn't have anything on me that he can make stick.

There isn't a man on that crew who doesn't know what it takes to keep up with two cutting machines all the time. A lot of times the men on the crew will give me a hand, but if the boss sees them, he always has something else for them to do besides help me.

BOSS ENDANGERS MEN

Now there are time when a blasting cap doesn't work. You have the cap in the dynamite all set to go and you put the charge to the cap and nothing happens. That means you've got to drill another hole close to the one that didn't go off, load it and shoot it to make sure no one gets hurt from the stuck shot.

But this time, it was close to the end of the shift, and I had one shot stick on me. It was too late to drill another hole and shoot it, so I told my boss that the shot was stuck and told him to make sure to tell the boss on the next shift about it. If he didn't and the men came in and started to load that cut off, they might set off the charge with the loading machine and maybe get some men killed.

My boss said he'd take care of it, but the next day when I went to work, I got a dangerous worker slip. My pit-boss said that I had left a stuck shot without telling anyone about it.

TIME TO DO SOMETHING

There was no one else around when I told my boss, so maybe I can't do anything about that slip. But it kind of gets you to know that you are working for someone like that. I know the only thing he's worried about is coal, but he's no different from the other bosses I've had in that respect.

When it comes down to taking a chance on a man's life, that's time to do something about it. I know I did everything I was supposed to do. He's the one who messed up, and now he's trying to put the blame on me. I'm going to tell the men on the crew exactly what happened and then we'll see what can be done about this guy.

WHITE SUPERINTENDENTS TYRANNIZE NEGRO TEACHERS IN SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

ALABAMA — The Negro teachers in many Southern states are teaching on a week to week basis. No contract has been signed as in past years. Teachers are asked every month, if they support the NAACP; if they agree with its program; what they think or feel about this or that Negro leader, one or 2 of whom are always national figures, sometimes a

member of the NAACP.

If a teacher happens to say she agrees with one of them, her job is finished. These screening tests are given by the superintendent of county schools, and he is a white.

They yell about Negroes having their own schools, but the truth is that they do not have even that. Their schools are run and controlled by the whites. —Teacher

Can We All Eat At The White House?

When an official of the Negro state of Ghana came to the United States, he was refused service in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Delaware. He was naturally outraged, and complained to the press, the State Department, and the President. To make up for it, the President invited him to the White House for breakfast.

But what about the other Negroes, those who don't happen to have a private pipe-line to the White House? Will every Negro in the South who can't eat in a white restaurant get invited to the White House for a meal? Will the Negroes who have to ride in the back of the bus get a lift in the President's limousine? Will the Negro children of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia who go to segregated schools learn about white justice and democracy from the lips of Eisenhower?

governmental positions were the foremost defenders of democracy and improvement for all the poor.

They made absolutely no distinction as to race and color. Universal suffrage was instituted. Free public schools were started. Women were benefited by the passage of divorce laws and laws forbidding the sale of women's property for their husbands' debts. There was a concern with the general betterment of labor conditions and the division of large estates among poor Negroes and whites.

The political power of the Negroes and their efforts at economic and social advancement were eventually wiped out by the night-riders of the Ku Klux Klan in a counter-revolutionary wave of terror devoted to restoring the Negro to slavery: wage slavery instead of chattel slavery.

Lay-Offs Mount In Aircraft

LOS ANGELES—The papers have been full of lay-off news in the aircraft industry for the past months. An estimated 15,000 are to be laid-off just at North American Aircraft in L.A. Today, (October 1), it was made real to me in my department, when 5 of my fellow workers were dismissed.

They were "pretty shook-up". The men went to the union right away to see if they were laid-off in accordance with seniority, and to see if they could be placed in a similar position elsewhere.

They were informed by the union that it could do nothing except give them a special privilege card at the unemployment window. I suppose that means you could push another worker out of line waiting on his unemployment check. And the union also informed the men that whether they work or not, they were still obligated to pay their dues as it is the only way to get called back.

One of the fellows had a lot of sickness in the family so when he received the notice, his legs almost buckled under him. Another fellow with his lay-off slip was given a "chance" to transfer to Canoga Park plant with a cut from \$2.15 to \$1.80. Now it is not only a 60 mile round-trip daily to Canoga Park, but little chance of having more than just one week's work before the final lay-off. Another fellow, who lives in a trailer, said he would take the Canoga Park job but for some reason the company could not send him.

It looks to me that when you are handed a transfer, the company does not really want you to transfer but they can say that they gave you an opportunity to transfer. There is another angle here, too. If you outright refuse to transfer, it means you are quitting, losing seniority and unemployment insurance.

A couple of weeks ago the union had an editorial on the practice of the company's technique of transfers to Canoga Park. They said the company is transferring skilled men to janitor jobs at much reduced wages and degrading work for a skilled man. The following week the union had to apologize to the janitors for making their work seem inferior, as there were many complaints from the janitors over this article.

—Aircraft Worker

LOS ANGELES EDITING COMMITTEE MEETS EVERY SUNDAY EVENING AT 6 P.M. AT 1904 S. ARLINGTON AVE. (Cor. Washington Blvd.) ROOM 203

AUTO WORKERS TRY SOMETHING NEW

(Continued from Page 1)

After several days, this new plant manager said he has witnessed many wild cat strikes but never one like this. It was a unanimous walk out. Every worker together. Supervision kept the chief steward and his assistant in the office. But the workers continued to walk out.

They finally falsely accused the chief steward of brushing his hand across his head as a signal for the walk-out and fired him. The workers walked out the next two days in the same manner to prove to the company they can do things without being led or told. As a matter of fact, during these last 2 days, at least 80 per cent of the workers in the department didn't even punch in. They came to the plant, remained outside for a while until everyone else came out. Nothing was said. The men just came out when they saw there was no production coming down from the other department.

What Kind of Work?

Automation Destroys Garment Workers

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Automation isn't destroying the working man only in heavy industry, it's tearing us down in light industry too. I'm in the needle trades and I can tell you about speed-ups and lay-offs in my trade that are just as brutal as the articles I read in NEWS & LETTERS about what's happening to the coal miners and the auto workers.

There used to be a time when there were quite a number of skilled operations in the garment industry. It was on all piece-work, but even so, it took a mechanic and it was hand labor and, considering that it's factory work, if there was a full week's work a man could take home a pretty decent pay check. Of course, the man had to work like a mule to keep up with the piece-work whip, but a worker just has to make the best of it no matter what.

HAND WORK ELIMINATED

In the last two or three years they have eliminated practically all hand work. For many years, in the needle trades, they have been making all kinds of new machines to take the place of the man, but in the last few years they have developed so many special kinds of expensive sewing machines that you wouldn't have believed possible a few years ago. In the last two years they got it to the point where even if you pay \$75 for a suit, there's hardly any hand work in it at all—it's practically 100 per cent machine made.

SWEAT - SHOPS AGAIN

What happened to the old timers who used to do these operations by hand? Their jobs were eliminated, that's all. Were they put to work on the machines? No. They were too high paid. The manufacturers just laid them off and hired newcomers who they trained on the machines and paid the minimum \$1 an hour.

This is in Union shops. It's much worse in sweatshops which are coming back as bad as they ever were although we fought some bloody battles 30 and 40 years ago to get rid of them.

A tailor asked the Union delegate, "How come you're letting them make these changes in the garment

when the last Union contract specified that no changes would be made for the duration of the contract?"

The delegate, who hasn't worked in a shop for 25 or 30 years answered like a big shot, "You can't stand in the way of progress. This isn't changing the contract; this is making new machines and we wouldn't want to stop that."

Between the old-timers getting "eliminated," or dying off, or retiring, the manufacturers suddenly started to cry that there's a shortage of tailors. The way they produce here, a newcomer hasn't got a chance to learn anything about a garment except the little piece he makes all day long, day in and day out. Tailoring, as a craft, is dying out in the U.S., if it isn't already dead. For a short time, the manufacturers got caught in their own "progress," so the Union decided to help them out. They arranged to bring over about 60 or 70 tailors from Italy where, not being such a highly industrialized country, they still have to train craftsmen.

REFUSED TO SLAVE

This was a number of months ago. Anyway, these Italian tailors sat down to work. They worked a few weeks and then they quit because they didn't want to work like slaves. They said Italy isn't such a rich country, but at least the worker doesn't have to work under such terrible conditions as we have in the shops here. So they packed up and went back to Italy.

STRANGLE HOLD

In the meantime, this old guard has a stranglehold on the Union. Whether it's Dubinsky, or Petofsky, or Reuther, or John L. Lewis, the thing they won't let go is their control over the rank-and-file. They choke us on one side and the manufacturers choke us on the other side, and between the two of them they tell us what sacrifices we have to make for "progress."

They find time to go all over. They make speeches, they hold conferences, they get interviewed in the newspapers, but two places you never see them! You never see them working in a shop, and you never see them on line waiting to collect unemployment insurance.

—Garment Worker

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE SHOPS MOVE?

The company has promised the employees where I work a severance pay when they close shop and move to another State. However, there's a catch. They get the pay if a certain job is finished by a certain date, otherwise they don't know. This has some of the company girls in a dither. If some girls or fellows are talking around, they say, "Look at them sitting doing nothing. They'll make us lose our money."

THROWN OUT

These few seem to have nothing against the company. They think in terms of the company being good Joes for giving some severance pay, not that they have taken 14 to 16 years of their lives and thrown it out of the window.

A few of the workers in this shop seem to be set up pretty well, with some real estate investments, one or two with ideas of living off the races, having a system for winning. But the biggest majority don't know where they will be able to find any work.

The talk does not revolve around this shop alone. Each

worker has friends or relatives in other industries, especially auto. Everyone has a story to tell, either about shops moving out or about the terrific speed-up in the auto shops now. One girl's brother with 22 years seniority will be out of a job by the end of the year. His shop is moving out.

Another girl told about her brother-in-law who is a foreman in one of the auto shops. He is under terrific pressure and tension because he is constantly pressured from above to get more work out of the production workers and, like the worker, is being told if he can't do it others can. Being foreman no longer guarantees a job. He says he doesn't know what is happening and is just becoming a nervous wreck.

PUSH BUTTONS

I spoke to a Ford worker. He said they work with thousands fewer men than a few years back. Some of those still working just have to push a button and watch the machines do the work from one end to the other. And with all these men fewer they get out more jobs.

LOCAL 212 MEMBERS ASK QUESTIONS THAT UAW LEADERS FAIL TO ANSWER

DETROIT—On Oct. 16th, we had a membership meeting at the Local 212 hall. It was one of the greatest turn-outs that we have had in a long time. It was wonderful to see the production workers interested enough to spend their Sunday evening at the Local. It was disheartening to some of the members and it was disgusting to others to see and hear their president get up and tell them to go back to work regardless of what the company did to them, and to stay on the job and work no matter how many were fired.

A Union brother got up and talked from the depth of his heart. He did not use politics in his talk or anything leading to a position for himself. He asked the question that a thousand different members are asking: "How in the hell can a man stay on the job and work when the company puts 2 and 3 men's work on him to do?"

Not one of these officers answered him. The only thing we heard was: Go back to work and stay on the job.

STRIKE VOTE

The following Thursday, Oct. 19th, the membership of Local 212 was called upon to give the officers a strike vote. The results were overwhelming. We gave them 10,758 "Yes"; 242 "No"; and 54 "Void." It was a victory of 97.8 percent for strike.

Now, we members would like to know what are they going to do with it? This is not the first strike vote we have given them, but so far we haven't seen any results come from them toward helping the production

worker. The majority of the time they settle one or 2 little grievances and then they holler what a great victory they have won.

As a production worker, I can remember receiving a great love letter from Chrysler Mfg., telling me that we production workers had to bring up the work standards equal to General Motors and Ford.

Immediately, the Local 212 officers informed the members not to pay any attention to these letters, to disregard them. Then we found out that our officers who were not on vacation went behind closed doors with the Chrysler representatives and planned how to cut us production men down and raise the work standards up.

WHAT WILL THEY DO?

These same things we hear now with this trouble we are now having. We are wondering if this president we have now is doing the same as the other one did. It is pretty sure we will get some of the men back to work. But what will they do about all who were discharged—and what will they do about the galloping speed-up?

Auto Body Worker

DETROIT EDITING COMMITTEE MEETS EVERY SUNDAY EVENING 7 TO 9 P.M. AT 8067 GRAND RIVER (1 FLIGHT UP)

EDITORIALS

Outer Space or Total War?

No sooner had President Eisenhower finished congratulating Russia upon her scientific achievement in being the first to launch a man-made moon into outer space, than he followed it up with threats that America is still ahead in the missile field and will speed up that program further. The daily press also made sure that its praise of Russia was followed up with threats and with calculated means of striking terror into the hearts of the American people by visions of germ warfare from outer space. To calm the fears of "total war" that overly-political scientist, Edward Teller, tells us we should be conditioned for "non-total nuclear war." Say, wipe out only one city and one regiment and be prepared for Russia to do the same to us.

Russia, on its part, is taking full advantage to claim "superiority" in getting to the moon as well as in creating inter-continental missiles. Khrushchev thunders: Western Europe had better know that it could be wiped off the face of this earth in less time than it takes to write a neutral manifesto.

Thus are both poles of world capital — Russia and America — rushing headlong into total war.

The Sputnik had hardly been in space for a day when propaganda of the war profiteers began to stream out in the daily press. They shouted that the workers were "responsible" for the inflation, for the recession, for monopoly, for the fall in the stock market. And they warned that American workers better start to learn, at once, to live on a less "high" standard of living.

The labor bureaucracy at the same time, in the person of Walter Reuther, started to compete with the capitalists in statements about the need for "defense" production. What the workers in the factories want to know is: when will he start defending their interests and better conditions in the shops? As most workers put it the day after the launching of the satellite, "All this means to us is, higher taxes and more Automation."

The intellectuals, on the other hand, are so open-mouthed in their admiration for the Russian achievement that they are ready to whitewash all Russian claims of "superiority". They have always been prostrate before the Plan.

There is no reason whatever to panic before the alleged fact that Russia is "ahead" of America. Russian Plans were always based on the ever-greater expansion of machines, and they early found that it is easier to produce a show subway, an H-bomb, and now the Sputnik, than to raise the standard of living of the Russian workers, or to solve the ever-constant crisis in agriculture.

American capitalists are equally efficient masters of sitting harder upon the workers, and now they are getting the Congressmen to railroad through a whole host of anti-labor legislation.

The Republicans in Congress are now trying to grab the limelight from the Democrats in enacting a new strike breaking law mis-named "Right to Work." The Republicans have a hard job there since at the head of the Democrats in this field sits that headline-grabbing Sen. McClellan, who has for a long time now been using his expose of corruption in unions as the cover for a national "Right to Work"

This man of "law and order" is quick in his defiance of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, quick to run to the defense of his fellow-Arkansas Democrat—that newly emergent face of fascism, Governor Faubus—and even quicker with statements against the Negro children for exercising their democratic rights.

So total is the crisis in the world and in this country, that it took but a few hours of a man-made satellite circling the earth to raise the curtain and show how Russia and America both are preparing for total war. To show that the labor-haters are also the Negro-baiters. To show that Republicans and Democrats alike are planning a total war against the workers' standard of living, and against the workers' present struggles for better conditions in this country. At the same time, the Suptnik showed how rudderless are our intellectuals, and how prostrate the labor bureaucracy.

The rank and file workers have not yet spoken. But already they are turning against not only total war, but the "non-total" nuclear war that the officious scientist, Edward Teller, is preaching. For the workers alone have both the vision and the power to establish a totally new society with totally new human relations, beginning with new relations at the point of production. That is where all decisions will be made.

News & Letters

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Charles Denby Editor
Saul Blackman Managing Editor

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Readers'

MODEL CHANGE-OVER

Last Thursday, October 17, the top officials at Chrysler called in the supervision and foremen of the body division. They demanded one-third or more additional production than they are now getting, and with the same manpower they now have.

Once again these superintendents and foremen were told that if they couldn't get this production out of the workers there were others who could. Top management said this was the last time they were going to warn them.

We gave Local 212 an overwhelming strike vote. Now, the company has asked them for a 15-day negotiating period. What are the Local and the International going to do about this?

Member, Local 212
Detroit

* * *

When our local officers picked men to serve on the election committee they made a big show of giving this work to men that were fired. Well, they picked one man that was discharged from the Vernor plant and 2 more who were among the later ones discharged out of here. They said they couldn't put all of our fired men on for the newspapers would blast them. Who did they pick to fill out the election committee? The rest they picked were like the one from the trim shop, a worker that we know well did not lose any time. The money the Local paid them was around \$50 to \$75 a piece.

To keep anyone from wondering I will make this a little plainer. They paid each one on the election committee \$25 per day, which was an 8-hour day. That would have looked damn good to the men that were fired first, but those men were left out in the cold. Instead, they went into the trim division and picked a man who worked every day the shop worked. They put him on the committee rather than carry it out the Union way.

Chrysler-Mack
Detroit

TWINSBURG, OHIO

Chrysler has just fired our Local officers in their new plant at Twinsburg. Ever since we've been down here, the company has not wanted to recognize our Union unless they could dominate it.

When we went back after the changeover, they wanted top production with one-third to one-half less manpower. The laid out so much work for each man, and refused to give us any recognition, that the workers got tired of the International representatives doing nothing and went to look after their own interests and went out on strike with Local backing. It seemed almost like a wildcat because the International didn't sanction until after we went out.

When we went out, there were 5 Great Lakes Steel truckers tied up inside, where they remained for the whole strike for they refused to cross the picket line either going in or out.

This strike almost turned into a free for all because the scabs turned over cars and slashed tires and tried to blame it on the strikers. But we weren't striking to tear up peoples' cars but to get our rights and working conditions as Union brothers.

After about a week, at the beginning of October, we went back to work when the company promised to negotiate. Nothing was settled and they didn't negotiate either, so we finally had to go out again, which we did last week. That's when they fired our Local officers. The company's out to break up our Union here and I can't see where the International is doing anything to stop them. But do you remember the big promises they made last spring when they were advising us to move to this new plant? Twinsburg, Ohio
Ex-Detroit

SPUTNIK MEANS SPEED-UP

Although everybody has known for months that American and Russian scientists were racing to launch the first space satellite, the Washington big shots are now screaming that Russia cheated, that the stupid American public has not taken the arms race seriously, and that more money and more labor will have to be thrown into making rockets and sputniks.

On Mike Wallace's show, retired Air Force General Kenney indicated

the new propaganda line. He said that the Russian Sputnik means war very soon; that the American people are to blame for it because they didn't spend more for guns and less for butter; and that if we want to win we will all have to cut out expenditures for schools, roads, health, and other frivolous things, and produce bigger and better weapons.

Reuther is joining the propaganda chorus with his plea for more defense jobs to reduce unemployment. He's working hand in hand with the militarists and the ex-Nazi scientists who are so interested in one thing, missiles, that they would welcome a war to test them out on cities! Reuther doesn't know-or care-what any worker knows: that defense contracts mean stronger controls over the workers, speedup that can't be stopped, and worst of all, danger for us all—FOR THERE IS NO DEFENSE AGAINST THE WEAPONS THE U.S. AND U.S.S.R. PREPARE TO USE.

Against the war speed-up, the American and Russian workers have the only power to control production wisely and peacefully. As the crisis mounts, the militarists, politicians, labor bureaucrats and journalists will use every tactic to demoralize and tyrannize the workers. Despite the propaganda, the conditions of labor will drive the workers, finally, I am sure, to take production into their own hands.

Housewife
Detroit

* * *

When you say automation is not progress it is too one sided a view. Automation is progress, even if it puts 3/4 of the nation out of work, that is what it is. They said the same thing when they brought in the automobile, do you want us to go back to the horse and buggy days?

The solution is to fix up a plan so that those out of work can get some work. But some one has to suffer for humanity.

Outer Drive Worker
Detroit

* * *

LIVING STANDARDS

If you stop to think, it's the working wives who have helped to keep the living levels we are supposed to have, and that man's only existing. A wife's income usually buys the washing machine and pays medical care for the family. I know that when I work half of my earnings have to go for child

Views

care and that's not deductible from income tax.

But to read those articles they always write in the paper, the housewife is frustrated with boredom. I guess we are frustrated because we can't make ends meet.

Miner's Wife
West Virginia

* * *

From 1941 until now the retail price index has gone up 82 per cent. Everybody admits that prices have gone sky-high. But the economists and business leaders say that our income has also gone up. Especially, they say the income of the workers has gone up and it seems that the union statisticians also agree with them. Now, they're starting the propaganda that workers are going to have to become responsible citizens and give up their "luxuries." It's a big lie.

The only thing that's true is that prices have shot up out of sight and the workers are paying for it. Here is a payroll stub I found for the week ending Sept. 21, 1957, paid to a worker at the U.S. Industrial Glove Corp., Detroit. His regular pay for that week was \$44. After withholding tax deductions, his take-home pay for that week was a big, luxurious \$37.

Student,
Detroit

* * *

Governor Williams of Michigan, who is supposed to be such a friend of labor, is showing his true colors. He is now urging all unions to give the employer "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay." He has turned the old union slogan "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" inside out. But every worker knows what Karl Marx pointed out a long time ago — there is no such thing under capitalism as "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay," because the capitalist always has to extract surplus value, or unpaid labor, in order to make a profit.

—Detroit

* * *

When I see Senator McClellan getting excited about the possibilities of such laws as Jimmy Hoffa might have broken, I put a big question mark over his motives.

McClellan is a man who represents Arkansas, where Little Rock is located. It seems to me, that if he were actually interested in upholding law and order, that Arkansas would be a very good place for him to start looking. If he is, as he seems to be, more interested in

pushing more "right to work laws" onto the books, then I am opposed.

Sure, labor needs to clean house at the top. But labor is quite capable of taking care of that task without any outside interference from Dixiecrat McClellan and his red-headed buddy Kennedy, from Massachusetts.

Friend of Labor
Wisconsin

* * *

NEGRO STRUGGLE

One point that seems to me to be totally overlooked in the present school integration crisis is that the position of the Negro people for desegregation involves not only better education for Negro children but for the white children as well. A white child who is taught by school and society that a different shade of skin color naturally involves inferiority is not able to appreciate the past and present struggles of nations to be free. He is more inclined to an authoritarian attitude toward women and children because they, like the Negro, have evident different physical characteristics. Finally but not least, a white child in a segregated school can not fully appropriate the accumulated world culture of our times developed as it has been by people of all nationalities and races.

Editing Committee
Member
Los Angeles

* * *

Freedom is a wonderful thing if you have it. I can't say too much about it though because it doesn't exist for me.

Negro Miner
Osage, W. Va.

* * *

Bishop Brown of Little Rock invited over 300 Little Rock clergymen — Protestants, Catholics and Jews to a conference of all denominations to ease the tensions of the community. Only 30 to 40 attended, and the best agreement they could reach was to pray for the preservation of "law and order."

40 other Baptist Clergymen offered prayers that the Negroes would go away and go back to their own schools.

Out of over 300 white clergymen in Little Rock, no group could be found that had the guts to condemn segregation and call on their supporters to fight for integration. This is a pretty sad state of affairs for American churches.

Disgusted Christian
Boston, Mass.

* * *

I was real surprised to see the stand Louis Armstrong took in the papers.

He's known among Negroes as an Uncle Tom Negro, and it's about time he took a stand.

Negro Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

I see by the paper that Louis Armstrong might go on the State Department-sponsored trip to Russia after all. The way I see it, he'll be of even greater service to them now, to show off "American democracy," as a guy who criticized the President and the country. They can no longer use an Uncle Tom Negro. I guess Satchmo saw the handwriting on the wall.

Housewife
Los Angeles

* * *

My shop is largely Mexican. While there's a feeling of support for integration, not much is said.

Sheet Metal Worker
Los Angeles

* * *

Is the F.B.I. blind that they cannot see and identify the persons who, in Little Rock, are openly beating up Negroes, inciting to riot, and trying to prevent children from going to school? They would not be so blind if it were some poor Negro who committed a minor crime. They still have failed to produce the killers of Emmett Till.

Is it possible that they are so busy snooping on the lives of law-abiding American Citizens that they cannot see the pictures of the law-breakers in the press?

Disgusted
San Francisco

* * *

CRITICISM

I didn't like our coverage of Little Rock in "Our Life and Times" in the September issue of *News and Letters*. It isn't the business of our world column to stress the impression the U.S. is giving the rest of the world as the reason to give the Negro his right of human freedom. It no doubt is a factor, but the paramount reason is the actions of the Negro people in this country.

I think our paper would be the only paper that would stress to the world, that it is the action of the Negro people that will get them what they must have, freedom. And too, I wish we could have afforded to print the picture of one of the Negro pupils walking to school. Her face and carriage showed that the future of humanity lies with her.

Housewife
Los Angeles

* * *

● See Page 1—Ed.

TWO WORLDS

DJILAS' NEW CLASS

Milovan Djilas, former Vice-President of Yugoslavia, has written a journalistic piece on the Communist system from which he has broken. This has been put between the covers of a book and given a million dollars' worth of free publicity by the "free" capitalist press. Thereupon followed rave notices in all the papers and magazines, including "the leftist" press. It was climaxed by LIFE magazine's claim that here is a book "that will rock Marxism." What astonishes us is not the presumptuousness of this claim, but the naivete of the journalists, book reviewers, editorial writers and State Department type thinking that believes this.

Here is a man who is a typical product of the Communist world — an alleged Marxist theoretician whose ignorance of Marxian theory is matched only by the enormity of the contradictions in his statements. Thus he claims that Marx "unintentionally" (our emphasis) laid the basis for a new conception of the world. Otherwise, says Djilas, Marxian philosophy was so threadbare that it "would have been forgotten—dismissed as something not particularly profound or even original" IF—"if the political needs of the workingclass movement in Europe had not demanded a new ideology complete in itself." That is how it happened that this philosophy which "was not important since it was based mainly on Hegelian and materialistic ideas" became "the ideology of the new, oppressed classes and especially of political movements" and as such "it marked an epoch, first in Europe, and later in Russia and Asia, providing the basis for a new political movement and a new social system."

Having thus cleverly slipped in present-day Communist totalitarianism under the Marxian theory of liberation, Djilas feels that he might be called to account for this sleight of hand, so he says magnanimously, "There is no other type of Marxism or Communism today, and the development of another type is hardly possible."

In this one-half of a sentence, that no other type of Marxism is possible, lies the whole secret for the naive belief that this poor excuse for a book will "rock Marxism." If ever whistling in the dark passed for a method of thought, this is it. Thereby "the West" itself has put the seal of bankruptcy on its own thought.

While hoping that the working people do not find Marxism in its original form of Humanism, what is it that Djilas is passing off as the needed philosophy in his book, *The New Class*? According to Djilas, there is "an immutable law—that each human society and all individuals participating in it strive to increase and perfect production." This immutable law, to "perfect production," has us all sacrificing for "the cause." At least it has Djilas so much in its grip that he even forgives his present Communist enemies for their tyranny at least up until now since there was no other way to industrialize the backward countries.

Marx had a better name for this "perfect production." It was "production for production's sake" which drove the capitalists on, and they rode the workers so that it all ended in the two monstrosities, concentration and centralization of capital at the one hand, and the degradation of the worker to a cog in the machine at the other.

"It is the fact that capital and its self-expansion," wrote Marx, "appears as the starting and closing point, as the motive and aim of production; that production is merely production for capital and not vice versa, the means of production mere means for an ever expanding system of the life process for the benefit of the society of producers. . . . The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself."

The ultimate form of this is precisely its state-capitalist form now existing in Russia and Yugoslavia and calling itself Communist.

It is hard to believe that Djilas has chosen jail in order to expound the very philosophy which led to its ultimate form as state capitalism, and toward which the whole private capitalist world is moving. Djilas sheds very little light. The Communist tyranny has been analyzed long before he did it, and more seriously. He fails even to shed the light of experience on it. Indeed the one thing I did look for in this book—a live description of Tito's Yugoslavia—is entirely absent.

What, then, prompted "the West" to given this threadbare book this spectacular send-off? We can see the answer not in what they say, but in the objective world situation. Little Rock, Ark., on the one hand, and the Sputnik, on the other hand, have combined to expose the hollowness of American democracy and the claims of superior technological know-how as well. Vice-President Nixon has been compelled thereby to call off his tour of Western Europe. The world sees U.S. aching for a war with Russia over who will dominate the world. It is true that Russia aims for precisely the same thing, but somehow Russia manages to march under the name of "Marxism" and thus is winning the colonial world. The desperation of "the West" can be seen precisely in this running after "the democratic socialist," the alleged Marxist, Milovan Djilas. They are running in vain. The American worker is not as dumb as they think, and not as helpless as the American intellectual without vision of a truly new society where the free and all-rounded development of the human being, not of "perfect production," is the sole motive force.—R.D.

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

The following is what an average week in my department is like. The plant is peaceful and many Detroit workers call it a good shop to work in. The incidents are so run of the mill that they might easily miss being told at the supper table. Yet to see some of the stuff that goes into shaping attitudes I think it worth setting down.

We only get 15 minutes for lunch. One of the guys had three kids at home with the flu, and was waiting for the lunch whistle to make a phone call. The whistle blew and he sprinted for the phone. He ran into one of the supervisors. He had to wait while he was lectured to about how it was against the shop rules and safety code to run like that. It was 5 minutes wasted. A 3 minute phone call, 5 minutes on the cafeteria line to buy lunch left him two minutes to eat it.

Another guy, Harry, wanted to go home in the middle

of the day because he said he didn't feel well. The foreman told him his attendance was so poor that if he wanted a pass he'd better get a note from the nurse.

Harry didn't feel like fighting so he went to the nurse's office and told her he didn't feel well and wanted to go home. She took his temperature and said it was normal so she couldn't advise anyone to send him home. She offered him a few pills and he cursed her. By this time he was raving mad. "Aren't we all free?" "How can they think they have the right to keep me here if I want to go home?" The foreman told him to go home. Harry kept walking around the department telling everyone that, "This company thinks they own you." He wrote a grievance against the foreman. Harry argued some more and then went home. Most of the guys were laughing by now but they all agreed Harry was right.

What Kind of Democracy?

In mid-summer there was an article in a Los Angeles paper (The Mirror-News) entitled "Teenagers Have Doubts About Democracy." The article stated figures based on a poll taken on what High School Students think about our government.

The title, "Teenagers Have Doubts About Democracy", is true in the sense that the youth of today have doubts about the existing type of what is laughingly called a democracy. But I am relatively sure the majority of youth have no doubts about a TRUE DEMOCRACY.

I think that they are looking for something better than capitalism. I think that, in spite of what the older generation thinks, the youth of today are the ones that will build a foundation for a new free society, if not themselves through their children and grandchildren.

The first thing that ran through my head when I read the title, "Teenagers Have Doubts About Democracy", was, "I know that," because for the past year I have been conscious of the questions asked by students in my classes in school, which show doubt of our officials. But even with their doubts it is very difficult for them to break out of the false patriotic framework that has been built around them.

—16-Year-Old

In a Los Angeles paper I read an article called "L.A. Teen-Agers Have Doubts About Democracy." This article had quite a few figures on what teenagers think. 50 per cent said that most people are unable to vote intelligently, and 61 per cent said that government is becoming too complex for most citizens to understand. There

were several more questions asked.

The paper said, "U.S. High School youngsters are ripe for some future American Hitler or Stalin." But I doubt that. The youth of today are not ripe for another Hitler, but for a new society. A world where they will be treated as equal, where they can grow up to face a future with promise, instead of wars, boring jobs, and H-Bombs.

—15-Year-Old

THE TIME FOR INTEGRATION IS NOW

These are the familiar words we hear each day, "Gradually, integration will take place"; "It's not time for the colored and white to go to school together"; etc. etc.

When is the time? What is meant by "gradually" and "have patience"? I'll tell you: gradually has passed, patience has been taken, and the time that's spoken of is now.

Why can't the colored and white go to school together? They are both human with a heart that beats and the same desire to secure an education. The colored soldiers have fought, died, and were wounded for this country just like the white soldiers but do they receive the same rights? No. They can't drink from the same public water fountains, or go to the same public lavatories with the white people. And their children can't go to the same school as the white children. These things take place mostly in the Southern states.

Why are the Southern white people different from the Northern white people? Are they a better breed or are they afraid that some of the dark coloring on the colored people might acciden-

Little Rock, Cal.

LOS ANGELES—Something happened at our school a few weeks ago. Something that shocked, and at the same time, disgusted me.

On entering Washington High School which I attend, I saw scrawled on the sidewalk remarks indicating that the Negroes that attended our school should "go home," and that they "were not wanted here." Later in the afternoon there were police cars all around the school. I found out that they were there because two white boys had beat up two colored girls. The boys were picked up immediately by the police. Two predominantly Negro schools threatened to retaliate.

We have never had any type of racial trouble in our school before. I can't help thinking that this was a product of what was at that time happening in Little Rock.

I am not blind to the fact that there is plenty of racial prejudice that exists in the North, but I didn't realize that the ignorant prejudice of the South, coming out in the form of violence, could be transmitted to the North.

As to how I personally feel about the incident, I can't even put my feelings into words. I can say that I am disgusted and shocked, but my feeling runs much deeper than that.

—Caroline Goldsmith

tally rub off on them? Colored women cook for southern white people, yet, they are not clean enough to sit beside them on public buses. They must sit in the back of the bus as if they were some deadly contagious germ bug.

Yes, the time for integration to start is now and segregation between the colored and white must at last come to an end after many years.

—A 10th Grade Detroit Girl

Serious Comic Strip

On Labor Day weekend I was reading the Sunday comics. I came across a comic strip which had something to do with the labor problem. The character involved was going to the Labor Day parade. The band came first and following it were not the workers but a whole show of machines, for instance: automatic cotton picker, post-hole digger, automatic tree trimmer, electric house painter, and more automatic apparatus.

Although the comic was funny there is the serious side of it, so I cut it out and decided to send my views on it to NEWS & LETTERS.

It is true that there are

Talking About Bosses

This Automation may not be such a bad thing after all. A headline in the Detroit News reads: "Boss Learns to Think by Machine." If this becomes widespread, perhaps we can expect bosses to disappear entirely, to wither away like an unused organ.

Now it can be told—what the boss lies awake worrying about! He worries about how to get a quiet berth on the Pullman. "Using scientific procedure," one boss figured out that the berths over the wheels were noisy. "Using scientific procedure," he further figured out that berths lettered between "e" and "i" were between the wheels. This fabulous scientific discovery, which must have cost him many sleepless nights, is then put on file under "Pullman formula," and when his secretary gets his train reservations she gets out the card and "not knowing or caring what it means," gets him a berth where he can sleep in peace.

Yes, these are the knotty problems that engage the thinking of our executives in grey flannel suits. The article goes on to say, "Such a problem can become so complex that a man may have to spend considerable time figuring it out. So he feeds the dope to an electronic computer, then files the answers.

Yes, years of bossing have so weakened the bosses' brains that Automation will soon make them obsolete.

—Student

WHO NEEDS A BOSS?

One morning last week, our crew was broken up and the boss went with the other bunch. We went to the place where we were to work spraying trees to keep the right-of-ways clear, and began to get our stuff ready.

While we were filling our spray cans, I suggested we elect for "boss" one of our crew who is always concerned with how we are doing our work.

He asked me what we needed a boss for, we knew how to work, and all a boss did was stand around and draw a pay check.

Then everyone else jumped on me, and said they were going to elect to "fire" me if I kept talking like that.

—Driver

the automatic machines for luxury, but it is also true that these luxuries are taking many jobs from a lot of able-bodied workers and thus making many men jobless. In this day and age the jobless cannot always find jobs because of all these new luxuries.

The same thing that happened in the comic strip is bound to happen in the future — only in real life it won't be funny. In real life I don't think we will omit the workers, not all of them anyway, because there is always a man or woman responsible for putting the screws and bolts into the time-saving luxuries.

—14-Year-Old

FINALLY THE BOSS QUIT

Our boss, a Registered Professional Engineer, quit last week. He worked for the

I asked him why he quit after such long service. He said that it just hit him a few weeks ago when his wife was taken seriously sick. He found that after 17 years of service, he had so little cash on hand to pay the medical bills that he had to go out like a common worker and take out a loan for \$500. When that happened, he said, he first realized that he had no security and that his job paid so little that it was not worth keeping.

—Draftsman

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF NEWS & LETTERS

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2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

Saul Blackman, 2731 Tuxedo, Detroit 6, Mich.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and tri-weekly newspapers only.)

SAUL BLACKMAN

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1957.

[seal] SAMUEL BORENSTEIN (My commission expires Oct. 3, 1958.)

Notary Public Wayne Co., Mich.

BOOK REVIEW

Labor and Society

MARXISM AND FREEDOM . . . from 1776 until Today, by Raya Dunayevskaya, With a Preface by Herbert Marcuse. Bookman Associates, New York.*

Even a cursory view of just the contents page of this unusual book will reveal its broad scope: Part I—From Practice to Theory: 1776 to 1848; II—Worker and Intellectual At A Turning Point in History, 1848 to 1861; III—Marxism: the Unity of Theory and Practice; Organizational Interlude: 1889-1914; Part IV—World War I and the Great Divide in Marxism; Part V—The Problems of Our Age: State Capitalism vs. Freedom.

Despite or perhaps because of, this broad scope of the book, which covers 200 years of man's struggle for freedom from the Industrial Revolution until Automation, **MARXISM AND FREEDOM** is as timely as today's headlines on the sputnik. This, to me, is the outstanding feature of this whole work, that at no point—not even when she deals with Hegel's "Absolutes"—does the author fail to get, and transmit to her readers, an illumination 1) from our own age, and 2) from the activity of the workers in this or any country.

The author's contention is: "Paradoxical as it may sound, the greatest impediment in the way of the intellectuals discerning the new society in Hegel's 'Absolute Mind' is their isolation from the working people in whose lives the elements of the new society are present." She claims that because the Communist theoretician knows this very well, and hopes that history stopped in 1917, and that there will be no revolution against the Russian tyranny, they fight Hegel: "Under the pretense of separating 'the materialism' of Marx from 'the

idealism' of Hegel, they proceed to mutilate Marx . . . Thereby they hope theoretically to stifle the new society striving to be born . . . **THE ACTUAL WORLD**

It is the actual world of Russia with its forced labor camps that compels this Russian attack against Marxism. It is not the idealism of Hegel that worries them. It is the revolutionary method of the dialectic and Humanism of Marx that threatens their existence in theory even as the working class does in life . . . That is what the Russian ruling class trembles at as well it may, for it knows this movement not by the name of 'negation of the negation,' but by the reality of the revolution against it."

This use of our age in general, and the activity of the workers in particular, assures the average worker's ability to recognize himself in the activity of the French workers who created democracy for Western Europe at the end of the 18th century. Nor does the reader fail to find a kinship with Karl Marx, whose theories transformed the workers' own way of "knowing"—self-activity—into a philosophy of freedom, a method of thought: Marxist Humanism. **HUMANISM**

The red thread that runs throughout this book is this Humanism. This reviewer has read many books that were considered Marxist that never went to the human roots of Marx's economic categories. That is why she found chapters 7 and 8, **The Humanism and Dialectic of Capital, Volume I**, and **The Logic and Scope of Volumes II and III** to be a genuine contribution, a summation of all three volumes of Marx's greatest theoretical work which seem at the same time to be an analysis of our own epoch of depression, war, automa-

tion, total crisis. Yet they contain the history of all of capitalism, including the state capitalism of Russia. There are plenty of anti-Communist works, but none that is at the same time a serious Marxist analysis of the development of the Russian Five Year Plans and the present intercontinental missiles.

THE AMERICAN SCENE

It is clear that Miss Dunayevskaya is not a scholar who sits in some ivory tower. This is seen especially clearly in the fact that in the final part of the work where she deals with the American scene she breaks with the style she has employed heretofore. Here she utilizes the technique of the interview with rank and file workers, the discussions with student youth, reproduction of articles from **NEWS & LETTERS** in order, not to drive a wedge between worker and intellectual, but to open up new perspectives for both worker and intellectual.

To this end she returns to one of the chapters in American history with which ordinary textbooks deal very little, if at all—the period of Abolitionism. She contrasts the courage and profundity of thought of a Wendell Phillips with the cowardice and emptiness of a William Faulkner. I must say that to me the quotation from the Abolitionist on the "Southern way of life" had a much more contemporary ring than that of the contemporary William Faulkner. The struggles of Negroes when they were slaves and followed the North star to freedom, and when they presently fight for full freedom are woven into the Marxist fabric. The aim of the book is to aid in the creation of a new unity of theory and practice "in the Abolitionist and Marxist tradition."

Of special interest today—on this anniversary of the courageous Hungarian Revolution which started Oct. 23, 1956—is the section in Dunayevskaya's book which deals with the beginning of the end of Communist totalitarianism starting with the East German Revolt of June 17, 1953.

No one who wants seriously to analyze the contemporary scene and orient himself can do without a copy of **MARXISM AND FREEDOM**. In the appendices are also the heretofore unpublished early writings of Marx and Philosophic Notebooks of Lenin.

*See Special Offer on Page 8

HUNGARY . . .
No flowers in Gethsemane,
Only the rose of a bleeding heart,
No birds to sing,
Only the cry
Of a human soul that's torn apart.
—Tom Malcolm

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

WHAT KIND OF LABOR?

A patient told me, not long ago, that he considered a physician's work the most desirable of all occupations. I could not quite agree with him, though I am unable to pick a better one. It is possible that if I had my free choice now, I would become a farmer.

It is not too difficult to recognize the dehumanizing effects of production lines and factory disciplines. To see that a physician's work often suffers from the same basic trouble is not so easy.

Many people seem to envy the doctor of medicine, some for his money, some for his prestige, and others for his ability to alleviate suffering. Few recognize what to me is of prime importance in work: being in a position to make full and free use of all one's faculties, mental and physical, through the kind of interaction which develops both the person and his work.

I wish that the above concept was the full truth for medicine; for I think it should apply to all work of all men.

PHYSICIAN'S WORK

However, a physician's work, like that of others, is dependent on the organization of the society he lives in. Because people today are largely divided into groups on the basis of income and property, workers and employer, each individual life has also become divided.

In nature, division exists only for the purpose of creating a fuller wholeness, a bigger truth, a more perfect unity. When human society introduced the division into classes, it brought into being the separation of human labor into mental and manual, and laid the basis for an illness no physician can cure—incomplete, undeveloped lives.

Having a favored position in his class and generally well off economically, the physician for the most part supports existing conditions and thus takes part in society's deformations. Working with other physicians, I find them concerned with the same things other members of the middle class are: prestige, status, and accumulation of money for security. Because of this, in facing his work of treating sick people, the doctor is unable to grapple with sickness directly. There is interference both conscious and unconscious, as well as subjective and objective.

SOURCE OF INCOME

Under these conditions the patient is often not a stimulating challenge but merely a source of income. Fellow physicians must be competitors to be suspicious of, not helpers. Drugs, laboratory aids, and hospitals must be measured in terms of expense. The physician may then be no different from a salesman. This pays off in dissatisfaction and tension, and in work that cannot be a true source of strength and growth.

A man becomes what he is through his work. He either grows into a full individual, or he becomes a faceless, incomplete member of society. The kind of labor he does can be the means of ripening, or the road to a kind of death in life. Labor should never be a joyless affair in which man exists for the process of production, in order to make payments for food, clothing, and shelter. Rather it should be an integral and essential act of living—like breathing, but it is a conscious act.

It will then become the creative function of man and the processes of production will exist for him. Therefore the question "What kind of labor?" points to the very nature of human health. The work which can make man whole is not just an occupation, something one simply takes on. It is not merely an external act, but an internal transformation, an evolution that is a true transformation.

TRANSFORMATION INTO OPPOSITE:

Bevan Spurns British Workers in Power Bid

Aneurin, Bevan, tiger of Labor Party politics, leader of the so called "left-wing," constant critic of the former Atlee labor regime, has gone the way of all labor bureaucrats, and is now a firm supporter of the official Labor Party leadership.

The issue, preparation for war, the issue which always separates the men from the boys, was too much for old Bevan.

It seems that the British Labor Party will be the next party in power in England. Recent elections show the majority of the people are ready to replace the Tories at the next election. Bevan has been promised the post of Foreign Secretary in the new government.

The recent Labor Party Conference entertained a resolution outlawing "H-Bomb tests." Workers at the conference pleaded for passage which was opposed by the party leadership. Bevan

shamefacedly stated, "To pass this motion would mean that you will send the British Foreign Secretary naked into the conference chamber." He killed the motion.

The leader of British Socialism, Hugh Gaitskell, passed his pet project, to switch from "old fashioned nationalization" to a scheme for state buying of shares in key industries as a substitute for "socialism." Old militant socialists jeered and wept. A quarry worker from the midlands yelled, "I'd better take off me boots and put on me spats." Another cried, "Have I been fighting for 54 years for Socialism for nothing?" Bevan assisted Gaitskell to carry the day.

Having sold out his own group known as the Bevanites and sold out the workers of England who believe in the Labor Party, Bevan has achieved party unity—at the price of all principles.

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Little Rock, U.S.A.

(Continued from Page 1)

called out the National Guard and adults had otherwise kept out of the situation things would have straightened themselves out.

It is clear that even at the height of the events, with troops and mobs and national headlines about Little Rock, the Negro youth were prepared to become fully accepted as students and found indications among the whites that it could be done.

Fifteen-year old Minnie-jean Brown, one of the 9 Negro students, said, after the first full day of school, "They (the white students) are anxious to find out what we are like. They are torn between their parents and their own minds. They just don't know what to do."

This has already been proved in life. In an informal panel discussion held away from the school on October 14, 7 Central High students discussed the problem. There were 3 Negro students and 4 white students: 2 of the latter, Sammie Dean Parker and Kaye Bacon not only came to speak for the pro-segregation view, they had been active in the recent unsuccessful demonstration by 69 white students to protest against integration. Yet at the end of the panel discussion, both girls had changed their minds.

Sammie, it should be added, was the girl who emotionally embraced Gov. Faubus as a hero on September 28, when she accompanied a delegation from the reactionary Mothers' League of Central High whose plea he heeded to prevent integration. Yet on October 14, she said that she would like to see a full panel discussion like this right in the auditorium of Central High itself.

At the end of the discussion, Kaye Bacon said, "I hope all this works out for best. I mean it. After today I've changed my mind. I feel Sammie and I have both changed our minds completely. We both came down with minds set."

Southern white youth will find among the Negroes their staunchest allies against the closing of the free public school system, which would be a blow against all working class youth.

The segregation of Negroes and whites in the Southern schools has resulted in a curriculum for the whites which deliberately fosters blindness and ignorance. Negro youth in the classroom can and will break through that wall of ignorance by example and debate.

NEGRO AND WHITE WORKERS

The Negroes are not only showing the way to break up a reactionary school system. They can, at the same time, strike the most decisive blow yet against Sen. McClellan of Arkansas and his attacks against labor.

Democrat McClellan, in association with the Republican administration, is pre-

paring the ground for a sweeping strike-breaking "right-to-work" law. The labor bureaucracy has not been able to fight McClellan's corruption charges except to co-operate with him and "prove" that they themselves are "honest."

However, McClellan has responded to the Little Rock crisis by declaring for continued school segregation in the South. This has embarrassed the reactionary coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats against labor. They are now finding new ways to establish it again to the detriment of both Negroes and workers.

The Negroes, on the other hand, are so thoroughly opposed to McClellan that they are fully prepared to join with the labor movement to help break up McClellan's attacks against the workers.

The only factor that can stand in the way of this is the servility the labor leaders have already displayed toward McClellan, and their conspicuous silence on the Negro struggles from the Montgomery boycott to the Little Rock school integration fight.

SOUTHERN LABOR

The Deep South has not moved except in complete opposition to the Supreme Court. Yet the Southern Governors continue to act as intermediaries. Nor have the white workers openly opposed the shrill minority yet. It isn't only that Walter Reuther acted to prevent the seating of a Negro delegate from Tennessee at the recent 16th UAW Convention — 2 Southern white workers, from that Memphis Harvester Local took the initiative to force the issue.

It isn't only that the top leadership of the AFL-CIO have maintained a cynical silence on the current Negro struggle. United Steel Workers' president McDonald willingly yielded to 90 white steelworkers from Birmingham, Ala., who threatened to withdraw and lead a dual union movement if the Union came out in support of the Montgomery boycott a year ago.

This is not to say that all Southern white workers think that way, but so far, only the reactionary voice of Southern white labor has been heard. If these workers think they can separate themselves from the Negro struggles today — any more than they could 20 years ago when the combined struggles of all built the CIO — Sen. McClellan of Ark. is there to teach them that he's out to shackle all workers, white and Negro, North and South.

Southern-born white workers up North have recognized this and have repeatedly and forcefully expressed themselves for solidarity against the bureaucrats of labor, management and politics, as their repeated articles in NEWS & LETTERS certify. It is time the white workers down South closed ranks as well.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

RUSSIA

The startled world has been forced to sit up, take notice, and acclaim the first successful launching of an earth-circling satellite by Russia. The event unshers in a new epoch in the progress of man, and the beginning of the age of man in outer space.

That Russia was first, and is obviously 2 years ahead of the United States in the field, causes deep concern to those who were too stupid to foresee the event. People who have been lulled to sleep by their newspapers and government spokesmen believe only that Russia makes progress through a well-trained spy system. Now they realize that Russia has no need to spy on "secrets" that we do not possess. They see that science is quite capable of progress independently of any technical information that the United States withholds from them.

Witch-hunting Senator McCarthy can claim credit from the grave for the lack of progress of the United States in the field. His program of terror has driven so many of the competent scientists and engineers out of the government service that research programs limp along with whatever German brains were captured or with whatever personnel are willing to live in the limelight of the McCarthy-like snoopers.

That much, everyone sees now. But don't count on any relaxation of the witch-hunting laws. They will only be tightened since the satellite is being looked upon not as outer space conquest but as "progress" in the missiles field and hence war.

True progress for mankind can be made only when all men, acting in an atmosphere of true freedom, are indeed free to contribute to every

phase of research and development of all ideas that will lead to more leisure time, less labor and more material goods for all of the people throughout the world.

In that field both Russia and the United States have a long way to go.

(See Editorial)

* * *

SPAIN

Five Spanish sailors, who jumped ship early in June at San Diego, from the Spanish Navy, stand in jeopardy of deportation unless the American Civil Liberties Union can save them from the hands of Franco.

The men were a part of a hand-picked crew that Franco had sent to the United States to pick up two destroyers — a donation from the American State Dept. to fascism. Twenty of the men jumped ship in Panama and are still free. Twelve more jumped ship in San Diego and went to Mexico. Five of these claimed political asylum in Mexico, and this country, which ordinarily grants such requests without question, in this case refused and held the men in jail in Tijuana.

After a lot of trickery, horse trading and skulduggery, the men were imported into the United States by officers of the U.S. Navy. The American State Dept., U.S. Immigration Service, and the U.S. Navy are now working toward one end, to get these men back into the bloody hands of Franco who will butcher them.

The American Civil Liberties Union claims that the American government has no legal right to act as a policeman for Franco.

U.S. Attorney Laughlin R. Waters maintains, "The United States Government does not have to invoke the 1902 treaty with Spain, but it wishes to in

the interests of better relations between the two countries." This attitude is reinforced by statements that the lawyer for the A.C.L.U. obtained in Washington to the effect that, "the Spanish Embassy in Washington has exerted great pressure on the State Dept. for the return of these sailors."

The Mexican government has, after great pressure from the organized Spanish Republican Refugees, churchmen, and an excited Mexican public opinion, agreed to grant these sailors the right to political asylum and has requested that they be returned to Mexico. The U.S. Immigration Dept. and the State Dept. refuse and are pursuing the case in the courts for deportation to Spain.

If they are successful, it means death for all 5 sailors. This is the price that the American government is willing to pay the Fascist Franco for his "good will" in granting military bases that have been paid for in cash ten times over!

* * *

FRANCE

Again France is in deep crisis, without a Premier, bankrupt, with 2 million workers out on general strike. The last Premier, Bourges-Maunoury, was defeated when he proposed giving a measure of home rule to Algeria.

With 400,000 Frenchmen tied up in a never ending Algerian war costing France \$4 million a day, with the French peasantry engaging in tax revolt, workers out on a general strike of protest, the unpopularity of the French government is as thorough as it is in Algeria, only here it is the reactionaries that brought about the fall.

The right-wing of French politics is indifferent to world public opinion on Algeria, Soustelle declares, "It is not France that must use armed troops to put children into school." Vignancour, a deputy who was an old Petain collaborator said, "Are you going to have us judged by people from Little Rock, by slavers from Yemen, by our enemies behind the Iron Curtain?"

The right-wing thrives on the resulting chaos. Other French political parties are so split, and self-centered that they are unable to establish any common ground, form any policy or a government. This paves the way for a "strong man" such as De Gaulle to rise to power and to establish French Fascism.

The segregationists of the United States and the shameful example of Little Rock aid these French Fascists.

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