

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

The Contract and Working Conditions

Workers are saying that what they want first and foremost in the contract is something done about working conditions. Everyday, all over the shop, you hear workers say that this company is inhuman. The foreman and superintendents have gone crazy.

A Ford Rouge worker was saying that that place is a mad house. They have no feeling for human beings. "I have worked there for 30 years and have never worked at the pace I have done today, under such pressure and hazardous conditions.

WRECK THE MAN BUT NOT THE MACHINE

"When Automation was first introduced they began to chain you to the machine. Today workers must keep pace with two to five machines. They are placed in a straight line and everyone works together. I push one button and operate them all at the same time. Just about every day something goes haywire with one and they all stop. Many times when this happens they threaten to pay me off. The guy that works behind me does a similar job. They put a large mirror on the machine so that he can watch and see if anything is going wrong with any one of the machines so they aren't wrecked. One of the automatic hands that puts the stock in the machine and takes it out again got stuck and wrecked one machine. They fired the worker.

"When the committeeman and the labor relations guy came he showed them that it was impossible for any human to watch five machines with or without a mirror when they all come down and go up at the same precise second. Each took a turn working the machines and agreed that he was right. They reinstated him. He was telling me that he was fired once, before they had organized the union, for not buying some tickets from his foreman. He got a preacher to get his job back for him then, but he said you have to have a union for protection, even if it is just a little protection. He said he wanted something done about speed-up and working conditions in this contract. Annual wage would help if it is not just used to take away something more important."

"THEY WANT YOU TO RUN"

No worker under 55 will live to get any pension if we keep up this pace. It is not just working 8 hours a day it is the pace at which they work you. They want you to go as fast as you can possibly move your body every second of those 8 hours, and if your machine breaks down they want you to run to the next machine.

I wish the general public could actually see the conditions under which we work. When the temperature was in the high 80's and in the 90's, every welders' face was peeling, especially the white workers, or shedding like snakes do in the spring. Some guys' eyes were practically closed from the swelling. When you go to the first aid the doctor questions you as though you are lying. We all work so close together that the heat and arc from the next worker nearly blinds you and cooks your skin to a crisp.

National or local economic packages, no matter how great they could sound on paper, cannot make these horrible inhuman conditions any less painful. Reuther seems willing to talk to the company and the public on any and all things but what the workers are actually concerned most with.

A TOTAL CHANGE IS NEEDED

A worker said, "Reuther is only mentioning working conditions now because he knows that we are ready to change them ourselves. If he can't stop us he wants to say, see, I was on your side."

What Reuther does not recognize is that workers have the instincts and the knowhow to carry them far in their struggles. There has to be a total change and that change has to be at the point of production itself.

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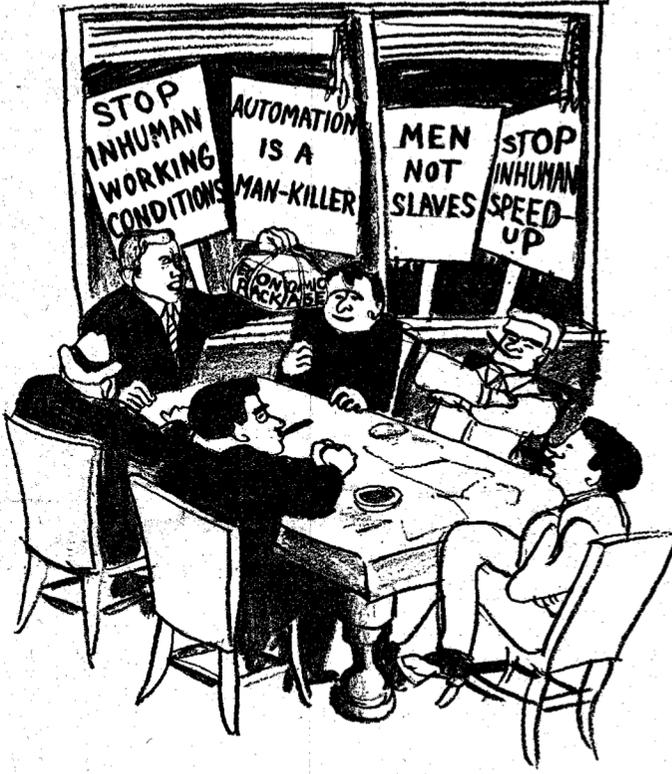
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Auto Workers Tell Reuther: 'Local' Grievances Are National

A Ford worker told News & Letters, "You're a slave in that plant. As soon as you punch in, in the morning, to when you punch out at night, you're a slave."

Hence, 120,000 auto workers struck the Ford plants; and another 80,000 Chrysler workers waited their turn. Conditions of labor, under the agony of production known as Automation, have grown so bad that the General Motors strikes—and not Reuther's "economic settlements"—have set the pattern for the entire industry.

Right after Labor Day, by the thousands, then by the tens and hundreds of thousands, auto workers walked off their jobs. By mid-September, more than a quarter of a million strikers had shut down 98 of GM's 129 plants throughout the country. This massive walkout gave the lie to Reuther's attempt to dismiss inhuman working conditions as "local grievances."



Reuther: The Strike Is Over

On Sept. 6 Reuther proclaimed the new economic package he had signed with GM. His announcement was greeted by Local 544's wildcat at the Fisher plant in West Mifflin, a suburb of Pittsburgh. Within two days the wildcats had spread to the Fisher plants at Marion, Ind., Mansfield, Ohio, and to the Fisher and Chevrolet plants at St. Louis, Mo., and Atlanta, Ga.

Whatever the nationwide strike over the GM contract may represent to the Administration, Walter Reuther, or to GM's top brass, to the rank-and-file at GM it was an historic battle: For the first time since the early union days, the determination of the workers forced Reuther to face the one issue that has been their main concern for many years—the inhuman working conditions in all of the auto plants across the country.

REUTHER OVERRIDES NATIONAL COUNCIL

Even the UAW's 280-man national GM Council recognized the national scope of the workers' revolt. In a stormy session, on Sept. 20, they approved the new contract negotiated by Reuther and GM's vice president Seaton, but voted to continue the general strike until all local issues were settled. Angered by the unexpected rebuff from his secondary leadership, Reuther turned to his top henchmen, and the UAW's 24-man Executive Board overruled the council's majority vote and forced through Reuther's back-to-work order.

TIMED TO THE LAST SECOND

At the height of the GM strike, a wildcatting Chrysler worker from Detroit's Local 212 told News & Letters (see related story on Page 2): "It's not just speed-up as such, it's the total inhuman speedup that squeezes the last breath out of the human being. I wish Reuther would just walk through the plant—let alone work for a day—before he sits down to negotiate. You can't imagine how bad it is if you're not actually in there right now. It's different and worse than it was a few years ago. I have to work so fast now I'm always gasping for breath. They're working the life out of us."

"You used to have a few weeks to adjust to the job after model changeover. They'd time you, and might raise the job from 50 to 52 pieces an hour. Workers could still fight and bargain and had a little say-so in the matter. Some kind of compromise would be worked out. You'd have to work harder, (Continued on Page 8)

Freedom Riders Pamphlet: An Appeal to Our Readers

The recent meeting of the National Editorial Board of News and Letters adopted the proposal that we publish a pamphlet giving the full story of the heroic struggle of the Freedom Riders to achieve integration in the south. Two of those jailed in Jackson, Mississippi, Louise Inghram and Mari Hamilton will collaborate in giving the detailed story of their experiences on the Freedom Ride; in the Mississippi State Penitentiary; in the New Orleans Reign of Terror as well as the Jackson Jungle Trials. The experiences of both white and Negro Freedom Riders will include one youth whom the State of Mississippi refused to recognize as a Freedom Rider and threatened instead to send to a home for "juvenile delinquents."

Not only are we the only ones who are proposing to let the Freedom Riders speak for themselves, but we are the only ones who are viewing this struggle for freedom as the continuing

fight it has been historically, and the new stage of self-activity reached with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1956.

Because Civil Rights is the name of Freedom in the USA, it has reached this stage of unity of black and white, radical and priest, worker and intellectual, youth and adult. At the same time it has become a part of the world struggle for freedom and a totally new way of life. Our special August-September issue entitled "Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves" has brought in responses from Africa to France, from South USA to Great Britain, as well as from Italy and all parts of the USA. Though only two weeks have passed since our first appeal we have already received \$173. Thus: An advance order for 100 pamphlets came in from a subscriber in Ohio. For bundles of 100 or more there is 40% off. Otherwise, a single pamphlet is 25c. Special contributions to make the publication possible

(Continued on Page 8)

TWO VIEWS: I

Chrysler Auto Workers Wildcat Against Firms Plant Brutality

Detroit, Sept. 14—We had a wildcat strike at Chrysler Mack plant today—the first one in two years. It was a wonderful feeling, just wonderful.

It began yesterday afternoon when a foreman hit a worker with 25 years seniority because he missed a job on the line. It was the worker's first day on this job, and the foreman had been standing over him and riding him all day.

At one o'clock the foreman slugged the worker in the face, breaking a pair of glasses the worker had on his face. The worker regained his posture and gave the foreman one hell of a beating. Both were carried to the office, bloody as they could be. They paid the worker off and kept the foreman.

WORKERS WALK OUT

When we went to work this morning, they had two or three plant guards and two or three foremen at every entrance.

Some said the worker was expected to come in the plant, and if he did there would be plenty of trouble. The union leaders were frightened to death. They yelled: "Let us settle this," and said the worker had not been fired but was only suspended until the company could investigate.

After we started to work, this foreman came in with bandages on his neck. The men all stopped working, yelling "Get that s.o.b. out of here!"

The plant guards came and took the foreman out, and the union rep told us that they took the foreman to jail on a charge of assault and battery.

And then the threats came. The company said that the first worker or group of workers that walked out would be fired. Then we had our relief period at 8:30 a.m. The whistle blew and every worker came up to the lunch room.

One worker said what the rest of us were all thinking and saying:

"Here's the answer to it.

When that whistle blows, damn the superintendent. Damn the foreman. Damn the committeeman. Damn the steward. We just don't go back!" The beauty of it was that the company couldn't fire anybody — unless they fired all of us.

It was great to see workers who had been off for a year, some for a year and a half, and some for two years, saying this is the way to do it. And some of these workers have not drawn a pay since returning to work.

It hurt to see a few, a very few who had been working ten hours a day, six days a week, staying in the plant. Out of 200 men, maybe 20 went back.

One worker said, "They can't kill us fast enough by working us to death, now they are going to brutally murder us with their fists. They have schools for foremen. The company tells them what to do and how to force workers to get production."

Another worker said, "I'm waiting for one to hit me. It is going to be a sad day for his family. You are going to lose your job even if you fight back, so better do a complete job than half of it."

Others were saying what in hell is this business of the broad economic pack that Reuther is saying is so liberal that he got from GM. We don't want but one thing out of this contract, and that is some sensible, human working conditions. That should be first — or nothing else will matter because these companies are all crazy over production.

There are two or three foremen over every group of ten men, and they are standing over you every second of the day yelling "Get that job!" or "Don't let it pass you!"

Nowhere in the world can there be more speedup, intimidation and humiliation to workers than you have today at Chrysler Mack plant — not that it is less at Fords and General Motors. Like one worker told me, "I have been in several different prisons, and we did not work under such pressure."

SEE MORE TO COME

One worker said that after they have settled this contract, trouble would just begin to start.

"I am expecting workers to strike in the manner they did in the old days all over, and change this whole mess where we will have some say as to how we want to work," he said. "We put out enough production—or scrap—in six months to last the company twelve months. How will we ever help the unemployed when we are letting the company force us to put out our production plus the work that the unemployed should be putting out?"

Workers Battle Automation 25c

By Charles Denby

Orders: News & Letters

8751 Grand River

Detroit 4, Mich.

TWO VIEWS: II

MACK PLANT WORKER VICTIMIZED BY COMPANY

DETROIT — On September 14, workers from the Chrysler Mack Avenue Plant here walked off their jobs to protest the firing of one of the men.

The story of that one man points up what auto workers are faced with in the auto shops today. One worker put it, "They've automated the machines, but they still haven't figured a way to automate the worker. I still have only two hands."

14 SECONDS

One of the welders was asked to go over and relieve on the line, loading stock. The job he went to allows a worker only 14 seconds to turn to a metal basket that holds the stock, turn and put it on the line. 14 seconds. After the fellow work-

The Old One Bad Enough

West Virginia — Working in the mine's is hell if you're on a continuous miner. We have the old continuous miner, if you call a couple of years old, and the speed, heat and dust on that one is enough to kill you. With the new ones they're coming out with, its going to be even worse.

What they're working on now will hit us miners two ways. Working on the machines that they're putting bigger motors on and stepping up the speed is going to make it just that much more dangerous and rough on the men.

TOO BAD NOW

Even with the machines we've got now, they chew into the coal so fast that you don't have enough air to blow out the gas that's given off from the coal. And if that gas piles up, like it has lots of times, one spark can blow the men to kingdom come — like it has. If it's like this with the old machine, what's it going to be like with these faster ones?

A man just wasn't made to do the kind of work we're doing now. I don't know what kind of man they expect to work on the new ones. With these new ones, they've speeded up, conditions of work and safety have got to be worse than they are now.

BY REMOTE CONTROL

But there is another one they're experimenting with. This one is going to knock out miners like the continuous miner did — and that was from 450,000 in 1950 to about 150,000 now. It won't get as many — there aren't that many left — but it'll still knock them out by the tens of thousands.

This one is remote controlled, and one man will be able to operate it. They won't be able to work this machine in all the mines, because conditions are different. You have a different top, different bottom and different coal. In some mines it just wouldn't work. But there are plenty where it will — or they wouldn't be making it. And where they put this one, well, you can just kiss those miners goodbye.

ed there for a while, the foreman went over to him and accused him of stopping the line, and told him he didn't like the way he was working. When the worker asked the foreman why he didn't get someone else to relieve on the job if he wasn't satisfied, he was told he'd have to stay on that operation the rest of the day.

A short time later the superintendent walked over to watch the worker. The worker isn't very tall, and the pile of stock he had to reach was stacked higher than he was. He had to reach way up, get a piece, turn and place it on the line. He was still supposed to do it in 14 seconds. Some of the pieces were placed in the stock basket wrong, and the guy, just trying to keep up with the speed of the line, grabbed it and it went on the line turned the wrong way. The superintendent chewed him out about it and walked off. Everyone knows that, that 14 second operation is impossible and even more so if you have to straighten out the stock before you put it on the line.

WORKER PAID OFF

The worker was wringing wet with perspiration. About this time the foreman came over and put his hand on the man's shoulder. The worker pushed it off, and this foreman, who has a history of riding workers, hauled off and punched the worker in the left eye. Other workers jumped in immediately to prevent what could have been a fight. Whatever happens in the shop, no matter what the provocation, the company tries to twist it to make the man at fault. This case was no different. They told the startled worker that he was going to be paid off.

This was too much for the men to take. The next day, when the foreman came back to work and the worker didn't, they walked off the job.

The foreman playing the game for all it was worth tried to take legal action against the man, charging him with assault. But that failed. A witness dug up to support the foreman's case had to admit that he only "partially" saw what had happened. When the foreman saw he couldn't make his paony accusation stick, he dropped the case saying he was sorry for the man. However, he wasn't sorry enough to admit the truth and have the man reinstated.

Of the men who walked off the job, 148 of them got put on report by the company and about 10 were threatened with 2 to 4 days off.

The union has taken up the worker's case and it is to be heard before the Labor Relations Board. The men in the shop feel very strongly about this man's fate. He worked at Chrysler for 25 years. What happened to him, could happen to anyone.

Chrysler has shown that they are ready and willing to resort to terrorism to drive the men to meet the ever-increasing and already inhuman work standards. Only the united action of the men can stop them.

Worker's Journal

(Continued from Page 1)

When the Reuthers, Goldbergs, Kennedys yell to get the strike settled, what they are saying is keep the workers on the job, they do not care under what conditions they work, or if everything is taken away from the workers. They don't give a hoot about how many unemployed there are or how many Automation kills. They figure those that are still alive and employed can do all the work and should keep their places until told differently.

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

"The Individual Is The Social Entity"

I have worked in production shops where a couple of hundred people got ten minutes in the morning and ten in the afternoon and no other time of relief. Supposedly we were to have 3 minutes every hour to rest at the line itself. The lead girl and the girl next to her were the only ones that ever got these few minutes. For the others in actuality it turned out to be a little time to catch up on the chassis that pile up by your operation. About ½ hour before quitting time 4 or 5 of us had worked out an arrangement where one at a time, we would take 5 minutes to wash up. When you got back to your place each girl left would take one or two of your wires in addition to her own operation so that you could catch up.

When I worked in these production shops my intestines were constantly in a mess, even though I followed my doctor's orders. (See MD Speaks, page 7).

The shop I work in now has no production line yet, we get 10 minutes in the morning and in the afternoon. However, if you dare to use this time for anything but resting the women look at you as if you are sick. Even though the forelady goes flying through the rest room every now and then we are still allowed to use it when ever we feel like it. There is a great deal of tension, for when you leave your job you walk at an abnormally slow pace and you know you're being watched or they might send a group leader in after you but nevertheless just this little relief does a world of good for you.

That the companies are so anxious for production at any cost lies in this complete disregard of the individual worker. They are willing to use up human beings as fast as they possibly can, hence their anxiety for those 24 minutes of "lost" production time.

The companies are not alone in this complete disregard of individuals. Their lackeys, the dispensers of the national news

are very adept at it too, from the New York Times that recently carried a story calling for more investigation before paying unemployed workers any money to live on, to the Detroit Free Press, which on Sept. 17 carried an article by Jack Manning that said "Reuther Looks Like a Tired Dempsey." Supposedly blasting Reuther and his "socialist views" it is designed to berate the auto workers.

After 9 paragraphs tracing Reuther's development, the pay off paragraphs appear: A couple of weeks ago, when it looked as though an agreement had been reached, Reuther declared 'We have won an economic package which represents real gains in meeting the needs of GM employees.'

"Almost before the words were out of his mouth his lads began striking local plants all around the country because of local grievances. You'd think those guerilla walkouts would mortify the commander in chief. They didn't in the slightest."

In all the paragraphs on Reuther's lack of "warm understanding" lack of help for the workers etc. it is the above paragraph that reveals what annoys Mr. Manning and has changed Reuther's standing in his book. The workers went out on strike despite Reuther and that Mr. Manning does not like.

That the big American auto companies are hungry for production for production's sake can be seen in their attempt during the contract negotiations to take away the 24 minute relief time from the workers. The bourgeoisie who claim that Marxism, that Marx himself, was not concerned with the individual (After he wrote pages on the working day in his greatest work—Capital.) but subordinated the individual to the state is shown to be not only the exact opposite of what Marx wrote and lived but precisely what they and the bourgeois press stand for. To Marx the individual was the social entity.

BRITISH LABOUR NEWS

WRITTEN AND EDITED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEES

CP Acts to Divert Glasgow Council from Workers' View

By LESLIE FORSTER

GLASGOW — The August meeting of Glasgow Trades Council was turned into a Communist Party rally. A delegation had been to the promised land, Russia, and were back to recount the wonders to behold. The first to tell his tale was a "Glasgow Baillie" by the name of Fulton, a prominent member of the City Labour Party.

He said that the Russian people were not arrogant. They wanted peace. What a distance to go to make such a discovery! He spoke of the great sufferings endured by the people of Leningrad at the hands of the Germans. "What must they feel about Germany," he exclaimed.

The Berliners, those living in Dresden, Hamburg, and other German cities and towns endured great sufferings at the hands of the Russians, Americans, and British. That's always the state of things when the workers are rolled into the capitalists' war. "Baillie" Fulton missed that bit out.

He said he was staggered by the organisation at Leningrad Trades Council. Every aspect of the workers welfare is looked after by the Trade Unions. "They run everything," he added.

Party Is Union & State

Of course the truth is that over there the Party is the Trade Union, and the Party is the State. The workers run nothing. Perhaps the "Baillie" is an innocent abroad or has succumbed to Russian hospitality.

Glasgow Trades Council, he claimed, would not be in it in comparison with the one at Leningrad.

Glasgow Trades Council has a good working class record. It supported the Hungarian Revolution. It opposed the Suez adventure of British Imperialism. It has criticized both conservative and Labour Governments. Political prisoners in Greece, Spain, and Ireland have been supported. The execution of Imre Nagy has been discussed.

I bet Leningrad Trades Council could not do that. When did they ever criticise Soviet foreign policy? That is the past record of Glasgow Trades Council. It could not do those things now. It is under Communist Party control.

To be fair, "Baillie" Fulton has opposed the C. P. from the Council floor. The Communists sit to one side at Council meetings — and it's to the right. "Baillie" Fulton sits to

the left side. It's time he crossed over.

* * *

Then we had speeches from two Communists—a Miss Agnes M'lean, and a Mr. Hugh Wyper. Miss M'Lean rather fancies herself as a comedienne. She acts up for laughs to cover up the shallowness of her politics. She goes on like this: "You see, Comrades, Russia is a country with no private enterprise. There are no big millionaires. You don't see workers running about in Jaguars or big cars. We are living in a jungle."

Women at Hard Labor

She thought it was a marvellous thing to see women plasterers. That hardy annual, the wonderful Underground (the Moscow subway—Ed.) was trotted out. And the streets of Moscow were so clean you could eat your food off them, she declared.

Some months ago, on the B. B. C. Third Programme, Margaret Miller, the economist, gave a talk on private enterprise in the U.S.S.R. This is what she said: "In the town of Gomel, in the West of Russia, one man had established himself as a building contractor on a large scale with his own hired workers paid at rates settled by him and using his own expensive equipment.

"At Mogilev, about 50 miles away, another man was making large profits by building electricity sub-stations, putting up high-voltage overhead lines, and bringing electricity to farms and local hospitals . . .

"All over the country from the Baltic States to the Asian Republics, come stories of communal work on the collective farms being neglected in favour of the cultivation of private plots."

But Agnes would say that was just capitalist propaganda. Her enthusiasm for those women plasterers would not be shared by Engels. He condemned such heavy and strenuous work for women.

* * *

Then came Mr. Wyper's turn. He claimed that house building in Leningrad was tremendous. Glasgow has built a lot of houses. This proves nothing. The fact that many Russian workers were on piecework did not worry him. Much of what he said could be read this year, or any year, in the "Daily Worker," and "Soviet Weekly." After about 80 minutes of this sort of thing I felt like shouting, "Why don't you stay in Russia!"

The Common Market and the Budget are of more importance to the workers of Glasgow than what the Communist Party says life is like in Russia. On the agenda were two resolutions on those matters. Because of this "Russian Report," there was no time left to discuss them.

SEPT. 17: AN EYEWITNESS REPORT

Anti-Bomb Demonstration Shows Movement's Strength

LONDON — The most active movement in Great Britain today is the movement against nuclear war. The largest group in this movement, indeed, the more or less official group is the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Not long ago, a section of the CND, dissatisfied with the routine activity it was engaged in, decided to strike out for more militant action. They formed the committee of 100

When Khrushchev proclaimed that Russia would resume nuclear tests, they held a march and a sit-down demonstration involving several thousand people at the Soviet Embassy. They repeated this at the American Embassy when Kennedy said that the U.S. would begin testing in its turn.

It planned a march on Parliament for September 17th. This was forbidden by the police. The committee then stated publicly that they were going to hold the demonstration anyway.

When September 17th arrived, it was pouring rain. The committee, which risked a possible six-months' prison sentence for planning the demonstration, now risked seeing the demonstration washed out. It stopped raining, however, before 5:00 p.m., the time the demonstration was scheduled to start.

The rallying point was to be

Trafalgar Square. It was hoped that 10,000 people would participate in the demonstration. When I arrived at Trafalgar Square at 5:00 p.m., I saw at least 15,000 people in Trafalgar Square itself and about 30,000 more in the streets surrounding it.

Spectators Join

The demonstration began with a speaker using a hand loud-speaker. He was arrested and carried away by the police. Then the demonstrators tried to start the march. This was blocked by cordons of police. There were over 4,000 police on hand.

Groups of demonstrators then began sitting down in the streets. The crowds standing around, most of them spectators rather than participants, filled up the streets around them, completely blocking traffic. The police cordons tried to drive the people back on the sidewalks.

At this, the normal detestation working-people all over the world have for police became evident. At each charge of the police, the crowd

charged back, often stopping them cold, sometimes driving the police back. People who had come to watch the show or even to jeer at the sit-downers began chanting "Ban the bomb." Little cockney youths and London-Irish organized counter charges against the police, cheering the sit-downers as the police carried and dragged them away. They were not cranks now, they were comrades.

Police Brutality

It took the police over an hour to clear one block and even then groups of demonstrators rushed out through the cordons and sat down in the street. The police arrested over 1,000 people. They were not gentle in this. In charging the crowds, many of them used the knee-in-the-groin technique. I saw several cases of policemen grabbing small adolescent girls and hurling them back. They usually used two or three policemen to push larger men around.

Among those arrested were a number of prominent writers and playwrights, such as John Osborne, and Shelagh Delaney. But the prominence of the people arrested is the least important part about the demonstration. What is really important is that the anti-war movement in Britain is passing from the hands of the genteel CND into those of younger, more militant groups; that large numbers of people in Britain are prepared to risk arrest to oppose the rush toward war and that many more people are actively sympathetic to them; that the leadership of this movement is being taken over by youth, mainly working-class youth.

—AN AMERICAN IN LONDON

ILP Appeals to the Workers in Russia and U.S.

LONDON—The Independent Labour Party issued a statement, in support of last month's anti-nuclear demonstrations, which said, in part:

"The dispute of the two Power blocs over Berlin and Germany; mobilisation measures by the United States and the resumption of nuclear tests by Russia; the declaration by the United States that she also will resume tests . . . have so increased world tension that the danger of a world nuclear war which would destroy civilisation has become critical.

"We urge all workers, and especially the workers of Russia and the United States, and of Britain which could set an example, to defy their governments on this issue in every way possible . . .

"We additionally urge workers to take active steps towards creating a future Socialist world in which the machinery of mass destruction . . . would be scrapped, and all production would be for the good of the common people of all countries."

ETU Gets New Bureaucrats—Ranks Get Same Old Treatment

LONDON—The T.U.C., having secured the expulsion of the Electrical Trades Union, is taking the unprecedented step of intervening in the internal affairs of the union during its current elections for E.C. members.

It demands that the Communist Party majority on the present E.C. be voted out as the price of the readmission of the

Apprentices Thwart Company Censorship

It is now just over a year since the strike of engineering and ship-building apprentices cost the employers 347,000 lost working days. It won modest wage increases, but the apprentices learned a lot.

Following the strike, one Rochdale (Lancashire) firm presented the lads who had been mild or reserved with the more pleasant jobs, and dished out labour and dirty tasks to the activists.

As a result, apprentices at Tweedale & Smalley launched their own news bulletin last year. It flourished until February, when the young editor was singled out for the sack, in the hope that it would close down, for similar methods by officials of the A.E.U. and E.T.U. had failed to stifle it.

It has reappeared, apparently strengthened by its short "holiday," and copies are available (send 6d) to all young workers from: Mr. Brain Bamford, 39 Alder Road, Rochdale, Lancashire. If you can write, views and comments "from the job" are welcome.

quarter million electricians to the T.U.C. ranks. Every Secretary of the 700-odd E.T.U. branches is being approached personally.

The fact must be faced that this move is not aimed at helping the ranks assert control of the union, but is electoral support for the Catholic Action-Right-Wing Labour Party faction who now have three seats on the E.C. For the ranks, this would mean "the mixture as before," with a different label. Both the factions competing for the top union jobs are united against the ranks, against whom this T.U.C. move is directed.

The recent E.T.U. Annual Conference showed this up. It came after the court case brought by Byrne and Chapple which cost the E.T.U. £80,000 of the members' money.

Nor did the "Opposition" differ from the Communists on the motion to raise the officials' pay to £31 a week, plus expenses. The ranks' demand for the pay to equal that of the average skilled worker was ignored by both sets of bureaucrats.

To date, every rank and file movement against these bureaucrats controlling the E.T.U. has restricted itself to purely "industrial" limitations of outlook. And each has been smashed. A clear political differentiation with both these factions must be evolved, and organised around, if rank-and-file democracy is to assert itself in the E.T.U. as elsewhere. Grasp this nettle firmly, and the defeat of these political bureaucracies is certain.

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"MARXISM AND FREEDOM" can be obtained, price 32s., post free from either of the British Editorial Committees.

Editorial War or Peace?

The nuclear blasts that Russia has unleashed, have revealed not only the hollowness of all the Khrushchev demands for peace, but even more the fakery of his promise of "pie in the sky" to the Russian workers. Khrushchev's recent promise to them of abundance and the good life in 20 years was carefully based on the proviso that there would be no war in the meantime. The meaninglessness of that promise was exposed with the first blast.

But the movement against nuclear warfare never was based on the workers and does not now get its impulse from them. The British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament did demonstrate in front of the Russian Embassy. At the same time, however, because the British pacifists' targets are the American missile bases, the concentration is of necessity anti-American, and the most notorious slogan has been, "I'd rather be Red than dead."

Of course the fact that the West was not the first to resume nuclear testing does not mean that it might not be the first to start the war. Just as in Russia preparation for all-out war against the West tomorrow has meant all-out war against the Russian workers today, so in America the build-up for war has been disclosed as much by the increasing government interference in strikes and the alarming inroads on Civil Rights as by the increase in military spending and the doubling of draft quotas.

The Independent Road

The question, however, is: Where to begin? Why the silence about the East German workers, who had an answer as far back as 1953 when they showed the world that they did NOT want to be "Red rather than dead." They preferred to die, if they must, fighting against the state capitalist norms with their ever increasing speed-ups in the factories. Thereby they shook Russia's Empire AND showed a truly independent road.

East Germany today is faced with a staggering shortage of labor and devastating slowdowns, which, though they have not yet reached the proportions of the June 17, 1953 events, nevertheless reveal the depth of the revolt which increases every day.

When East Germans fled until East Germany had lost no less than 15% of its working population, the state exploiters, faced with the necessity of forcing labor into the factories, found they could do so only if there was NO pass to the West at all. Hence the need to shut the gates. Hence, also the need for a "bomb scare" in order both to get the stability to go on with the Plans of preparation for war—and to make sure that Khrushchev and not Tito would be setting the agenda for the Neutral's Conference.

Unilateral "Anti-ism"

The sad fact that needs to be recorded is that Khrushchev succeeded. The neutrals lost a great opportunity not because they did not take the side of "the West" but because they carved no independent road away from both nuclear camps.

Neutrality and Pacifism alike have shown the trap of unilateral "anti-ism", precisely because you cannot be against both poles unless you see that both poles are equally out to dominate the world, even if it means destroying it.

Pacifism is now shown to be the trap that awaits ALL who do not base their opposition to war on more than a general desire for peace. Absolutely everybody is for peace in general, and nobody more loudly than Khrushchev. The sad fact here is that the hollow Communist talk of "world peace" has been enough to get them a following among non-Communists and even many anti-Communists who unfortunately, up to now, have listened intently to the peaceful co-existence propaganda of Khrushchev, but turned deaf ears on his rocket-rattling in the background.

On the other hand, in Japan the Socialist Zengakuren youth demonstrated against Russia as well as against the United States. The fact that the American press failed to report this only shows its hypocrisy and with what malice aforethought they are pretending that America alone can fight Communism, when in fact it is only the opposite side of the same coin.

The New "Peace Dove": J.F.K.

Not to be outdone in this shouting for peace comes the President with his own plan for "complete and general disarmament." The new "peace dove" like his Russian counterpart, is all for military build-up NOW—but for some unspecified future he has his peace slogan plus the actual establishment of a new Disarmament Agency.

The present jockeying for a position from which to call "the other" the aggressor is void of any fundamental difference in the oppressor viewpoint, whether that oppression is of workers and minorities inside the country, or of underdeveloped countries, or of equally developed countries that are nevertheless non-nuclear powers. The utter shamelessness is for the moment, best expressed by Khrushchev who has the gall to say that he is poisoning the world's atmosphere, threatening small and large nations alike, boasting of sure-to-hit-anywhere-on-earth bombs—all for "peace."

The struggle against these two poles of capital cannot be won through wish-washy neutralism or pacifism which will abound until the outbreak of war. It must have a base that is more solid than any oppressor—and that can only be the producers, that is, the working people of the world. It must also have an unsoiled banner that can win the minds of men because it adds a new human dimension to their strength and courage.

In a word, there is only one way to work for peace and that is through the reconstruction of society on other than capitalistic grounds, on truly new human beginnings. Those who flee in terror—the intellectuals and other white-washers of Russia at this moment, or those who would whitewash the U.S. at another, are preparing the ground, not for peace, but for nuclear holocaust.

Readers'

THE FREEDOM RIDERS

I was so glad to see you refute the lie that the Southern Negroes are not behind the Freedom Rides. If they were NOT how on earth could anyone explain the fact that out of a total of only 307, no less than 41 were right from Jackson, Mississippi itself? To me that 41 is an enormous number indeed, for they are young people who have to stay there when the ride is over.

Freedom Rider
California

* * *

I read with great pleasure your August-September issue while returning to New York from Mississippi. I would like to thank you for the service you have done the Freedom Rides through your publication. I must, however, attempt to set the record straight on a few points:

1—The trial is not a farce, it is simply a continuation of the original trial that lasted many hours and exhausted all legal means that might have acquitted us. It is carried out in the briefest manner in order to conserve the precious time of our attorney.

2—Freedom Riders serving out their sentences do not work. If the \$200 fine is not paid, an additional 2 months and 7 days are added to the sentence. All of this time is served in the maximum security unit of the prison.

3—Pork has bristles, but they are not 2 to 3 inches long; ¼ inch would be more accurate a description.

Granted that these things are of minor importance when compared to the inhumane treatment Riders receive at Parchman, but why risk all that we have gained when there is no need to. A single lie in the hands of the Southern newspapers could do the movement great harm. The truth is on our side and we shall win, if only we are humble.

J. L.—Freedom Rider
New York

* * *

The day after the first Freedom Riders were beaten up in Alabama, there was a race riot in L.A. It started when some cops tried to haul some Negro youth to jail for stealing rides on a merry-go-round, but left the white youth who were doing the same thing, go free. The thing that rang in my ears was what a Negro from the crowd yelled as the fighting began: "Say, you can't beat him up. This isn't Alabama!"

To me it showed how fast the Freedom Ride as a symbol swept through America—and even the world.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

* * *

I showed my copy of the special Freedom Rider issue of News and Letters to another Freedom Rider because I wanted to be sure she understood just how I felt about everything. The thing she read first was the editorial on Civil Rights, and she said it was wonderful, and 100% true. I think what she liked best was how distinct it was from anything a Communist might say about it.

Freedom Rider
California

One of the most unforgettable things I heard James Farmer say in one of his speeches about the Freedom Riders was that before this year the only American words many Africans knew were "Little Rock," and almost every African knew them. He said that after this year, reports have come back that most of them know four more: "sit in" and "Freedom Ride."

Freedom Rider
New York

* * *

Mr. Kennedy should realize that if charity begins at home, his "Peace Corps" should go to Jackson, Miss., and Monroe, S.C. If we can't handle our problems at home, how do we expect to win over other nations?

Taxi-Driver
Denver

* * *

I can't find words to express how proud I feel about the Freedom Riders whose story was in News and Letters. Knowing that what they are doing might some day make it easier for my children and others makes me feel personally very proud.

Negro Mother
Pittsburgh

* * *

Two of us distributed over 600 papers here at a Freedom Rider rally. We asked for ten cents as we distributed, but since we had no time to collect it and make change and so forth, we simply asked people to drop the dime in a basket we brought along. At the end of the distribution we found we had collected \$20 worth of dimes.

Committee Member
California

* * *

Even before Carl hit the Southern coast, Vice President Johnson was conferring with Kennedy on federal aid for the storm area. On television, when Southerners were interviewed after the storm had wrecked their businesses or homes, they finally said the federal aid would have to rebuild their property.

I have yet to hear of any Southerner, refusing aid for this. States' Rights seems to have been forgotten when it comes to restoring material wealth.

When the Freedom Riders went South, Kennedy and Johnson made no public statements about rushing in to uphold the Freedom Riders' constitutional rights. Instead they let the States' Righters do just as they pleased to the Riders' human and constitutional rights.

A storm can blow down the segregated South, be it a human Freedom Riders onslaught or a weather disturbance like Carla—but federal aid will rebuild the segregated South and at the same time allow the States' Righters to make a sham of the Federal Government by letting them throw Freedom Riders in jail for obeying the federal law.

Reader
Los Angeles

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE: See page 6 for more on "Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves."

WAR AND PEACE

It makes me sick to my stomach when I hear politicians talking about "peace." I have lived through two world wars so far, and I have yet to know what peace means. They talked about peace after World War I but no Negro could tell you he had any of it. They talked about peace after World War II again, and told us we had fought for democracy. But they didn't mean democracy here.

Politicians are always great on words when it comes to making speeches about freedom and Civil Rights. But when I hear them talking about defending freedom in Berlin, when they can't defend it in Jackson, Mississippi, I just feel sick.

Negro Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

I am sure that when Mr. Khrushchev sent that man around the earth, he thought that nobody in the world would dare stand up against him. Then when the East Berliners started their mass evacuation to West Berlin, almost the very next day, I felt they were telling him just exactly how "impressed" they were with all his miracles in outer space and his atrocities on earth.

Woman Worker
Detroit

* * *

This business over Berlin and the war-crisis has got everybody jumping. I read in the papers, when it first broke, that our own senators were very upset over the prospect of a possible revolt of the East German workers, as in 1953, and I felt that this kind of thing, more than anything else, shows the identity of both sides of the state-capitalist fence.

It becomes more and more obvious, at the same time, that Khrushchev's triumphs in space are aimed more at impressing the Russian workers and at getting them to forget their troubles and resentments, than at impressing the West.

It also works here. I heard of one woman worker (in a pretty reactionary, non-union, lily-white shop it's true) who said "I think we should all give a week's salary to put a man in space."

I don't think either Kennedy or Khrushchev could stay in power if it weren't for the other one. Not only are they essentially the same, they are really each others' best friends.

Student
New York

* * *

Berlin is enough to drive one mad. It makes a normal life seem artificial, but what can one do?

Student
California

* * *

I don't think there is any use to talk about peace so long as society is organized as it is now.

Part of our economy is war economy. If we stopped making war goods, how many more men would be out of work than are out already? It is useless to talk of peace until we reorganize the whole rotten system.

Old Worker
Detroit

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
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Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

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Views

I have heard quite a few different reactions from people who talk about the nuclear war and how they feel about bomb shelters. I was talking to one girl and she said that if she thought it was time for the bomb to drop, she would stand in the middle of the street to be sure it didn't miss her.

She told me that she had read in the paper that they were going to build bomb shelters for the prisoners in New York. She said she wondered why they wanted to save them, and then figured it was because they would have to have somebody to build New York up again and they were the chosen ones.

My husband told me a fellow worker told him that he wouldn't want to be around to help build up America again just so the rich could get another foothold.

Steelworker's Wife
Pittsburgh

What I can't understand about Kennedy is how he could have the nerve to get on TV and ask everyone to go to war and fight to free Berlin when there are people here—young Americans, white and colored—who are fighting for the same thing.

I read about a Negro who dressed as an African in order to be served in an exclusive restaurant. I think it is shameful that the American Negro who has gone to war to fight for America is not yet free to eat where he wants to, or buy a home and a lot of other things.

Indignant Heart
Pittsburgh

RUSSIAN LIFE

A Russian friend of mine has just returned from a visit there and told me he was shocked at living and working conditions in Russia. Two of the most shocking incidents he told both relate to housing conditions and indicate what life must be like for the Russian people.

The first concerns a veteran of World War II who lost both an arm and a leg in battle, and who was placed on a preferential list for housing because of this, in 1946. In June of 1961 he finally got one room which was all his own, and he is ecstatic over having obtained such a luxury, at last.

The second concerns a Jewish woman who lost both her husband and a son in the war, and was likewise placed on a preferential list on that account. It took until 1953 for her to finally get permission to move back to her home city of Odessa, which had practically been destroyed in the war. There she was given the privilege of rooming with only one other woman—who, it turned out, was violently anti-semitic!

It may be true that intellectuals and some skilled workers are better off, but conditions for the proletariat as a whole in Russia are worse than ever. With such a tremendous crisis in housing, and one that is equally bad in agriculture, for the

Russian state to continue to spend billions on rocket and space flights, truly shows the essential nature of state-capitalism.

Reader
New York

AMERICAN LIFE

We have a local TV announcer here who had the nerve to say that almost all the people who were laid off are back at work. I know this is not true because when you can't walk the street without seeing at least 100 colored men not working, I wonder who is working.

Steelworker's Wife
Pittsburgh

I was laid off for a year and a half. Guys told me how hard and rough it was working in those plants now, but I figured if those other guys could do it so can I.

After the first day I was so tired I couldn't even eat my supper, but I felt I had to stick it out. The second day back they put me on the fastest line in the place. In half an hour I was soaking wet. I was at the point of fainting.

The foreman asked me what was wrong, and said that I looked sick. I told him I needed a relief to go to the toilet. After staying a long time he came in after me and I told him I wanted a first-aid pass. I went to the first aid and stayed as long as I could.

Some buddies of mine keep coming over to see about their chances of being called back. That evening I told them they were much better off staying on welfare. That's an awful life, that's true. They don't have money and other necessary things but they'll live much longer than I will.

Workers in auto factories today are forced to run their lives out trying to keep pace with Automation. I told my friends that if I could, I would swap with them and go back on welfare. If I quit now I can't get any help from welfare. But life will not last very long if I have to stay in that plant and work the way I am doing today.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

I called up one of my shop mates who has not been called back since the strike and asked him if he thought he was coming back to anything that's different than it was before we struck about working conditions. I know how far we have been sold down the river by Reuther. The speed-up is the same and in some places worse. My buddy and the foreman had it out last night. He was so mad he threatened to hit the foreman over the head.

A G.M. Slave
Detroit

The conditions in the shop are so bad today that NO contract can overcome the misery the workers have to go through.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

When Reuther got on TV and said that the companies nowadays think that once

you punch that time clock, you're their slaves, he was telling the truth. But when he said that he was going to do something about it, he was lying. Reuther won't do anything about it, no matter how much he talks about it.

A man out working in the auto shop today is in bad shape. The people on the outside of the plants just don't know what goes on in there. If we have visitors coming around, the company comes running to straighten things up and make it look good. They don't want anybody to know what really goes on.

Ford Rouge Worker
Detroit

The speed-up is so bad today that it would be a problem for a man to just stand by and count the production a worker is expected to put out. We are supposed to do 260 pieces an hour. That would be hard work for a man to just add up, let alone do.

Auto Worker
Detroit

A man who has never been in a factory doesn't know what it's like. They destroy human life.

If you took a man about 50 years old and put him in a shop today, he could hardly live through it. In two years he would be finished as a man.

Auto Worker

How can President Kennedy make the issue of Berlin one of human liberty when he does not recognize the demands for human liberty from Negro citizens of this country?

Student
Denver

NEW FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS

Enclosed please find my check for \$4.75 for which please send me one copy each of Charles Denby's pamphlet, "Workers Battle Automation" and Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, as listed in recent issue of News and Letters at 25c and \$4.50. Any list you might supply of other related literature would be greatly appreciated. . . .

A number of radical students here have decided to open, under the name Luxemburg House, a combined cooperative housing unit and general center for radical student action. Many of these students have already remarked to me that they find N&L a most stimulating and informative publication, so it might be well if the paper were sent there from now on. . . .

If you ever see fit to quote in print either from this or from other letters I might send from time, please print my name and address in full: the initials business may be fine, secure and traditional, but the secretive character of it all is really quite galling to me. With congratulations for putting out a great paper, I remain,

Yours for a Workers' World

Robert S. Henes
Luxemburg House
128 Chittenden Ave.
Columbus, Ohio

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Tito's Turnabout

Russia's atomic blastoff scattered to the winds filled with radioactive fall-out, the pie-in-the-sky promises in the Draft Program of the Communist Party which is to convene in Moscow October 17th.* But it succeeded in pulling Tito back into the Russian orbit. His break from Stalin had never, of course, been a fundamental departure from the state-capitalist fold. I do not mean that Stalin's order for Tito's expulsion from the Cominform wasn't real. It assuredly was. Enthusiastic mass support by a country that had won over the Nazi juggernaut propelled Tito to take the daring step away from Stalin's Russia. But what the Yugoslav people aimed at in their break from Stalin and what Tito aimed at in his derived from two different class sources.

"Different Paths To Socialism"

Tito's break with Stalin produced a new crop of theories on "different paths to socialism." The crop was a sufficiently alluring one to win Trotskyist world support, despite the fact that Tito had come to head the Yugoslav Party because he had dutifully followed through with the Moscow Frame-Up Trials, and headed not only the Yugoslav Trotskyists but also Spanish Trotskyists who stood in way of Stalin's aim to dominate the Spanish Revolution. The "objective" reason for this unasked-for Trotskyist support was based on Tito's "struggle" against the bureaucracy and alleged return to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the withering away of the state. The only trouble was that the struggle was directed, not against his own Single Party Bureaucratic State, but only against Russia.

Nevertheless it would be wrong to think of Tito's break as merely a "nationalist" one, anymore than Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" was proof of his "nationalism," though Trotsky died thinking so. "Socialism in one country" is only secondarily nationalist. Primarily it is a euphemistic expression for state capitalism—a state exploitative system that aims to become a "world system" which, at the point of production, preserves the relation of manager to worker which characterizes private capitalism.

The "giving up" of the pursuit of "world revolution" is true only where it involved the release of spontaneous action from below; it is not true where it meant the establishment of world domination by arms, a coup, or the undermining of the self-activity of the masses. Indeed, just as "socialism in one country" called upon the workers of the world to defend Russia, so the Yugoslav "new path to socialism" was declared "a new universal."

And there was never any doubt that Tito was building in a single, small country the same system Stalin built in a single, vast land. In December 1946 Tito revealed that as far back as 1944 the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation had so strengthened the state apparatus that it would be a mere question of "taking over," not of reconstructing from below: "Nationalization was well prepared organizationally. . . . All enterprises in the entire country were taken over on the same day (of liberation) and almost at the same time without the stopping of production." (My emphasis.)

The same held true on the day of Tito's break with Stalin. The bureaucratic state mentality ruled undeviatingly; the managers continued to order the workers about, and the workers had to produce ever more. As Article 14, entitled "Work and Cadres," of the Five Year Plan of 1947, had put it, it was necessary "to ensure a steady increase in productivity of work by introducing the greatest possible mechanization, and by thoroughly utilizing working hours." (My emphasis.)

The Dialectic of "Revisionism"

What is instructive in Tito's "revisionism" is its own dialectical development. The changes introduced into the State Plan to appease mass pressure produced startling theoretic insights into Russia's revisionism. For example, Yugoslavia abandoned forced collectivization in favor of a combination of state farms, cooperative, and private farming. From this experience Milovan Djilas, who had not theretofore been distinguished by any profound comprehension of Marx's third volume of *Capital*, now characterized Russia's agricultural policy as "a struggle with the collective working peasantry for absolute rent."

Kardelj gained as penetrating an insight into Russia's industrial set-up from the changes introduced in Yugoslavia's decentralized planning accompanied by establishment of "workers' councils." (How totalitarian rulers torture words to transform them into their opposite!) Although these so-called workers' councils were not born of revolution and could not therefore signify any "withering away of the state," nevertheless the cracks in the iron wall revealed new life, like grass that suddenly shows through between stones. And Kardelj came through with a priceless description of Russian Communism as "a pragmatic statist revision of Marxism."

No wonder there was no end to the screaming about Tito's "apostasy" at the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party on February 6, 1959. The following year, however, after the U-2 spy flight, a new wooing of the "apostate" began. Tito held back. While condemning the U-2 flight, he insisted that it "should not and must not" be used to heat up the cold war. Tito proceeded with his own plans to convene the "non-aligned" nations as a "third force" between the two contending blocs of powers.

The Nearness of War

On the very eve of his success, as the heads of nations gathered in Belgrade, when Khrushchev seemed openly to slap their collective two-facedness, Tito suddenly announced that he understood the "reasons" behind Russia's unilateral action in resuming nuclear testing. What changed between the time of the openly provocative U.S. spy flight deep into Russia and the equally provocative Russian atomic explosions that poisoned the whole world's atmosphere to have caused Tito's turnabout?

We can discount the arrogant stupidities of the American bourgeois press which attribute to all but themselves obeisance to superior force. A country like Yugoslavia that fought Nazism at the staggering cost of a full 10 per cent of its population, and then stood up to Stalin, needs to produce no "credentials" of its bravery to the well-paid press pounding typewriters in the comfort of their sheltered ivory towers. No, the struggle such a people is sure to carry on against its leadership for catapulting it to another war will be due for mightier convictions than those of "Western democracy with all its imperfections." The masses are well aware of what has changed: It is the nearness of actual war.

(Continued on Page 6)

YOUTH

New Beginnings

By Eugene Walker

England and France Visited

I start my column on a European note because I happened to have visited France and England during the summer.

I found it quite educational but what shocked me was the separation of the radical groups from the rank-and-file workers. For example, while I was in London there were two wildcat strikes that came to my attention. One was at a small automobile parts plant called Smith's and the other involved 32,000 Ford auto workers. In addition to this there was a threat of a teacher's strike that never materialized. The press was quite vicious in its attacks on these "illegal" strikes. In addition the press also attacked one union, the Electrical Workers, as having Communist leadership.

The radical journals carried no reports by the strikers themselves. Instead there were very lengthy analyses, which we have considered, "old radical." The separation from the workers was also apparent when one talked to these people. No matter which radical group they were in I would ask them about such things as the Smith or Ford strike, and they would say it was a good thing and they were aware of workers' struggles, but then they would switch the conversation to what they considered a more important issue, talking about the different radical groups in England, or some article in the latest Tribune, the newspaper of the left of the Labor Party.

In England the government called a conference with the trade unions to see what they could do about eliminating Communist leadership in some of the unions and so-called corruption and irresponsibility in the unions, like wildcats. For the most part the attacks against the unions have come from the press with a slight

amount of government intervention.

FRANCE

Things were on quite a different plane in France. Paris is virtually an armed city. The number of police is tremendous. They almost always walk around in groups of two or more. Some of them carry these semi-machine guns. There are patrols of six police, three on each side of the street, who walk through the neighborhoods. At least one of the six carries a Tommy gun. I don't think I would have been surprised if a tank came rolling down the street.

I didn't see as many groups as I visited in England. I did, however, meet many people, especially youth, who seemed to be very fine people. Many of them had become interested in the search for a different type of society while protesting the war in Algeria. It has been the French youth who have been in the forefront of the demonstrations against the Algerian war. I had the opportunity to meet youth from two different groups. I was impressed with their activity and dedication. Some were willing to hitchhike for a couple of days in order to distribute their literature and talk to people.

A TOTAL APPROACH

I know that to Europeans, Americans look politically backward. But it appeared to me that their concentration on individual issues helps keep them from posing a total philosophic approach. Even when you consider the Ban-the-Bomb movement, the failure to fight both Russia and America makes it so one-sided that there is no room for those who are looking for a total solution, a new society.

Only when these movements unite under and base themselves upon a philosophy which has as its basis the aspirations and thoughts of the masses, can they begin to achieve the necessary goal, a new world on new foundations.

A New Column

As it must to all youth, age has finally caught up to us. News & Letters is built upon the premise that the people must control their own destiny, must speak for themselves.

Who best could express the thoughts and aspirations of youth, than a youth? Therefore, we are proud to introduce upon this page, a new youth column and a new columnist, Eugene Walker, a student youth, who in the past has written many fine articles that have appeared on this page.

—Robert Ellery

Editor's Note: An "older" Robert Ellery will still appear in News & Letters.

Reader Questions Pamphlet On Freedom Riders

You say, "Of all the organizations participating in this historic work, we alone have 'Let The Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves,' and want to plan a pamphlet for this purpose." I don't know why journals and people like you distort and falsify the truth. I don't know why you feel the need to give the impression that you are the only organization having a democratic press and "alone" have let the Freedom Riders speak.

James Peck, Freedom Rider, member of CORE and editor of Core-lator, the IUD Digest, the N. Y. Post, and the WRL News. Need I name other Freedom Riders and the publications in which they wrote. I fail to under-

stand why people on the side of progress like News and Letters distort the truth.

C. L.

Philadelphia, Pa.

* * *

Editor's Note: As we wrote to our Philadelphia reader, our claim to be the only ones who are planning a pamphlet along the lines of our special issue of "The Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves" is not due to the fact that we alone have a "democratic press." Others have a democratic press and Jim Peck's article in the CORE-lator was the closest to our conception of having the Freedom Riders themselves speak.

However, we alone consider "speaking for themselves" the principle, the source, from which all theory flows. Two principles are here involved. One is the speaking for yourself instead of having others than the doers do the speaking "for" one. We also do not divide philosophy from experience. Just as it was the goal of Frederick Douglass as Abolitionist 100 years ago to be a whole man, so this is the aspiration of today's freedom fighters. And since we stress also that it is a continuous action, our pamphlet, while centering on the Riders, will start with the 1956 Montgomery Bus Boycott and go through the sit-ins, the wade-ins, Freedom Rides, etc. We know of no others who are projecting such a pamphlet.

The second principle is the question of not separating the theoretic and comprehensive outlook from the immediate problem. We know of no other organization which did not separate the civil rights of Negroes from those concerning radicals, labor and all other segments of our society, whereas our special Freedom Rider issue contained also the Editorial, "Civil Rights, USA, 1961" in which we showed the oneness of the fight against segregation with that of the fight against the Smith and McCarran Acts. Far from distorting the truth, News and Letters presents it, and not in isolated instances, but as the whole, and the whole which is true both nationally and internationally.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

'They Mean to Have Their Freedom'

One of the hardest problems for the white man to face is the Negro problem. He won't give up a little to let the Negro have freedom before the end of time. In every way possible, in every thing, the white leaders have found ways to solve problems for themselves. If they had a crooked road to straighten out that leads from here to hell they would build a million bridges and cut through a million mountains to do it. They would do it if they thought that would help keep the Negro down.

NOTHING FOR THEM TO DO

A lot of white and Negro people think that the times are getting better but I can't find anywhere, in books, in newspapers, where the white American leaders are willing to give up fighting to try to rule the whole world. One thing these leaders know and that is that Russia doesn't mean to let the U.S. catch up with them in the making of these big bombs. They are all willing to destroy the earth in one way or the other if they can't rule. The Russian people don't want the U.S. over them to treat them like they do the Negro citizens here—never to give them their freedom, never a place to call their home, never a place to be at rest.

It looks as if the U.S. is going backward instead of forward. Just to look at Americans, it seems like they don't know where they are going anyway. They have turned everything into Automation leaving the worker without anything to do to support himself and his family.

It looks like all the capitalists want to keep everything for themselves and not have anything to do with the poor man. But I think the capitalist leaders have gone as far as they can go, without knowing that that is as far as they can go.

There is nothing for them to do. We have to go back and finish the unfinished work of putting all the American people back to work, give the Negro people their freedom and let them go. The good book says do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Russia and the U.S. have decided to keep going on to try to get all other countries on

their side just to make dust out of each other. The capitalist in both places better stop and think before it is too late. Neither have time to tell each other to cool off and wait until they can make a bomb to destroy the other with.

The Kennedy's told the Negroes in the South and the Freedom Riders to go somewhere and cool off until he can settle things outside of the country, but he found out that it was a harder job to do than it is to help the Negro over here. He could have told the white southerner, let the Negro eat and travel where he pleases, they are not hurting anyone. Instead of telling the southerners not to jail Freedom Riders because of a Federal law prohibiting segregation in interstate travel, he let the white have his way. That won't do for these days. The Negroes mean to have their freedom.

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TWO WORLDS

TITO'S TURNABOUT

(Continued from Page 5)

For Tito, the nearness of war that may spell the doom of the Single Party State and its "world system" of state-capitalism is sufficient to make him praise his chief opponent in the Communist world: Mao Tse-Tung. Tito's "path to socialism," it is true, lasted a good deal longer than Mao's violently aborted call to "Let 100 flowers bloom. Let 100 schools of thought contend." But it was bound to come to an end with the approach of war. Now that the nearness of war may inspire the Yugoslav masses to find a truly independent class road away from state and private capitalism, their joint chaos leading to world wars, Tito must realign himself to save his rule. Therefore he accepts Russia's substitute for the class struggles at home—the designation that the struggle between the two nuclear blocs for world domination is "the class struggle of today."

For Tito that is a "must" choice. For the Yugoslav masses the war-charged transformation of the Marxist theory of liberation into the Communist practice of enslaving is something they are experienced in fighting. *See ad on p. 6 for my informal letters analyzing the new Draft Program of the Russian Communist Party and that of Lenin's Program.

THE AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

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A Morning in the Heart of Africa

By Patrice Lumumba

For a thousand years you, Negro, suffered like a beast, your ashes strewn to the wind that roams the desert.

Your tyrants built the lustrous, magic temples to preserve your soul, preserve your suffering.

Barbaric right of fist and the white right to a whip, you had the right to die, you also could weep.

In your totem they carved endless hunger, endless bonds, and even in the cover of the woods a ghastly cruel death was watching, snaky, crawling to you like branches from the holes and heads of trees embraced your body and your ailing soul.

Then they put a treacherous big viper on your chest: on your neck they laid the yoke of fire-water, they took your sweet wife for glitter of cheap pearls, your incredible riches that nobody could measure.

From your hut, the tom-toms sounded into dark of night carrying cruel laments up mighty black rivers about abused girls, streams of tears and blood, about ships that sailed to country where the little man wallows in an ant-hill and where a dollar is the king, to that damned land which they called a motherland.

There your child, your wife were ground day and night by frightful, merciless mill, crushing them in dreadful pain.

You are man like others. They preach you to believe that good white god will reconcile all men at last. By fire you grieved and sang the moaning songs of homeless beggar that sinks at stranger's doors.

And when a craze possessed you and your blood boiled through the night you danced, you moaned, obsessed by fathers' passion.

Like fury of a storm to lyrics of a manly tune a strength burst out of you for a thousand years of misery in metallic voice of jazz, in uncovered outcry that thunders through the continent in gigantic surf.

The whole world surprised woke up in panic to the violent rhythm of blood, to violent rhythm of jazz, the white man turning pallid over this new song that carries torch of purple through the dark of night.

The dawn is here, my brother, dawn! Look in our faces, a new morning breaks in our old Africa. Ours on'v will now be the land, the water, mighty rivers poor Negro was surrendering for a thousand years.

And hard torches of the sun will shine for us again they'll dry the tears in eyes and spittle on your face. The moment when you break the chains, the heavy fetters, the evil, cruel times will go never to come again.

A free and gallant Congo will arise from black soil, a free and gallant Congo—the black blossom, the black seed!

The above poem by Patrice Lumumba is reprinted from "East Europe," October, 1960. They found it on the front page of the Slovak literary weekly "Kulturny Sivot," August 13.

"... A Price Tag On Every Human Gesture."

New York—My job is so meaningless, and the people I meet as a part of my job are such fictions that my observations are clouded and distorted with indignation.

The most popular current topic of conversation among this section of the upper bourgeoisie is the great reform program being effected by the righteous city fathers in Newburgh, N. Y. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it's about time. That the country is rife with this type of chiseler and that other forward-looking communities, should immediately take steps in the same direction.

"CALLOUSED INDIFFERENCE"

It is difficult to rebut arguments of this nature because they aren't based on fact, or reason or logic, and they are utterly bereft of any human feeling or compassion. They stem rather from a pervasive resentment of some people getting something for nothing. Of course, it's not only pointless but also dangerous to reveal that the real chiselers of this society are the monopolists, the price riggers, the Madison Ave. merchandisers and the incalculable host of parasites and petty exploiters. Besides, their answers are so stock and stupid that it's painful to have to listen.

The aspect of it that bothers me more than any other is their calloused indifference and lack of human feeling for the individuals involved in circumstances of need, if not desperation. They have no idea of how hopeless a situation has to be before most people will appeal for help, and even then, of how degrading an experience it is. They have no feeling for people who are literally helpless for whatever reasons, and they are so distant from their own elemental humanity that the only hunger they can feel is their own.

SEPARATES BODY, MIND, HEART

If this sounds like a blanket condemnation, that's exactly the way it should sound. Smugness seems to be the disease of our society and there are damn few who are not infected. It's a smugness that seems to separate us from our bodies, our minds and our hearts, and its full destructive import is compellingly clear when we're forced to put a price tag on every human gesture.

When a hungry man becomes a chiseler and the welfare of a child without a father becomes an unnecessary expense, and when invalids are no longer the responsibility of everyone, I know things have to be changed.

Cab Driver

REVIEW OF AN AFRICAN TREASURY

(Edited by Langston Hughes, published by Pyramid Books, 1961, 50c)

The 35 writers whose work is represented in this anthology skilfully wield the weapon recommended by the South African poet I. W. W. Cilashe:

Your rights are going!
So pick up your pen,
Load it, load it with ink.
Sit in your chair—
Repair not to Hobo,
But fire with your pen.

Their satirical and polemical projectiles tear into the enemy, imperialism. In its death is new life, a free Africa.

Some of the poets find this new life in the old Africa of the bush. Birago Diop of Senegal listens to the voices of fire and water: "In the wind hear the sobbing of the trees, it is our forefathers breathing." F. E. K. Parkes of Ghana feels it in the dance of ghosts. Gabriel Okara imagines it as a stork, the spirit of the wind "caged in singed hair and dark skin."

IN CONTRAST to these lyrics, beautifully flowing out of native traditions, are the ironically self-conscious poems of Wole Soyinka about unhappy immigrants in London and Leopold Senghor's "To the American Negro Troops," which is an original synthesis, in form and idea, of native and European traditions.

The fiction, similarly, ranges from myths about a sacred marriage and demon child to realistic stories of imperialistic oppression.

Unlike African Voices (reviewed in News & Letters, January, 1961), Hughes' anthology contains a good many expository pieces as well as poetry and fiction. There are several informative essays on recent African political developments, on African songs and poetry, on the movies' treatment of Africa. Can Themba has written with "star-scattering" realism of the slums of Sophiatown, where much of the revolutionary action and thought of South Africa was bred. Phyllis Ntantala explains how the South African migratory labor system splits up families, causing widowhood and encouraging prostitution and homosexuality.

One can begin to understand the searing irony of Bloke Modisane's confession of cowardice in "Why I Ran Away." After analyzing the totalitarian laws of South Africa, he explains:

"I knew that I had to run, or lose my temper and even my sanity . . . I was blinded by the violence of the oppression and could not reconcile my feelings with the ANC policy of nonviolence in the face of violence . . . I felt the relentless inevitability of the clash, the direct immediacy of blood . . ."

In one of the most moving and insightful political essays, Peter Abrahams relates his trip to the Gold Coast just before independence. After meeting Richard Wright, who "found the African an oblique, a hard-to-know man," he visited Nkrumah, with whom, some years before, in London, he had worked in the Pan-African Federation, of which Johnstone (later Jomo) Kenyatta had been the leader.

Kenyatta, who had been "the most relaxed, sophisticated and 'westernized' of the lot," had scoffed at Nkrumah's suggestion that they take a blood oath for the liberation of Africa. Ironically, Nkrumah, after winning power in Ghana, found it neces-

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

INHUMAN CONDITIONS

I received a letter from a friend in Detroit describing the symptoms of a man, in the fifties who has worked on an auto assembly belt line for many years. On this job there is plenty of exhausting physical labor as well as tension and stress from a continuous drive to keep up with the mechanical monster, Automation. He now has headaches and high blood pressure, lacks energy, is nervous and has abdominal pain as well as constipation and diarrhea.

He has seen a number of doctors, and among other things has been told that he has colitis. Diets and medicines haven't helped much. I gather he is disgusted with some doctors and has sought advice from nature healers and other questionable dispensers of medical advice.

FACTORY EFFECTS

Some of the doctors are aware of the close relationship of the malfunctioning of the heart, the blood vessels, the kidneys, colon and other organs to the inhuman conditions, in the "normal" factory where this man is serving time, that is taking the best part of his life and health. But are they truly interested in the effects of the increasing speed of the automated belt line, the jarring noises, the critical eye of the foreman, the heat, the fumes, the existence of only two 10 or 12 minute breaks in which to perform necessary body functions that will not wait—with only a few available toilets for several hundred men? Management certainly knows of these things which they consider right and proper in a way of life where most men's lives are used to accumulate profit for others.

SURGERY POSSIBLE

I heard an English surgeon describe an operation for severe ulcerative colitis that he has performed with good results on several hundred patients. In the U. S. surgeons have hesitated to remove the colon or large bowel and unite the end of the small bowel to the remaining diseased rectum. Doctors, doing what is usual and customary here, fearing criti-

sary to blast tribalism, in which blood oaths are essential. Talking in his cool office, they did not touch upon Kenyatta, but Abrahams recalled how, in 1952, he had found him in the bush, "forced . . . back into the tribalism from which he had so painfully freed himself over the years . . . For me, Kenyatta became that night a man who in his own life personified the terrible tragedy of Africa and the terrible secret war that rages in it. He was the victim both of tribalism and of westernism gone sick."

—M. Gibson

cism, have continued to sacrifice the rectum, removing it as well as the colon, and bringing the end of the bowel out on the surface of the abdomen as an ileostomy. Of course not all colitis or bowel inflammation requires such drastic surgery. Most of it does not progress to ulceration.

A DOCTOR'S GRIEVANCE

Suits of patients against physicians charging malpractice continue to increase. Most of these are unjustified and false. Where sincere, they frequently indicate gross ignorance of, or lack of concern with the problems and pressures under which the American doctor works. The consequences of this growing tendency to hire a lawyer have been a tremendous increase in professional liability insurance rates, and a cautiousness and hesitation of physicians in carrying out their work.

Surgeons in particular, in some parts of the U. S., in order to feel "safe" pay out from 5 to 10 per cent of their income for malpractice protection. This serves to fatten further our already huge insurance corporations whose existence is purely parasitic. In some ways, this strikes me as no different from "protection pay-off" to gangsters. But then these are legitimate pirates who are in fact built into our present society.

More important than the increased insurance rate however is the braking action introduced into medical practice. There is a curbing of the physician's natural tendency to search, to try, to act in a field where so much is unknown. Some doctors will not consider newer procedures or new drugs against even such disease as cancer. Many doctors now do not stop at the scene of an auto accident to give first aid for fear of legal entanglements resulting from giving incomplete or questionable treatment.

I was thinking of this last week when at a surgical meeting.

The average doctors says that he is helpless to change present conditions of work. Still he gives moral and heavy financial support to the American Medical Association lobbies in Washington and for advertising over all channels of communications to fight any change from what exists today.

There is a wisdom to the protests of local areas of our body which it would be well for the whole organism to follow. The colon rebels and protests with spasm, ulceration and even shedding of its lining. Eventually in some cases even cancer develops. The organ will not go on indefinitely under inhuman conditions. There is today a great concern with freedom everywhere. This is no more than the need of a living being to function in wholeness.

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Auto Workers Tell Reuther: "Local" Grievances Are National

(Continued from Page 1)

but when they got the production they wanted they'd let you alone. Now, they never let you alone. They don't time the men, they time the machine. They time the machine as fast as it can go, and the man has got to keep up every second.

"Since the last model change every job is so fast it's fantastic. Last year, a job might be 92 pieces an hour. On the 1962 models the same kind of job is 260 pieces an hour. It's not just 260 pieces an hour, it's timed to 14 seconds each job—and they force you to get top production to the last second. The foreman forces you to work from whistle to whistle—and with each whistle they steal an extra 40 seconds of work from you.

"They won't let you stop to talk about it with the committeeman. They tell you to file a grievance, and after the fourth stage, it's supposed to go all the way to the International. You just have to wait and see what the Company and the International will do about it. You can die waiting.

"It's totally inhuman. I feel burnt across my chest all the time now. Even when I shave, or wash my face, or lie in bed at night, I feel the heat of the welding rod burning me all over."

WORKERS ANSWER SEATON

In a public statement, Reuther said, that GM had become a "gold-plated sweatshop." He criticized GM for thinking that a man has become their property from the minute he punches the timeclock. This, he said, is not free labor.

"What Reuther said is true," an auto worker said, "But what's he going to do about it?"

Just as Reuther used "democracy" to overrule the National GM Council, so he reduced the question of better working conditions that workers are fighting for to only the question of 24 minutes of relief time.

GM's Seaton, who acted as though he had been betrayed in a gentleman's agreement because GM had not been able to stockpile parts for the 1962 model in preparation for a strike, could well snort contemptuously that it was outrageous that production be disrupted because of a "toilet dispute."

The next day the GM workers answered Seaton. More than 250,000 of them walked out nationally, over 120,000 of them in Michigan alone. The strike shut down all the Buick, Olds, and Pontiac plants in the country; 10 out of the 12 Chevrolet plants; and half of the 25 Fisher plants.

When GM finally agreed to the 24 minutes, not an extra minute was gained, but Reuther called it a victory.

"Every time Reuther sells the auto workers out, he calls it a victory," a carpenter said. "If you just stop and figure out how much time you need on any kind of job, just to get a drink of water or go to the toilet when you have to, you know it takes almost a whole 24 minutes just walking to and from the rest room. It's an insult to human dignity to tell a man that he has only got 24 minutes of relief when he is killing himself on the job."

An auto worker said, "They don't have relief men if you need extra relief. You have to ask the foreman. Maybe he'll let you go and maybe he won't. If he lets you go, 20 seconds after you get to the rest room another foreman suddenly has to wash his hands and follows

you in to check on you. They never used our rest rooms before; they had their own. If you do get the emergency relief today, and you ask for it again tomorrow, you are on the spot and are subject to being laid off."

IGNORE STRIKEBREAKER ARTHUR GOLDBERG

On Sept. 14, Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg called on the workers go back to work—in the "national interest." He followed this up the next day with another exhortation that workers return by Monday, Sept. 18, because "the nation is just emerging from a recession . . . It is obviously not in the national interest to have a prolonged shut-down in auto."

Goldberg, like Reuther, is a master of substitution. He dared speak of emergence from recession to auto workers who have seen their numbers slashed from a million in 1955 to half-a-million in 1961.

In his appeal to a national interest, which evidently excludes the specific interests of the auto workers, this influence peddler was pushing his interference in the affairs of the rank-and-file to further his reported determination to outlaw strikes. He has been quoted as saying, "We have to preserve the right to strike, but we don't want this right to be exercised."

At this point Reuther began to pressure the locals for an immediate return to work. Nevertheless, as of Sept. 17, 90 GM plants were still closed and 238,000 workers were still out. Reuther and Seaton worked to hammer out a final national agreement. Then he met his unexpected rebuff from the national council. Venting his full anger against the striking locals he forced their local committees to come to Detroit for a speedy conclusion of disputes.

He singled out the rebellious West Mifflin local for special attention by threatening to discipline them if they continued to hold out.

Piously appealing to the democratic will of the membership, Reuther again twisted words by promising to revamp national negotiation procedure by 1964 in an effort to prevent any further such upsets from being handed to him by the ranks.

STRIKE MARKS NEW STAGE

In spite of the sellout, the workers have won a victory. They forced Reuther's hand not only in face of the pressure he put on them but also against the increasingly naked pressure of government intervention.

Work discipline now means something new. It is not only the threat of disciplinary suspension, but as a worker said, "If a worker does something on the job, he may lose his job altogether." It means not only speed-up but intimidation and physical and emotional exhaustion. It means that all the old workers will be eliminated or destroyed, and will be replaced by young workers who will themselves become old in two years. The American workers are facing the problem nationally in this age of Automation.

The strikes around the new contract did not mark the end of the struggle. On the contrary, they mark the beginning of a new stage of struggle in which the so-called non-economic factors, that is, conditions of labor, will predominate over all other questions.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

The 23 countries whose representatives gathered in Belgrade under the auspices of Tito, seem to have little in common, unless non-membership in either the Russian or American power bloc creates a common denominator. Such unlikely bedfellows as Emperor Haile Selassie, the Kings of Nepal and Morocco, dagger-wearing slave-owning Arab Princes sat with the President of Cuba, African Prime Ministers and Communist Tito. That even the non-membership in either nuclear power bloc is only nominal was proven by their altogether too controlled "shock" when Khrushchev unilaterally decided to resume nuclear testing.

Tito suddenly found that he understood the "reason" behind the atomic blast. Nkrumah's shock was tempered by the parroting of every fundamental Russian position on the Berlin crisis. It goes without saying that President Dorticos of Cuba wholly approved the Russian action, blasting away only at one of the imperialist blocs, America. But then who chose to list Cuba as

"neutral" or "non-aligned"? Even Nehru of India who spoke out more forcefully than any against all who would thrust us into a nuclear holocaust did not dare to name Russia as the one who has restarted the nuclear race.

The bourgeois press has since had a holiday blasting away at the non-neutral attitude of the neutrals, accusing one and all of bowing to the atomic terror. The tragedy of the conference is not that they bowed to atomic terror, but that they almost disregarded it, as if they could escape the nuclear holocaust. The tragedy is that the majority of the newly independent nations seemed to be moving away from the independent path on which they had started, and moved instead into the orbit of state-capitalism. If they consider that path of "more rapid industrial growth" to be the way out, then the illusion is fatal indeed.

The irony of the Belgrade Conference is that it was originally conceived by Tito as a move away from Moscow domination. It was, practically until the day the con-

ference opened, attacked by Khrushchev. None of the Russian satellites was more anti-Titoist than Ulbricht of East Germany. Yet as the delegates began to arrive the week the East Berlin sector was sealed off, Ulbricht sent a delegation to see Tito. Whether it was actual information about the soon-to-be-resumed nuclear testing, or only mutual anti-West German hostility, it worked like magic. Tito buried very nearly all his differences in his chauvinistic anti-German harangue. Was he thus finding his path back to the fold because he felt that his anti-Stalin independent stand must come to an end because a world war was once again near?

Meanwhile Kennedy too has resumed testing, for the time being only underground. While Khrushchev is poisoning the air with atomic fall-out, Kennedy is poisoning it with dollar imperialism. He has announced that from now on financial assistance to the underdeveloped economies would be done along the lines of those who "agreed" with the American view of the world crisis.

THE BERLIN CRISIS

The dangerous crisis that has built a concrete wall across the city of Berlin, over which cannon water and tear gas bombs are thrown by opposing armed troops, can lead at any moment into a shooting war.

Berlin has become a symbol of many things: of a war that never ended, of a city divided between East and West, of the German people herded into two camps by their conquerors, both refusing to grant free independent expression of opinion which would lead to a unified Germany conducting its own affairs.

The thousands who fled East Germany daily attest to the miserable economic conditions there. The suicide rate since the border was closed indicates a sense of despair.

The latest news that they may be forcibly evacuated

from the border zone shows that even with a walled barricade, arms, tanks, state power to enforce economic norms in the factory and stop the flow of valuable labor away from East Germany, Ulbricht still fears another East German uprising.

At the same time everyone from Kennedy to Willy Brandt kept asking the East Germans not to rise up at this "inopportune" time, for on both sides of the Iron Curtain the powers that be want, not a revolution, but the status quo. Yet it is the status quo which has produced the crisis, even though its timing was manufactured by Khrushchev. Now both sides seem poised for war.

JOMO KENYATTA

After 9 years of imprisonment by the British Government, Jomo Kenyatta has been released and returns to the political life of Kenya.

He was imprisoned at the height of the Mau-Mau uprising and held as a hostage by the British who slaughtered thousands of his followers; yet, because of the mass influence he had with the vast majority of the people of Kenya, they never dared to execute him.

After Kenya was promised freedom and an election was held, Tom Mboya and the others elected refused to form a government so long as Kenyatta remained in Jail. So strong was the appeal of Kenyatta that the British first brought him back, built him a house to replace the one they burned down, but still denied him a chance to participate in politics. Now even that restriction has been removed, due solely to mass pressure.

The Kenyatta story is a strong object lesson showing the power that lies behind a well organized mass movement.

Can't Do Good Job

The companies say that workers should buy what they produce, but the way we are building these cars I would be afraid to ride in one. The work is so fast you never have time to do your work half right. I'd be afraid that if I took one on the expressway and stepped on the gas, the motor would fall out right in the road.

I have been welding for 15 years and I know when I weld right. This year's model, all I have made is scrap. I have made so much of it I honestly do not believe that I can make a good weld any more. They say that 80% of welding is practice, and I am completely out of practice. I get sick looking at my own work, but what can we do—it passes us so fast we can only drag a rod across it.

Chrysler Worker
Detroit

An Appeal to Our Readers

came in as follows:

A woman in California sent in \$10. A minister in Illinois sent in \$10, a friend in Pittsburgh \$50, a picnic in Detroit raised \$30, a check from N.Y. for \$20, and several checks for \$1 and \$2. In a shop in Detroit \$7.00 was collected, \$6.80 was collected at a meeting in upstate Michigan, an old socialist in N.Y. sent in \$2. The Los Angeles local of News & Letters has pledged to raise \$200 through public meetings and from friends. On September 22, Miss Inghram spoke at a meeting in Los Angeles which

contributed \$26.50 to the pamphlet. Advance orders have come from Italy and England.

The cost of 5,000 copies of a 64 page pamphlet is \$1,080. Thanksgiving is the deadline that we have set for ourselves so that the pamphlet can be of most use to those who are still languishing in Southern jails. To help end discrimination in interstate travel and to fight for freedom here, please send your contribution to us. Fill out the form below and urge your friends to do likewise.

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