

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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EDITORIAL

Meany, Reuther, McDonald Shun Negro Rights, Stunt Union Growth

Through the medium of TV, the whole world witnessed the despicable spectacle of white labor, with the assistance of the police of Philadelphia, break through the mass picket line of Negroes. The president of the AFL-CIO, Mr. George Meany, who can, in the abstract, wax with righteous indignation, could not, in the concrete, find his tongue. Obviously, anti-Negro, strike-breaking activity failed to arouse in him the passion he has shown for "clean unionism" when he railed against "Hoffa's corruption."

SINGLY AND COLLECTIVELY

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy must answer why, in facing the Building Trades Unions, has it "misplaced" the International powers of expulsion that were so freely wielded against the Teamsters' Union? This self-induced blindness against the plumbers', steam fitters', tile setters', boiler workers' and electricians' unions is not confined to conservative leaders like Meany. It extends to a "moderate" like David McDonald who thinks that sending a \$5,000 check to the Jackson, Miss. Freedom Fighters, will absolve him of what he isn't doing to carry out the resolution of the United Steelworkers Union "to fight to secure equality of treatment for all workers, Negro and white . . . in industrial employment and promotion, in vocational training, in union leadership and service . . ."

And it comprises "radicals" like Walter Reuther, that master of substitution, who thinks that marching on Sunday will be accepted by the Negroes in the UAW for his not doing anything, Mondays through Fridays. Singly and collectively these labor leaders have long since forgotten that they could not have succeeded in organizing the CIO if it had not been for the support of the Negroes. Singly and collectively they cannot run from that question now.

REUTHER MOVES BACKWARD

When it is "programs" he is triggering, Walter Reuther has always been a fast one on the draw. Just as, throughout the war, he was vying with management in presenting Plans to the government on how to convert consumer-producing plants for war production, meanwhile chaining labor with his no-strike pledge, so now, having done nothing either to upgrade the Negro in the shop or give him responsible executive positions in the union, he telegraphs President Kennedy a "7 Point Rights Plan." But Rights, more urgently than charity, should begin at home. And at home, for the president of the UAW, should, rightly, be the UAW.

What has he done about lily-white departments in the plants over which the UAW has jurisdiction? Isn't it true that these departments couldn't exist if the labor bureaucracy were not in collusion with management? Isn't it true that, far from eliminating their existence, he bases his power on the skilled workers who nurture these lily-white departments? When, last, were Negroes upgraded? When retrained? And when given an important job in the UAW hierarchy?

Isn't it true that, as Automation cuts the labor force, one out of every 10 Negro workers, as against one out of every 20 white workers, is unemployed; and that, among production workers, Negro unemployment is as high as 30 per cent where white unemployment is 15 per cent? Haven't Negroes and production workers, in fact, become very nearly synonymous? Instead of seeking new paths of glory in "organizing white collar workers, including engineers," isn't it time Reuther put his own union in order? Even one whose head is so full of programs for others to carry out should know that "engineers" will join his new-fangled "Industrial Department" when that becomes a force. It can become a force only by organizing the mass of unskilled, unorganized workers, by letting down the barriers so that Negroes knocking on union doors can swell union ranks.

NAACP MOVES FORWARD

At the last meeting of the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO, Meany denounced the NAACP for attacking its "labor friends" with "false" charges of discrimination and demands for decertification of union locals. A. Philip Randolph of the NALC tried to be both for the union president on the question of decertification and for the NAACP in pointing up discrimination within unions. The self-activity of the Negroes moved the whole question over to a higher level by mass picket lines.

Now that the NAACP has correctly moved from appeals for union decertification to mass actions, that loud mouth, Meany, keeps mum.

THE ADMINISTRATION CHANNEL

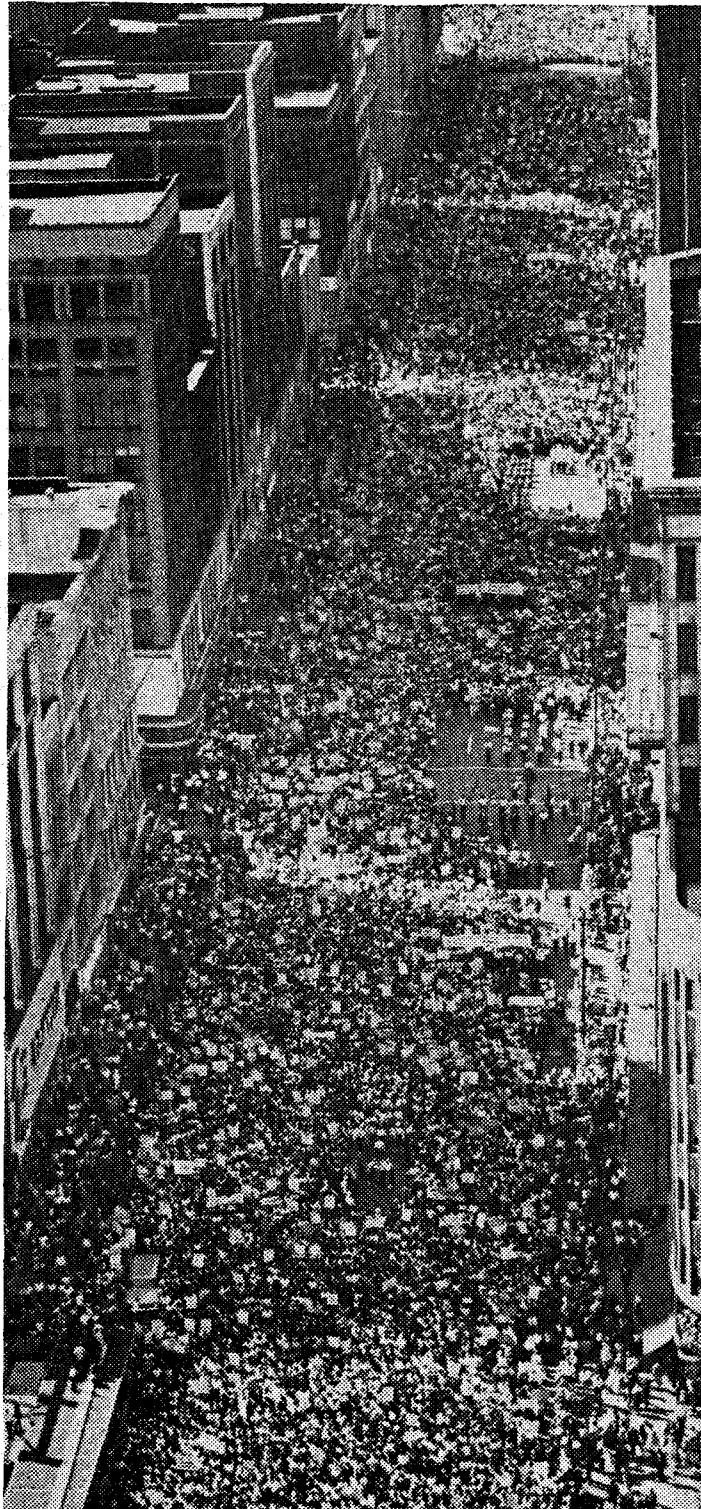
Having been pushed by the surge of Negro self-activity to get off the dead center of tokenism and do-nothingness in legislation, President Kennedy is now moving to stifle the spontaneity, stop the momentum, channelize the action and the dream of Freedom Now into the filibustering halls of Congress where the hollow slogans of democracy have droned on for nearly 200 years without ever coming close to making the ringing words of equality in the Declaration of Independence a reality. He has asked the Negroes not to march on Washington while his proposals for weak rights legislation will be further emasculated. As for his Executive Order against discrimination on construction jobs where federal funds are being expended, he was only too glad to have it directed, in the first instance, against a union in the North. Whether he will be as quick to enforce it against management and powerful reactionaries (misnamed "States Righters") remains to be seen. But this is not really the question here.

(Continued on Page 4)

American Civilization on Trial

Quarter Million March in Detroit As Freedom Fight Sweeps Onward

In wave after wave, upwards of a quarter of a million Freedom Marchers thronged downtown Detroit on Sunday afternoon, June 23, to "Walk to Freedom" in the most massive human rights demonstration yet seen in the United States. Overwhelmingly Negro, the marchers paraded down Woodward Avenue, the city's main thoroughfare, in ranks that stretched eight lanes from curb to curb as far north as the eye could see.



—Photo by The Detroit News

If ever the rank-and-file were well ahead of their leaders, this was true on June 23rd not only figuratively but literally. The momentum of the demonstration had moved so far forward that those who were supposed to lead it had to puff and pant, with the aid of a police escort, through almost a mile of orderly ranks in order to catch up with the head of the parade.

In less than half an hour the huge municipal convention center, Cobo Hall, was filled to capacity—and still ten times as many more arrived with signs and banners proclaiming Freedom NOW! The marchers crowded the vast grounds around the rallying point at the foot of the Detroit River, across which so many of their forbearers fled from slavery to Canada on the opposite shore. They weren't looking to past history, they were assembled to make history today. Typical of their placards is one that read: "1863-1963: Too Long! We're Not Waiting! NOW!"

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., flew in to tell the story of Birmingham and to lead the "Walk to Freedom" which was sponsored by the Detroit Council for Human Rights. Though scores of Negro and interracial organizations, religious, fraternal, political and trade union, supported the demonstration, not even the most optimistic expected over half of the multitude of men, women and children who turned out with such spontaneous enthusiasm and self-discipline.

TRIBUTE TO EVERS, TOO

Four days before the march, the martyred Medgar Evers was buried with military honors in Arlington National Cemetery. The masses of Greater Detroit, more than 250,000 strong, poured into their streets the following Sunday to pay their greater tribute to Evers' memory and the cause in which he fell.

An estimated 60,000, or nearly one-third, of Michigan's auto workers are Negroes who nationally number about 185,000 of the total membership of the United Automobile Workers of America. As the flood-tide of Negro revolt reached such a crest in Detroit, not only did the Motor City demonstrate its support of the struggle in industrial Birmingham, it put Government, Business and Labor on notice that actions speak louder than words. (For the challenge to Labor, read the Editorial, page 1, column 1 and 2.)

This massive outpouring of human protest, now surging with unprecedented speed from South to North and back, is proof of the new stage reached by the Negroes' self-activity (Continued on Page 8)

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Racism Divides; Unity Is Needed

The UAW-CIO was organized as one of America's first industrial trade unions, dedicated to the struggle, by principle, against discrimination of any member because of his race, creed, color or political affiliation. The last was dropped long ago as a principle, and many members, especially Negro workers, will say that by now all the other principles have been pushed to the back or dropped also.

In the early days of the UAW, many white workers, fresh from the deep South, with prejudice and hate against Negroes, soon adjusted themselves to these principles. They supported Negroes, in many instances against whites who were running for some elected post in the union, if they felt the Negro was better qualified for the position. They soon learned through their own experience, and what unionism taught them, that solidarity and unity, based on a worker's ability was the only way to build and maintain a strong union.

UNION POLITICIANS BRING IN RACISM

As the leaders began to see, however, that Automation was becoming a slow death to workers, they began to "politic" and campaign along individual lines: you should vote for me because I am better than the other guy. And when the Negroes in the South began to move forward from the Montgomery Bus Boycott, to the Sit-Ins, the Freedom Rides, a new form of whispering campaign among white union politicians began: vote for me because the Negroes want to take over.

As one worker said, "This is where the process of elimination of Negroes in my local union began. We could see Negroes losing their positions everywhere—some of them had carried top votes in the elections, year after year." He said that after the election of two years ago only one Negro committeeman was left, and many workers felt that was only because his skin was almost white. It was in that election that one white worker, who could not get enough support to make shop committeeman, defeated a Negro who had held the post of Recording Secretary in Local 212. It was such a slap in the face of every Negro that they declared they would do something about it in the next election.

PROMISES SOUND CONVINCING

That "next election" was held several weeks ago. Prior to the election, the Negroes were trying to organize a boycott of the elections. They said they were in the minority, so why not let whites only be put on both slates. They were saying, "Let them tell the white workers about what white workers want. They only want a Negro name on the slate to get Negro votes, but they will whisper among the whites not to vote for the Negroes."

This shook the white union leaders to the bottom of their feet. They cried out that this could be the most damaging thing the union ever suffered; that it could lead to the break-up of the whole local. They insisted they were not biased, and said, "We will show you that the Negroes on our slate will get elected this time." As one Negro said, "Their story sounded so convincing, I believed they really were going to do everything they could to get the Negroes elected."

Both slates wanted to get their Negroes elected, because they wanted to say to the Negroes: you see, we are not prejudiced, but the opposition is because they did not elect their Negro. The election was held during the Birmingham, Alabama crisis, this time. No Negro from the local's largest plant got elected. In fact, even the light-skinned Negro lost. They had run him for Recording Secretary on the all-powerful Reuther slate. Another Negro ran for the same position on the opposition Rank-and-File slate. The same white man who won in the last election ran independent—alone, by himself—for Recording Secretary.

There are half a dozen or more small plants in that local. Some are called units, some are skilled plants with practically no Negroes. They have memberships from 85 to 1000 workers.

VOTE RESULTS IN RUN-OFF

Since there were three candidates running, there had to be a run-off between this white man and the Reutherite Negro, because no one had received the two-thirds majority required to get elected on a first ballot. Leaders of both slates said they would unite behind the Negro, simply because they realized that this was such an open form of discrimination.

The run-off was a week later. The white man won by more than 300 votes, and they said he even carried Mack Plant. Many Negro and white union leaders alike wondered how it was possible. The whites said that they would take any oath on earth to prove they tried and wanted to get the Negroes elected.

And one Negro said, "I believe them. We could see that they did try in this election. But what happened, happened before this election."

PAST SET PRESENT STAGE

He said, "You leaders have been campaigning on individual and racial lines in the previous two elections. You have set the minds of these white workers against Negroes to such an extent that when you sincerely wanted to reverse it this time you could not. The white man got elected because you, and other white leaders like you, set the stage for him along racial lines. If this local union deteriorates to nothing, or blows up along racial issues, it will not be the Negroes or even the white workers who are most to blame, but you leaders."

If anyone wanted to take a look, they could see the role of the white leaders throughout the South who are mainly responsible for that crisis, too.

TIRED OF THEORY WITHOUT PRACTICE

The leadership is now asking what they can do to combat the problem. The feeling is high in the union about the situation. An International Representative suggested reverting back to some educational along Civil Rights lines. But Negroes will not stop with speeches and discussions. They want action. They are tired of theory without putting it into practice.

Reuther and his supporters can give revolutionary speeches to the world on Negro rights in America, but are face-to-face with many forms of discrimination within the plants of the UAW. There are departments from which white production workers are barred, as well as Negroes.

The Negroes in Local 212, as well as in other UAW locals, see the Negro struggle in the South and throughout the entire country, as their struggle—along with those whites who recognize it.

Italian Null Votes Grow

TURIN, Italy—While foreign papers followed the recent Italian election and reported the results, what certainly hasn't been reported is the total of the blank and null votes cast. While the following figures are not yet official it is very difficult to get even these.

In the Senate elections, there were 865,992 blank and 519,183 null votes cast, for a total of 1,385,105 or 4.8% of the vote; in the Parliament elections there were 582,237 blank and 473,845 null votes cast, for a total of 1,956,082 or 3.3% of the vote. Compared to 1958 results, there has been a visible increase in the blank and null votes cast, especially in the Parliament vote, which rose by a half per cent.

Other election results revealed that the Monarchists have practically disappeared, while the fascists have only slightly gained; together the two extreme right wing parties in Parliament have fallen from 9.6% to less than 7%.

The Liberals, as everyone expected, nearly doubled their votes. The four center-left parties dropped from 62.5% to 59.5%, but the loss in Parliament seats is practically reduced to nothing.

The Communists are the real "unexpected" winners of the general election. While it was thought they would gain some votes, the 2.5% increase in Parliament was not expected.

Other elections held in May throughout Italy before the general election, however, produced results which may be even more significant. In these, workers voted for their factory representatives, and the blank and null votes were even more prevalent, amounting to a general 10%, and a decided increase over the last elections held. This increase represents a diminishing faith in the workers toward

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

June 23, A Part of History-Making

Sunday, June 23, is a day I shall never forget as long as I live. That was the day of the mass civil rights rally, the March for Freedom in which I, with hundreds of thousands of others, took part. We marched down Woodward Ave. to Cobo Hall and I was never so happy in my life. I wish it was possible to explain all my feelings about it.

I have lived in Detroit for 20 years. Downtown Woodward Ave., is as common to me as my own house. But I did not feel as if I was on that street. I felt as though I was with all the Negroes in America, and some whites, going to get a reward that all of us have been waiting for all our lives.

There is a saying that there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I felt as if we were near the end of that rainbow Sunday when some man in line said to me, "Do you know there are a quarter of a million people marching with us, and we are all making history today."

I never dreamed that I would be any part of history-making. But no historian could be more thrilled than I was. The marching, the singing, the bands playing—we were moving forward toward freedom. It seemed as if I could reach out and touch it, and nothing was going to stop me from going to the end of the journey. When I could see women with babies in their arms, and men with small children on their backs, straddling their necks, it gave me a determination I never had in my life.

PEOPLE HANDLED SELVES

I saw people marching whom I had not seen for many long years. Some I did not know

their so-called leaders, and especially in the Communist-dominated unions.

were even alive. Sometimes I felt we were in another world. I laughed whenever I saw a policeman. They looked so helpless. Some looked frightened, and some tried to look human for the first time in their lives. I read later in the papers that the Police Commissioner congratulated them for their fine job of handling the crowd. The people handled themselves, not the police. This whole force of police could not have handled that crowd.

One man said we should be marching into Birmingham on our way to Mississippi, that this is what it would take to beat Bull Connor and his fire hoses and police dogs. Another said that we should be walking up to the Capitol at Jackson, Miss. to face Governor Barnett.

When we got to Cobo Hall I felt sick. I guess it was the excitement. I sat to listen to the speakers, outside on the lawn, and then got up and came home. Everytime I saw a Negro family sitting on a porch or saying that they did not march, I got mad at them.

'YOU DON'T HAVE TO WAIT'

The next day a white boy, nine years old, who lives next door, brought my paper to me. When I showed him the pictures of Woodward Ave., and how the people were jammed so tight together they looked like bees, he asked me, "Did you get your freedom yesterday?" I had to say no. "Why not?" he asked. When I told him it was just a rally to start fighting for our freedom and to help others in the South to get theirs, he said, "With all those people in that picture, you should have gotten it yesterday. With that many people you don't have to wait for anything." I felt that way when I was marching.

That night I listened to a transcript on the radio of Rev. King's speech. It was terrific to me, especially when he referred to the Muslims.

BLACK AND WHITE—TOGETHER

I have always had my doubts about whites, except those I know personally. But when I saw those whites who were in the demonstration and marching with us—I am not speaking about those white politicians who were looking for votes and prestige among Negroes; I am not speaking about union politicians, either, but those common working-class whites and young school-age whites—when I saw them and heard some of the things they said, I knew it was one of the greatest marches that has ever taken place in the struggle for freedom.

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Who Signed Enslavement Proclamation?

DETROIT, Mich.—Lincoln signed the Proclamation freeing the slaves, but who signed the proclamation enslaving us again?

I call it the unsigned proclamation, this one that chains the man to a machine on a production line.

Since the 12-minute rest period was negotiated in the last contract, your personal relief is not determined by your physical needs at any particular time. It is determined by the time clock. One period in the morning; one in the afternoon. Before you had a relief man. When that "rest" period was negotiated, he was put to work. The relief man now needs relief, just like the rest of the workers on the line.

As for a drink of water, well, you sure don't get it if you don't have a water bottle to take to your machine that

you have filled up before you get to work and refill it during break periods.

The simplest needs of a human being do not enter into production at all—and you'd better not act like they have a place there, either. Only one thing is there — production; production and the time clock to measure it in seconds and fractions of a

Workers Fight; Doctors Sign

TURIN, Italy—The doctors of the various health services have been negotiating for months for better conditions for themselves and for their patients. They called a strike.

The workers protested. They pay for their health service and they want to be cured. The climax was reached on April 17 and on the following day in Taranto in southern Italy when groups of workers went on strike and started protesting, which resulted in violent clashes with police all over the city.

BUILD BARRICADES

On the morning of April 18, the workers occupied the streets and the squares; they blocked the bridge which joins the two parts of the city and started building barricades.

They finally fell back into the "old city," practically inhabited only by workers, and resisted for the whole day against the police forces. The battle ended with several wounded and many workers arrested.

The workers, however, have once again shown that their entrance into the battle decides it immediately, for on that same day, in Rome, a first agreement is reached between the doctors and the directors of the health services.

COMMUNISTS OPPOSE

An interesting thing is that the Communists and trade union activists in Taranto openly invited the workers to "keep calm," and tried in all ways to stop the protests. L'Unita (paper of the Communist Party in Italy) even made it understood in its articles that the riots were started and kept alive by "provokers" and workers with no "class consciousness."

Obviously these events must be examined remembering that southern Italy is still going through a process of transformation from an agricultural, underdeveloped region, into an industrialized, fully developed area. Such a change, although carefully kept under control by the capitalists and the state bureaucracy, can nevertheless produce sharp explosions, and others can be expected to occur.

second. And no matter how much you produce, it's never enough.

SPEED-UP ARTISTS

Even if you think you're killing yourself trying to get the quota (and you really are), the company will prove to you that you're not doing what you can. They'll get another guy on your machine to show you how much more you can get. Maybe the first guy they get won't get as much as you, maybe the second guy won't and maybe the third guy won't, but they'll keep at it until they find someone who can do more for a short time—and this is proof that you can really do more, and your production for the whole day is now supposed to match what was done for a short while.

One comparison between conditions now and 10-12 years ago (there are many others) has to do with the terrible heat that we sometimes have here. Years ago when a heat wave hit, a worker could go home when it became unbearable without being penalized — and very often half or more of the shop would go home.

The heat today is just as great as it was before — if not greater. But now you'd better not think about going home. Not only that, because on top of the heat the foreman is always there ramming you with the production rod.

The question is: where can we turn for relief? We know the company's there for production, so that's out. The union helped at one time, but now you have to wonder who's pushing you the most some times, the company or the union, so there's no hope there now. That leaves only one thing left: you and me on that line. If we don't get together to change our conditions, nobody will.

50 Women Faint From Heavy Work Speed-Up

Fifty women working in a department at Siemens (Milan) fainted one after the other over their work, between 9 and 11 in the morning. Six months before, the department had been "rationalized", and the production line had kept being sped up every moment, from then on. (It is concerned with the production of telephone stations).

Previously many other women had already fainted, but at a lower rate—two or three a day. There had been many protests from the workers; but these stopped as soon as the Commissione Interna started negotiations with the directors. From what I know, after an immediate strike as soon as the workers heard of the fact, and three days of ardent articles in L'Unita (P.C.I.'s daily paper), everything went back to normal.

ON THE LINE

You Can't Divide Scarcity, But We Can Change Things

DETROIT, Mich.—The mass movement for freedom was shown in all of its glory here in Detroit on June 23. I have marched many times in the Army and in other big parades, so marching was not new to me.

But to march for freedom gave me a sense of belonging to all those who cherish freedom. I know many people marched for different reasons, but whatever their grievances were, it all added up to FREEDOM—HERE AND NOW! For the first time, Detroit, the "Arsenal of Democracy," was under seige by its citizens—Negro and white—all marching together for truth, freedom, justice and equality.

I have had some opportunity to talk to many workers in the shop about the demonstration and what it meant to them. Almost invariably, the discussions got around to the problem of employment, or more correctly, unemployment.

By now it must be perfectly clear to everybody that the Negroes' demand for equal employment opportunity can no

longer be satisfied by the empty lip service that has been practiced by labor and party politicians for so many years. There is only one reason why this is so—and it is very important to understand that it all has to do with HERE AND NOW! because this is precisely the idea the Negroes are acting on.

HOW DIVIDE SCARCITY?

But the question that comes up is: How can you divide up scarcity? There are over 5 million workers unemployed; there are hundreds of thousands who haven't had a job in years; there are hundreds of thousands of youth every year who are added to the permanent army of the unemployed; and Automation, with its twin of speed-up, keeps on throwing hundreds of thousands more out of work. And it is a fact that many workers today—both white and Negro—have taken in whole families of relatives because no one in the family had a job, and the one job keeps them all.

Sure the Negroes are in the news. They're acting. But unemployment isn't just a Negro problem, it's also the problem of the white worker. Neither the Negro nor the white worker can solve the problem alone.

We know enough about history to know that the two greatest periods in America when the whole of society was changed the most in the direction of more freedom for all came when Negroes and whites united to fight for a better life—during the Civil War and in the organization of the CIO in the '30s.

MUST GO FURTHER NOW

The fact is, however, that we've had the Civil War and we've got the CIO—only neither one of these events carried through enough to prevent the problems we have now, and they're greater than ever before. Reuther, Meany, McDonald—none of them have really faced the problems of the production workers. In one hand they hold up a dime raise or fringe benefit to the worker, and with the other they wave the company into the plants with their Automation machines to dehumanize the worker or to destroy his livelihood altogether by throwing him on the unemployment scrap heap.

It's not the politicians, labor leaders or company that will change things. They've got it made the way things are. That's why they're all shaken up by the demands and actions of the Negroes for a change to a better life.

It isn't only the Negro who needs a better life—every worker needs it. Only by acting together can the Negroes and whites humanize production, get a shorter work week, provide employment for all, and in the process create a society based on the needs of all human beings and wipe out once and for all this system which permits a few on top to have everything and the millions on the bottom to have nothing but fear and misery.

Africans Strike, Hit Scab Labor

(Editor's Note: The following article was sent to us by a Nigerian worker, who asked that News & Letters publish it and "treat this case as urgent." American workers can better understand the urgency when they realize that the wages paid to these railway workers are so little that a cut in their overtime work means that their wages will not even sustain them. The old trick of Management to use scab labor at higher pay, however, is familiar enough to all workers to need no translation.)

NIGERIA—Many market women were yesterday (June 9) stranded between Ibadan and Lagos due to a sit-down strike staged by 500 Loco workmen at Ebute Metta on Saturday night. Reason: the 500 employees of the Nigerian Railway Corporation were protesting against a cut in their overtime hours from 45 to 24 per week.

The workmen are normally paid between 7d-1s (8-14c) per hour whenever they were put on overtime. Yesterday the Management swiftly obtained the services of certain numbers of people on contract basis for loading the engines with coals as the workers refused to do any overtime work.

The action of the workers came after a 12-month long negotiation between the Union and the Management over the proposed slash of their overtime working hours.

PAY SCABS MORE

Yesterday, the leader of the 32,000-strong Nigerian (Federated) told the Daily Express: "The Management is fishing in troubled waters. We shall show them that we won't bear to see our rights being trampled upon."

A spokesman of the workers claimed that the Management paid the men newly recruited five pounds (\$14) for one engine loaded, while on the other hand he claimed that each of them is paid 1s 9d (25c) an hour for the job.

The workers of three unions joined together to fight out the issue: the N.T.S.U., the R.&P.-W.U.N. and the R.T.S.A. The action was taken in the Loco R/Shed as a problem of the whole Western and Enugu Eastern Region.

Scottish Miners Face Automation

SCOTLAND—Delegates to the annual conference of the National Union of Mineworkers heard Lord Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board, speak in support of Automation in the mines. He praised the Scottish miners for increasing output from 22.4 cwt. per man shift in 1960 to 27.2 cwt. in the first half of 1963.

In 1962, he said, Scottish output rose by 10 per cent higher than the average for Britain as a whole. It is not surprising that he found himself compelled to defend the policy of transferring redundant miners from Scotland to England. The Scottish miners are "led" by members of the Communist Party who constitute the majority on the Scottish E.C. (executive committee) of the union.

Mr. J. T. Tighe, the Nottingham area president, put forward the idea of banning machines from the mines, but after hearing Lord Robens he said that his area might now decide not to take such drastic action.

Lord Robens had promised that until a new wage structure had been worked out, men affected by wage reductions as a result of automation could appeal to the National Coal Board. Mr. Tighe has much to learn. We hope he gets hell from union members.

(From the July 4 "Information Bulletin," issued by the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group.)

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OPERATION FREEDOM

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Haven Methodist Church,
400 Yazoo Ave.,
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News & Letters

Meany, Reuther, McDonald Shun Negro Rights, Stunt Union Growth

(Continued from Page 1)

The question here is: what is white labor doing to clean its own house and stop stunting its growth by joining the Freedom Now movement initiated by the Negro people? Nothing, nothing at all.

The situation in the UAW, for example, has so deteriorated that even when Reuther "wished," for show purposes, to have a Negro elected in one recently-concluded local election, he failed to do so because the lily-white departments voted lily-white. With the usual bureaucratic sleight of hand, his international representative promptly tried to put the blame on the rank and file. They needed, he said, "to be educated." What this "educator" forgot is that, before he can educate others, "the educator must himself be educated."

We do not mean to say that the rank and file white worker is free of prejudice. Far from it. And, indeed, it could not be otherwise in this most prejudice-ridden land where the ruling class has been so adroit in applying "the divide and rule" formula. Despite great historic breakthroughs during Abolitionism and Populism; despite the heroic militancy of its battles with capitalism, it had not so fully broken through racial barriers as to succeed in establishing industrial unionism before 1935-37.

Nevertheless, while, in many ways, the white workers will parrot the racist ideology of the ruling class, the class struggle is constantly making him face with sober senses the relations with his fellow workers irrespective of color. The CIO was established. Labor conditions did change fundamentally. Automation has produced general strikes against it, as the miners, white and black, were the first to show the whole working class that the army of unemployed had now become a permanent feature, and compels a unified working class to fight it. Labor can rise to the challenge of the times for full equality for that race which is overwhelmingly, predominantly proletarian.

A small beginning of the convergence of these two movements—Freedom Now and labor freedom—has begun by Negro and white marching together, 20,000 in San Francisco, and, now in Detroit, 200,000 strong. Los Angeles, Chicago, New York and a March on Washington is sure to follow. But to succeed, white and Negro labor must unite, and this they cannot do without a unifying philosophy. This is not within reach of the labor bureaucrat, but is within reach of the rank and file who know that the road to success for the CIO was not in the writing of "programs" for strike-breakers, governmental or otherwise. The early Education Committees had other ways by which to forge labor solidarity. And now the challenge is higher, and the impetus has already been given by the Negro's self-activity and massive actions.

When these aims of racial equality and those of the class struggle merge, then, and only then, will a fundamental reconstruction take place. Instead of either a profit, or a racist foundation, a human foundation for a truly new society will have been laid. There is a long road to go yet, but the beginnings have been made.

A Murder That Will Stop Nothing

The tremendous strength and determination of the Negro people to win their Freedom NOW was never more profoundly expressed than when Myrlie Evers learned that the white supremacists had just murdered her husband, Medgar, and said: "This will not stop anything. They will have to kill me and the children and an awful lot of others."

The very day after his shocking assassination, Evers' widow, at her own request, addressed a rally in Jackson, Miss. To those who were mourning his death with her, Mrs. Evers asked simply that his death not be in vain.

She said that if the struggle were slowed down by the brutal murder, that would be a more terrible blow to her than even his death had been, and she added that only by continuing the struggle and intensifying it could the Negro people not only win their Freedom NOW, but also save Evers from being just one more courageous martyr.

RACIST SYSTEM SPAWNS MURDER

There is very little more that could be added to this profound tribute to a Freedom Fighter who fell in action, or to the truth and wisdom of his widow's plea. There is, however, a great deal more to say about the hollow and disgusting expressions of "sympathy" that came alike from the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, and the racist Governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett—who was more responsible for the murder than the racist who pulled the trigger. To call this murder a "dastardly act" will not blot out from the minds of men, nor from the pages of history, the centuries-long record of other "dastardly acts" for which the white supremacists of Mississippi have been directly responsible. Nor can such hypocrisy wipe out the continuous harangues by Barnett since he sparked the riot which caused two murders on the University of Mississippi campus last October, for which nobody was ever indicted, let alone prosecuted.

The pressure of the Negro movement this time forced federal action, and, within a week and a half, a white Mississippian, Byron de La Beckwith, was arrested by the FBI. But the federal charges against the prisoner were dropped the minute he was handed over to the Mississippi authorities, whose past record regarding "justice" gives little reason to expect that he will, even if found guilty, ever get the maximum punishment. Already they are building up the case of "insanity". He is, indeed, insane, but no more so than the insane system of white supremacy which spawned him.

THE TIME IS NOW

It is important to write a personal tribute to the courageous Medgar Evers because he is the type of hero who reflects a whole people, determined to be free. And, indeed, he is reaping a hero's farewell, not by being buried in Arlington Cemetery, but because the freedom movement, of which he was so heroic a member, has shown no signs of allowing itself to be slowed down.

To Administration's plea for an end to the mass demonstrations, in order to give the legislative wing "time" to act, the Freedom NOW movement has given its answer in ever larger, ever more inclusive, ever more nation-wide mass activity. It is telling the world that the time is NOW.

Readers'

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

I have just completed the translation into Italian of the first part of *American Civilization on Trial* and have started the translation of the second part which I hope to complete by the end of the month.

I am going to distribute 50 copies among our group to get their reactions and see if the text is clearly understandable. I shall mail several copies to you. It is my opinion that this work should be published in Italy as soon as possible. . . . I read your newspaper with pleasure always.

R. R.
Italy

Please put me on your subscription list. A group of us were discussing your pamphlet on the American Negro this morning and I was asked to write for your paper which will be circulated to all other members of the group. The discussion took place in an anarchist group.

A. M.
London

American Civilization on Trial is, properly, a text for study and much re-reading. Congratulations on a tremendous contribution to mankind's continuing stagger, so far a gamble at the mercy of the law of probability.

I enclose money to send 3 gift copies to the names enclosed.

Could we have an article on Martin L. King, Jr.? I send what I can and write protests supporting the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I believe SNCC is very sincere and the real dynamo. . . .

I. R.
Nebraska

In reading *American Civilization on Trial* I was struck at first by two factors: the concise review of history as pertains to the Negro and the esoteric quality of the writing which assumes a large degree of political sophistication on the part of the reader. The first was, though not totally new to me, an excellent summary of the Civil War, its basis, its causes, its outcome. The second was for me a disappointment. The heavy reliance upon Marxian concepts of history and class was confusing and tended to obscure the clarity of the work.

Student
California

Marcus Garvey said it this way: "We are the descendants of a suffering people; we are the descendants of a people determined

to suffer no longer." Karl Marx said it this way: The proletariat is the class "which brings the break-up of its universal suffering and lays claim to no particular right, because no particular wrong, but complete wrong is being perpetrated against it. . . ."

. . . It is the common denominator of suffering which is the underpin making for unity among the masses. . . . It is when the sufferers can no longer endure the "complete wrong" that action has to come. . . . The socio-economic aspects of living for the masses, the sufferers, cannot be left to the kind folks, the do-gooders. The natural abundance will be distributed, justly distributed, when the masses the sufferers, free themselves.

Is it not "Operation Bootstrap"?

E. S.
Chicago

Please send a copy of *American Civilization on Trial*, money enclosed. I've read a friend's copy and think it useful for the U.S. History class at our Academy.

Teacher
Connecticut

I have just read your *American Civilization on Trial*. I think it is great. The main disagreement I have is in the use of Karl Marx. . . . If only the International could be revitalized along libertarian lines this time. The most revolutionary people I know here with very few exceptions are my fellow active CORE members. . . . I am hoping for a real grass roots world-wide movement for freedom and equality. But so far, I'm only hoping. Enclosed find \$1 for a sub to your paper.

Militant
San Francisco

American Civilization on Trial will certainly mean a turning-point for the entire organization. Last week I went to a CORE meeting on Staten Island where James Baldwin was the featured guest and was able to sell 13 copies of the booklet and distribute over 100 copies of N&L, many of which were paid for even though I was only distributing and not selling. I could have sold many more if I had had three hands.

I met a subscriber who thanked us for writing such an "honest" paper and said that *American Civilization on Trial* is the best thing he ever read. He told me he is having his students put on a play to commemorate the

Emancipation Proclamation and it will be based on our pamphlet, as it appeared in the paper. He took 20 copies for his students, as he thinks they should all have it.

Committee Member
New York

The two most important numbers to me, relative to the mass Freedom March here, were the 250,000 people who poured into the streets to demonstrate that they wanted Freedom NOW—and the 421 people who bought copies of *American Civilization on Trial* at the rally later. Those were the people who had in their hands the link to a unifying philosophy which the movement needs to really win Freedom.

The fact that there is no "unifying organization" should not worry us. The very fact that there are so many different groups rising and becoming involved only proves the movement's vitality. What is needed, so far as I am concerned, is the "unifying philosophy" which "gives action its direction" as the pamphlet puts it. I wish we could have put a copy into the hands of every one of those 250,000

Marcher
Detroit

ON WAR AND PEACE

After the Aldermaston March the anarchists stole the headlines with a brawl in Whitehall when we literally pushed our way down streets barred to us by the police and now the various groups are indulging in a lot of soul searching over the ethics of violence but things are quieting down again.

A. M.
London

Why is it that in its comments on British Politics, N&L always displays that vanguardism it deplores in America. For instance, lecturing CND that without Socialist consciousness it is bankrupt. Most Campaigners are young and feeling their way into radicalism (the conscious revolutionary wing is far weaker than JF suggests and is dependent on support culled from the best of these beginners.) To chide them for not yet knowing all the answers is damned silly. . . .

To dismiss the Spies for Peace as nonsense is sheer insanity. Some Pacifists over here oppose them for using the methods of the State—others, of whom I'm one, are unhappy and wish someone had had the guts to sign, but support them now that they have done it this way.

Furthermore it is neither true nor helpful to claim that the majority of CND's Constitutionals are Stalinists even though a sizable minority are.

Incidentally, Connolly, who subordinated social struggle to a right-wing dominated Nationalist uprising was not really a very good stick with which to beat us. This sort of argument can only spring from a "we are the saved" mentality; and makes one suspicious of your American reportage as well. Best wishes.

L. O.
England

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Views

THE PROFUMO CASE

Everybody is talking about Profumo and Christine Keeler. This ranks with the Labour Party as more important than anything else. Nothing has done more to expose the shallowness of Labour and Communist politics than this. It is true, however, that the Profumo case is an expression of capitalist decadence, but the hypocrisy of the "Get the Tories Out" fraternity is more disgusting than the issue itself. The offers made to this notorious girl reveal how low in commercialism this country has dropped.

Correspondent
Glasgow

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

What happened in Detroit with 200,000 in the demonstration in that proletarian city was tremendous — and as in the last 10 or so years, it was the Negro movement that pulled Reuther into the streets. The TV was almost mum on the Detroit demonstration, probably on the pretext that we in L.A. had a demonstration at the Board of Education. Ours was covered from every conceivable angle with compliments from the mayor on down about how nice and quiet and in good taste it was. And of course, only 1000 strong. 200,000 is not to their liking.

Active Integrationist
Los Angeles

What Medgar Evers' widow said after his death — that he had not given his life only for the black men all over the whole world, but for the white men, too—was very important to me. I have not heard many people in the movement saying that.

What was also important, but in a much different way, was the fact that President Kennedy had finally gone on TV to make his speech on Civil Rights, and made the best speech of his whole life, and a few hours later a man like Medgar Evers was shot in the back. That alone should tell the whole world that it is well past time for a change.

Everytime there is a war, the black man is called to die on the battlefield like everybody else. And if he's lucky enough to come back, he has a pretty good chance of dying on the street, with a bullet in his back.

Bobbie Turner
Detroit

My sister, who lives in Cleveland, not in the South, helped out a friend of hers who had just had an operation and who did housework for a white woman there. She said that she and her friend were not even allowed in the back door of the woman's house. They had to go in through the garage and come out that way. They had to wait for the woman to push the button inside her house to let them in, each time. They were good enough to clean her house—and this woman even ate with them — yet they weren't good enough to even come through her back door.

Negro Mother
Pittsburgh

That man Lenin was really something when he said:

"The ranks are 100 times more revolutionary than the leaders, and the masses outside 1,000 times more revolutionary than the party."

I have been watching with some uneasiness all the Mayors and Governors joining and "leading" the parades, and the civil rights leaders who can't stop these demonstrations, nevertheless trying to make these demonstrations very "proper."

Then come those wonderful people in Chicago booing Mayor Daley, who is such a dear friend of Kennedy's, off the platform and following it up by booing one of their own, Rev. Jackson, because he was against the demonstrations. In fact, the police had to escort him to his car for his own safety. And after all that, they let Senator Douglass speak. This must be what is meant by "masses as reason." What wisdom.

Committee Member,
Los Angeles

Recently I came across a copy of your April issue of News & Letters and after reading it, I felt that I must write and tell you how much I enjoyed reading a paper that isn't afraid to print the truth. I am not a Negro, but I sincerely sympathize with their problems, and News & Letters seems to get right to heart of the matter. Actually when I say "their problems" I should say "our problems" since we are all American Citizens and should share equal rights, supposedly guaranteed under the Constitution.

Your numerous articles I likewise found of considerable interest, but I must confess that the article on Marxist-Humanism by Raya Dunayevskaya confused me a little. I got the impression that Marxist-Humanism rejects both capitalism and communism. Is this true? If so, at the risk of revealing my lack of knowledge, could you please refer me to some literature that would give me a clearer picture of Marxist-Humanism. It sounds interesting and, frankly, I am quite curious.

Meanwhile, keep up the good work with your paper. Enclosed is \$1 for a subscription for the next 12 issues.

New Reader
Detroit

MARXISM AND FREEDOM

It is indeed great to have contact with you, an original thinker who has something new for the world, insofar as Humanism and the interpretation of Marxism, an ideology which has been much prostituted by pseudo-socialist politicians, are concerned. Your writings can surely liberate the minds of men who have the fortune to read you, however firmly communistic ideologies have been hammered into them...

I am not a politician but a commentator and a yoked-worker who occasionally tries to express, to people I feel I can trust, how it feels to bear the yoke, especially of a totalitarian, in the way Matthew Ward has done in his "Indignant Heart." I have read that book which you published, and many of your other works...

I thank you sincerely for the copy of your book, *Marxism and Freedom*. I am reading it, but friends who have been borrowing it have caused a little delay. I always give it away when they ask for it, for I consider it a lamp that must not be hid...

I have also seen your report of your trip to West Africa, and it was very realistic. Some Americans just fly over Ghana and go back home to Arkansas to tell the folks there that they have been in Ghana and seen their very lanky King of Ashanti and gold dust spread in the streets. They speak to congregations about people living in holes, and of how they themselves have slept in holes, and how they were stalked by a lion in the streets of Accra and performed feats of Tarzan. More anon.

New Friend
Ghana

Thank you for your kindness in sending us your brilliant booklet, *American Civilization on Trial*, which I read with much interest and sympathy...

We want to publish the Japanese edition of your book *Marxism and Freedom* by this autumn. We plan to omit the original appendix A and B and instead of these add your article about Mao Tse-tung to our edition... Already one of our young friends, an ex-staff member of Zengakuren, has begun the translation of that article. I intend to finish the translation of the book itself by the end of August...

I believe firmly that it will encourage our young Marxist-Humanists among the students and the workers.

Marxist-Humanist
Japan

Marxism and Freedom is excellent and I think it will prove very useful in our struggle against both the rightists and the Communists. We have already begun to translate it... According to my opinion there are many possibilities for bringing out the Spanish edition this year, on account of the dynamic conditions in South American affairs.

Marxist-Humanist
South America

Editor's Note: See special offer on *Marxism and Freedom*, P. 7.

THE YOUNG MARXIST-HUMANIST

I looked at the table of contents in *The Young Marxist-Humanist*, and I saw "All My Life I Have Wanted to Be Free..." That was the first thing I turned to.

Student
Los Angeles

What impressed me most in *The Young Marxist-Humanist* was H. Bear's "Letter to a Student," which seemed to me very good. When we publish our paper here, I'd like to print some parts of it on the River Rouge auto plant.

M.M.
Italy

Editor's Note: See ad, P. 6.

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

De-Stalinization — Ten Years After East German and Vorkuta Revolts

June 17 to July 17, 1953, the month of never-before-heard-of revolts against Communist totalitarianism, first in East Germany, then in the forced labor camps of Russia itself, shook Russian Communism to its foundations. All one has to do, to see that this is no exaggeration, is to look, on the one hand, at the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and, on the other hand, at The Wall which the East German Government felt compelled to erect in 1961, eight years after the East German Revolt was crushed by Russian tanks.

Contrary to what both the East and the West have been writing, de-Stalinization began, not by Khrushchev in 1956, but by the East German workers in 1953, three and a half short months after Stalin's death. It is they who put an end to the myth of the invincibility of Russian Communism. It is they who raised the daring challenge and they who laid the foundations of revolutions to come. In a word, the revolt against Stalin came, not from the top, amongst Stalin's fighting heirs, but from below, among the enslaved millions of Stalin's empire, so zealously guarded by that "Collective Leadership," after de-Stalinization, as before.

President Kennedy's current visit to the Berlin Wall, no more than Eisenhower's condolences to Stalin's heirs, can stop this forward movement against capitalism, state or private. It is for this reason that we reprint what we wrote in 1953 during the Beria purge. For, contrary to all the pundits at the time, we not only did not bet on Malenkov, but pointed to Khrushchev as "a man to watch," and, above all, concentrated on the Russian workers: "All the pie in the sky, hydrogen bombs included," we wrote then, "will not thrust them back into their isolation now that the East German workers have revolted against these rulers and overnight filled the air with the stuff that makes dreams a reality."

September, 1953—The Beria Purge

THIEVES FALL OUT

"Today the ruling bureaucracy is not the integrated whole it was in 1938. It is split all ways between Zhdanov men, Malenkov men, Beria men, and—not to be forgotten although little known at present—Khrushchev men. Anyone who, like Nikita S. Khrushchev, has been boss over rebellious Ukraine, comes into Moscow as late as 1950, and by 1953 is in a position to have Malenkov "ask to be relieved" of the post of General Secretary of the omnipresent Communist Party, and himself steps into that post, is a man to be watched..."

"Ever since the expulsion of Trotsky, Stalin has held undisputed power. Ever since 1938 he was so confident of his might and his politics that he knew he could mobilize for war, although he had executed the entire military staff. Hitler used to rave and rant to his lieutenants his envy and appreciation of the genius of Stalin who had the perspicacity and audacity to get rid of the general staff of the Red Army before launching a world war. He knew whereof he spoke for totalitarian economics has no room for a command divided between political and military needs..."

POWER WENT TO STALIN'S HEAD

"But by 1948, after two decades of undisputed power, topped by a military victory, Stalin, to escape a phrase of his own on another occasion, was "dizzy with success." I am not using it as a psychological epithet. His exhilaration from success was a sign that he was no longer responsive to the objective needs requisite for a struggle for world power. Stalin failed to grasp the new situation—he had won a war, a mighty one, over Nazi Germany, yes. But he had yet to face the real contender for world power—the United States. Zhdanov was with him in not using the truce between wars for a breathing spell; he was ready to take the whole world on.

"Malenkov thought differently and, feeling that he could not win the argument since Stalin was evidently with Zhdanov, had Zhdanov poisoned. For the first time since Stalin came to power something had been done behind the back of the old master intriguer and murderer: no lances can no longer retain undisputed leadership under such circumstances, no matter what leader cults have been fashioned around his name. The bureaucracy whom Stalin had so long and so fully represented began to find him inadequate to the new situation created by the end of a world war which no one really won but which left each of the two capitalist giants so exhausted that a halt had to be called..."

RESTLESS MASSES

"The restlessness of the Russian masses knew no bounds. If they were merely to go on in the same old way, keeping their noses to the grindstone, then at least it would not be in the god-forsaken Urals. The totalitarian Russian bureaucracy had all the power and all the force and all the laws it needed to enforce labor discipline, but absolutely nothing could stem the tide of returning Russians. The tide invalidated all laws. To have a labor force at all, the planners were compelled to make an unplanned declaration—an amnesty on all labor offenses committed during the war..."

"But if Stalin had to be satisfied with something less than the 'abolition' of the difference between city and country, he was going full speed ahead towards a head-on collision with the United States—at least where he could get the Koreans and the Chinese to do the fighting for him. There was no breathing spell, let alone peace. The iron-fisted Stalin was clearly becoming a millstone around the neck of the bureaucracy which yearned for a truce between wars. He had to be gotten rid of. But no one dared. No one except Beria. He had to dare, for it was a question of either his neck or Stalin's and he preferred Stalin's.

Stalin and His Heirs

"Stalin had evidently begun to suspect the "naturalness" of Zhdanov's death. The wily Malenkov had beat Beria to the draw (Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

New Beginnings

In Los Angeles

Enroll in Freedom Summer To Obtain Best Education

By Eugene Walker

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—This summer I signed up for "Freedom Summer," an intensive civil rights program which CORE is running in this city. As one of our first activities, we staged a sit-in at the sales office of a suburban housing development which will not sell to Negroes. CORE has been picketing this housing tract since last July in an effort to get the owner to sell to Negroes. As a result of this sit-in, 16 of us were arrested.

The following weekend close to 100 demonstrators turned out. The builder of the tract waited until two a.m. before ordering the police to arrest 23 of the demonstrators who were sitting all night in the sales office.

POLICE BRUTALITY

During the first arrests the police were not rough, as the arrests were made in broad daylight. However, the second time the arrests were made in the middle of the night, and the demonstrators were subject to brutal manhandling. The reason for the manhandling can be seen when one notes that two of the police work part time as salesmen for the builder of this segregated development.

In fact, the mayor of the city stated that the city has no race problem since it has no Negroes.

This problem of segregated

Marchers Demand 'Freedom NOW'

DETROIT, Mich. — My heart was filled with joy when I saw my people in the streets marching for freedom. They told the whole world—and most of all, JFK and his little brother—that we want our Freedom NOW. They said to hell with those who are supposed to be our "white liberators." To me the marchers were telling them that they have had their chance to negotiate, to use their so-called "democratic processes," to use their one-sided (white only) courts and legislation.

Reuther was there, playing the "I am with you black brother bit," but where were his white unions?

There were three young Negro girls holding up some homemade signs that said: "Promises, Promises, Promises." There were three Negro women standing under a big black umbrella with a big "Freedom" sign on it. There was one older Negro man holding up a very big sign that said: "Sic 'Em."

I can remember in High School that in one of my classes we had a series of movies about underprivileged, so-called backward countries. The movies showed these people living under the most inhuman conditions. You could see the despair on their faces, as if they were crying out: "Won't somebody, or something, please help me. We were supposed to make a summary of the movies we saw, and after each one, all I would put down was that the people of the world want their Freedom NOW. They want a better life, not the one they have been forced to live, just because they were born.

My teacher could not understand what these movies had to do with Freedom NOW. But there are plenty of us who can understand that, and who can see that this is what ALL the people want, in this country and all over the world.

housing is very prominent in the Los Angeles area. A fair housing law was just passed by the state legislature after CORE had staged a 30-day 24-hour-a-day sit-in at the state capital.

COMBINE ACTION

As a result of these arrests a great deal of publicity was obtained. The NAACP and the United Civil Rights Committee (an organization recently formed in L.A. to demand immediate banning of all types of discrimination against minorities) decided to aid CORE at the housing tract. They called for a motorcade and demonstration at the housing tract. This past weekend some 1500 Negroes and whites marched through the housing tract.

This activity is only one signal of a new stage of struggle which is sweeping the country.

From the first demonstrations in Birmingham to ones which have occurred recently in Gadsden, Ala., I have watched with much interest the increased tempo which has been in the struggle for freedom. To me, this stage in the struggle can be viewed as one bringing forth man's passion. Marx, in his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," put it as follows, "... man as an objective sensuous being is a suffering being and since he is a being experiencing his suffering he is a passionate being. Passion is the essential power of a man striving energetically toward his object." The object which man is striving for is his freedom.

However, today, more so than in Marx's day, this power of a man striving to reach freedom has been increased to heights never before reached. This passion or striving for freedom today is embodied in the Negroes' struggle for equality.

A NEW DIMENSION TO MAN

In Birmingham, youth brave fire hoses and dogs; in Gadsden, youth under 14 ignore a judge's order to refrain from demonstrations and vow to be on the streets the next day—after just being arrested for demonstrations. In what other age but ours has there ever been such assertion by youth in the struggle for freedom?

In past columns I have written a great deal of what education is in this society. To me, participation by youth in this struggle is real education. I do not mean the idea of going to jail is educational. But through participation in this struggle to obtain freedom the human being, both as an individual and as a part of a group struggling for freedom, gains a new insight, a new dimension which he never had before.

If this passion which the Negro is today more than ever exhibiting will be joined by whites—especially working class whites—then a truly new stage in human development can be reached.

Trading Stamps For Freedom

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is in need of very basic items for the office and for the field which they have found can be obtained with trading stamps. If they could get enough stamps to get such items as cameras, fans, typewriters, tables, lamps, chairs, desks, etc. they could use their money for other purposes such as transportation, communication, staff salaries.

They are asking their supporters to save all trading stamps, especially S&H Green Stamps, for them and to find other individuals and groups who will do the same.

They ask that the stamps be placed in books where possible, and that they be sent in immediately, although the campaign will continue throughout the year. Send to:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 Raymond Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

In New York

Job Discrimination Protest Rocks City, State Officials

NEW YORK, N.Y.—A picket-line of 40-odd New Yorkers, Negro and white, in front of a hospital construction site, appears to have shaken up the city and the whole state.

After officials had stalled in negotiations over reported discrimination at the construction of a new Harlem Hospital at Lenox Ave. and 139th St., local civil rights groups decided to throw a picket-line around the site.

PICKET AND SIT-IN

We arrived at the job early Wednesday morning, carrying signs protesting discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans. About 40-50 pickets representing local CORE, NAACP, and Workers' Defense League marched around, while a few staged a sit-in in the entrance to block the arrival of workers and cement trucks. People from the neighborhood, which is predominantly Negro, shouted encouragement at us as they passed on their way to work, and some actually joined our protest.

When the construction workers arrived at the job, they at first hesitated and then refused to cross our line. For several hours the excavation was an empty lot. Finally, after pressure from the boss, work was resumed although several workers remained off the job.

We resumed our protest the next morning, and although the

Reports From the Field

CORE, NAACP Conclaves

DAYTON, Ohio—It's hard to sum up and adequately communicate the experience of attending a CORE convention in the year of 1963 where a sense of history pervades each moment.

The CORE convention was impressive especially in regard to the seriousness of the members in fighting for human rights. The most moving impression was made by the kids from the South, especially those from Mississippi and Louisiana who wore overalls at all times to symbolize the extreme poverty of the people in the region.

These people are involved in voter registration drives which is the action that is met with shootings, beatings and economic and social ruin.

Dave Dennis, the field secretary from Jackson had brought with him several old people too, which I thought was in the true Marxist-Humanist spirit, and he told of what they had been through and one wept not with pity but with pride that the human race can produce such types.

VARIETY OF OPINION

I was impressed also with the tremendous divergence of opinion within CORE. More than that there is difference as to how CORE itself should go, as to evaluations of the leadership, etc., etc. It is undoubtedly a very good thing.

Something new was perhaps

symbolized by the presidency being transferred from a white St. Louisan to Floyd McKissic, a Negro lawyer from Durham. It was also gratifying to meet one white girl with a Southern accent from Durham.

The best moment was when the entire convention moved to a department store and picketed for an hour, singing all the way the Freedom Songs of the South.

—B.G.

CHICAGO, July 6—Almost 2,000 voting delegates and 2,000 more observers attended the week-long NAACP Convention held here from June 30 to July 6.

Singing and cheering, 45,000 marchers walked in the Freedom Parade on July 4. Through the streets of Chicago to South Park in the heavily Negro populated South Side, the marchers were greeted with applause from the onlookers, both white and black.

DALEY BOOED OFF PLATFORM

An audience of some 5,000 people attended the rally immediately following the march to hear Reverend Shuttlesworth and Mrs. Medgar Evers speak. During the rally the youth of Chicago showed their anger at Mayor Daley for his ridiculously false statements at the first session of the convention that, "There are no ghettos in Chicago," by booing him off the stand.

Some 200 youth carried signs both during the parade and later during the anti-Daley demonstration which said: "What Right Does Mayor Daley Have to Be in a Freedom Parade?"; "What the Hell Is Mayor Daley Doing Here?"; "There Is Jim Crow in the Bus Company;" and, "Mississippi is Hell, But Chicago Ain't Heaven!"

Reverend Jackson, the Negro minister who publicly called for a halt to Civil Rights demonstrations until the legislature acts on President Kennedy's program, was introduced and got the same treatment. The boos that met him were so overwhelming that he was not even allowed to say one word. In contrast to this was the standing ovations given to Reverend Shuttlesworth and Mrs. Medgar Evers.

YOUTH WIN MORE AUTONOMY

Earlier in the convention the NAACP youth had also shown their determination to take a more active part in the Civil Rights demonstrations by fighting for and winning the right to more autonomy from the adult chapters. They won the right to initiate their own picket lines and other non-violent direct action programs, and promised it was a right they would use to the fullest.

Although parts of the speech by James Meredith to the NAACP Youth Council has been much quoted out of context in the press, the great impression which the Japanese Zengakuren Youth demonstrations made on him when he was in Japan, to which he referred very favorably in his speech, was not reported.

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TWO WORLDS

(Continued from Page 5)

again and managed suddenly to uncover "the plot of the doctors-poisoners" who had indeed poisoned Zhdanov, thus laying the blame for a death he had engineered right at the doorstep of Beria's Ministry. While the 'lack of vigilance' campaign was raging in the country, Beria plotted his revenge, or, if you wish, his defense. For if there is anyone who knew Stalin it was his glorifier-biographer-historiographer, Beria.

"Six months before the death of Stalin, the power struggle reached a climax . . . One has to take but one glance at how quickly his whole program was scuttled: (1) The Korean War was stopped. (2) What the 19th Congress, the last which Stalin directed and the first to meet since 1939, had established in trying to widen somewhat the base of the bureaucracy has been shelved. The Praesidium once again consists not of 50 or 25, but "a less unwieldy one" of 10. (3) And they ran, like rats from a sinking ship, from the grandiose fundamental 'work of genius', Stalin's 'Economic Problems of Socialism of the U.S.S.R.' . . ."

"If Stalin's Last Testament is pathetic, how much lower the sights of Malenkov. In his first major speech he used for morale building everything from 'elegant shoes' to hydrogen bombs! But there is nothing really decided in this power struggle as can be seen by the fact that no one has yet come out as the leader but each man must hide behind the 'collective' Central Committee which is about as unified as thieves who fall out.

RUSSIAN WORKERS NO LONGER ISOLATED

"There is no getting away from it, the Russian masses are not only ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed. They are rebellious.

"We are at the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism. That does not mean the state-capitalist bureaucracy will let go of its iron grip. Quite the contrary . . . What it does mean is that from the center of Russian production, from the periphery of the satellite countries oppressed by Russia, and from the inside of the Communist parties, all contradictions are moving to a head and the open struggle will be a merciless fight to the end.

"The biggest problem of Russia remains the low labor productivity. Totalitarian state-capitalism has invented no substitute for that. The Russian workers aren't producing enough, and the Russian peasants are keeping back a lot of what they are producing. And all the pie in the sky, hydrogen bombs included, will not thrust them back into their isolation now that the East German workers have revolted against these rulers and overnight filled the air with the stuff that makes dreams a reality."

Full Integration Is Demand in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, June 24 — The United Civil Rights Committee, a new group representing a number of civil rights organizations, founded after the Negro citizens turned out 50,000 strong to hear Rev. Martin Luther King on May 28, presented at a joint meeting with "community leaders" on June 6th a list of demands that have long been overdue.

1. Enactment of strong, comprehensive fair housing laws.

2. The re-drawing of school district lines before the opening of the September term to effect integration of these schools.

3. A report by January 1964, on establishment of a procedure for presentation of citizens' grievances against law enforcement agencies to independent citizens' review boards.

4. Legislation and contractual agreements to strengthen fair employment practices and prompt action to push non-discrimination in industry and labor unions.

The list of demands was presented with a deadline of ten working days hence. For more than ten days the Negro community has waited to see if the promises of the white officials and politicians would be more than mere promises.

Nothing has been done—but what has been accomplished by the Negro people themselves.

This new group which had been formed on a call from the NAACP included also the Congress On Racial Equality (CORE) who did not stop their demonstrations during the ten day period. The California State Legislature finally passed a fair housing law. CORE had been staging a sit-in at the State Capitol for 30 days, and picketing housing developments. (For more on this see Youth, page 6.)

Since the ten day deadline has come and gone a call for direct action demonstrations went out but NAACP President Chris Taylor would not say, when questioned by reporters on Friday, June 21, where the first demonstration would take place.

One civil rights fighter at the meeting felt he did this "with the purpose of not making this demonstration a real show of strength."

None the less the demonstration that took place Monday, June 24th, at the Board of Education turned out 1,000 people. The press covered it completely and everyone from the Mayor down said how nice and quiet and in good taste it was. It is interesting to note that the T.V. coverage of the 200,000 marchers in Detroit just the day before was practically nil. In Los Angeles the city fathers feel that 1,000 marching is plenty, 200,000 is a little too much.

As for the labor movement out here the AFL-CIO Los Angeles County Labor Federation came out with a 6 point program to end discrimination in the unions, in employment, training, and up-grading and to "consult" with the civil rights groups.

It is worth noting that while the top bureaucrats are smart enough to present a "program" the lesser ones show their true face. Business manager Clyde Ringwood of Sheet Metal Workers Local 108 said there is no discrimination in his union for there is somewhere between "30 to 300 Negro members" out of 22,000 union members. Obviously Mr. Ringwood does not know much about figures.

No matter what laws are passed, what programs are set, the masses of Negro people mean to have their freedom.

White Attack Resisted By Picnickers

DETROIT, Mich.—It started out to be a very nice day—that tragic Saturday that I will never forget. We were going on a church picnic. We all gathered at the church with excitement. There were people of all ages, from five to 50. We had decided to go to Elizabeth Park, but when we got there it was closed, and after much discussion we went to Plymouth Park instead.

When we entered the Park we felt very uneasy, because of the hateful looks we were getting from the whites. We rode around and found a nice place to stop. After we all got out of the cars and off the truck, and somewhat settled, we saw little groups of whites gathering. Suddenly, from out of nowhere, cars of whites started racing by and throwing sulfur bombs and fire crackers at us.

BACKED AGAINST A FENCE

The little children were crying, women were screaming, and everyone was trying to get the kids out of the way. In the mass of smoke, with everyone coughing and all eyes burning, we started moving backward until we came to a wire fence. It was too long to go around and too high to climb, and by this time it seemed as if every white in the park was there throwing at us, or standing by to watch the show.

I must say that the black man has showed he will not stand for any more intimidation in any form from the white man. We had nothing to fight back with, but everyone who could picked up a rock, a brick, a stick—anything he could find—and started throwing back. It is pretty hard to hit a person in a fast-moving car, but there were plenty of windows that must have been broken out!

In the midst of the confusion, two people managed to break away and call the police. First they called the Detroit police, who said they couldn't do anything about it. Then they called the state troopers, who sent out one car with two cops. When they finally arrived, the whites began to throw their "cocktails" at them, too.

COPS GET HELP—AFTER BEING HIT

I was glad they did get some of it, because before they got hit themselves, they kept saying that they couldn't do anything without help—but as soon as they got hit with the first sulphur bomb, they got on their phone and called for help as if World War III had started. It took the first car half an hour to reach us, but it took only two minutes for more cops to answer the cops call.

When the rest of the police did arrive they made no arrests at all.

As Others See Us

Review of Italian Edition of 'Marxism and Freedom'

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Excerpts of a review by Rado of the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya, appearing in *Bandiera Rossa*, Milan, Italy.)

We do not know if a book like Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marxism and Freedom" (published by Nuova Italia) will be able to raise sufficient interest in Italy today and stimulate any real debate. Undoubtedly it is a book full of imperfections; undoubtedly in a supersophisticated cultural milieu like ours some naiveties will quickly be obvious. But it cannot be denied—even disagreeing as we do from the conclusions at which it arrives—that this is an original work, lively, rich in conviction and purpose, whose seriousness cannot be ignored.

In his preface, Gaetano Arfe wrote something very true in this respect: after having pointed out how Marxist thought in Italy since the War has remained essentially "deformed and mutilated," in spite of exceptionally favorable objective conditions, he states that "Marxist culture in Italy today is too cut off from the real movement of the mass to be interested in problems which go beyond the political conflicts of the moment . . . and Italian Left-wing culture is too provincial to feel in its dramatic weight the lack on the international level of a socialist initiative."

DUNAYEVSKAYA has tried to outline her own interpretation of Marxism, starting from the French Revolution and going up to our times. Such an interpretation involves a whole series of philosophical, political and historical questions, among which the author succeeds in not getting lost and among which she manages to bring her arguments to a logical conclusion.

It is an interpretation of Marxism in a humanistic sense, in truth, rather than in a libertarian one, contrary to what Arfe suggests in his introduction. And this basic libertarian need, which is the desire for total freedom, seems to be deeply fused with the basis of Marxism itself to such a point that without it there is no more true Marxism, but only Stalinist dogmatism or eclectic and confused revisionism of the Social democratic stamp.

Naturally, the problem of the relation between Hegelianism and Marxism is posed here, and on this point Dunayevskaya writes some of her most brilliant and incisive pages . . . Undoubtedly the early Lukacs, author of "History and Class Consciousness," was the one who went the furthest on this road and who wrote with the greatest profundity. But the merit of Dunayevskaya is to have found

exactly on this basis the continuity between Lenin and Marx, underlining the importance of Lenin's work from the little-known "Philosophical Notebooks."

THE JUST criticism that the author directs toward the unilateral canonization that even today is made of the "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" as if that book represented the total and genuine sum of Lenin's philosophical thought, which in fact underwent a profound evolution. And here Dunayevskaya justly opposed any interpretation which wishes to see in the theoretical and practical works of Lenin the premise of Stalinism: a totally false interpretation, but one on which conservative historians, successful journalists, right Social-Democrats, and Ultra-Lefts of all shades including anarchists, are in singular agreement . . . But it is not by chance that while we have pointed out the many levels and the vastness of the problems which are to be found discussed in Dunayevskaya's book, we also spoke of naivety and confusion. In the last analysis, the author proposes to write a work in which the historical and philosophical development would make a whole, as in the "Phenomenology" of Hegel or the "Capital" of Marx. A difficult task, which requires a strength of analysis and a depth of knowledge which are rarely found. But while in the first four parts of the book, in a closely argued development, Dunayevskaya succeeds in maintaining her thesis on a scientific and convincing level, it is not by chance that the last part falls into almost total confusion . . .

WHERE in the first parts Dunayevskaya limits herself to interpreting, however brilliantly, Marx, Lenin, etc., later she must proceed alone. And while in the first part she can lean, so to speak, on the authors she is analysing, later she must orient herself alone and she does not succeed too well. Her demonstration that the Soviet economy follows the lines of state-capitalism is superficial and impressionistic . . . The concrete problems of the bureaucracy of the workers state of Stalinism. of anti-Stalinist struggle appear in a false light: in the East, she sees only totalitarianism and state-capitalism, and the only thing which comes to oppose this is a miraculous working-class spontaneity.

Here the unity of theory and practice in which Dunayevskaya has seen the essence of Marxism gives way to a cult of "spontaneity" of an anarcho-syndicalist style . . . The theoretical weaknesses of the last part of Dunayevskaya's book are an element of its political fragility . . .

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One-Quarter Million March

(Continued from Page 1)

with the massive Birmingham demonstrations in the beginning of May.

The white barbarism of hounds and hoses, culminating in Medgar Evers' foul murder in Mississippi, was too much even for the Kennedy administration to white-wash with all its glib talkers and phrasemakers.

SO. AFRICA—SO. U.S.A.

In mid-May, when news of Birmingham atrocities dominated the world's headlines, Kennedy sent greetings, in the name of democracy, to the conference of African nations meeting at Addis Ababa. Uganda's Prime Minister Apolo Milton Obote, chairing the opening session, scorned the hypocritical gesture: It ill behooves you, he said, to speak in the name of democracy when our kin and kith are being hounded in your country.

Despite Emperor Haile Selassie's orders to keep "extraneous matters" out of the conference, the official Ethiopian Herald nevertheless wrote in its columns: "The United States is campaigning on a free world slogan and is condemning the racist Government of South Africa while practicing its own version of apartheid. What happened in Birmingham last week shows the United States in its true light. To be black is still a crime . . . The United States' version of 'civilized apartheid' must be fought."

THE TWO-WAY ROAD

The events since May bring into sharper focus the ever-expanding two-way road between the African Revolutions and the American. But it would be an act of the greatest self-deception to think this is only because black and black are allied. The truth is that the million extra votes the Communists just gained in Italy is sharper evidence of NATO's collapse than is de Gaulle's obstreperous self-seeking glory road.

It is the hollowness of American democracy, and not any Communist victory, that has brought about this new wave of revulsion against United States "leadership."

By now, no one knows this better than Kennedy, who has found himself compelled to eat his words about no further civil rights legislation being necessary. The magnitude of the Negro revolt has compelled the President, this late in the session, to sponsor a civil rights bill in Congress and at the very same time to undertake a high pressure tour of Western Europe.

THE ROAD AHEAD

The self-developing mass movement is not being deceived by its supposed victories. The ranks know that the road ahead is difficult. They know that tokenism, far from being overcome, is only taking on more subtle forms in an attempt to lure them to relax their vigil so that more naked repression may be reimposed.

That is why the demonstrations sweeping the country have refused to separate their demands for school desegregation from unrestricted housing; equal access to public accommodations from the suppression of police brutality; voter registration from equal job opportunity and the abolition of unemployment. Nothing less than a total change, a complete reconstruction of society is demanded.

That is why the spreading demonstrations brought new names into the news at the same time as old ones reappeared. That is why the so-called truce in Birmingham was followed by a new outburst in Gadsden. That is why the swearing in of the first Negro policeman in Jackson, a few weeks after Evers' murder, was followed by a mass meeting which declared, "We are not going to settle for just policemen."

That is why Greensboro, N.C., where the student Sit-Ins started three years ago, came back to demonstrate in full at the same time as Indianapolis felt its first impact of the struggle. That is why Spartanburg, S.C., where student demonstrators were gassed two years ago, again felt the strength of a broader demonstration at the same time as the struggle reached Minneapolis for the first time.

In the month of June alone, the demonstrations appeared and reappeared spreading from Alabama to California, from Mississippi to Minnesota, from Tennessee to Illinois, from Kentucky to Massachusetts, from Maryland to Michigan, from North and South Carolina to Oklahoma, Texas and Indiana, from Georgia to New York. Above all, the movement spread from Birmingham to Boston, Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, and, at flood-tide, to Detroit.

Whether in an industrial metropolis like Detroit where outward calm prevails, or in a fishing village like Cambridge, in Eastern Maryland, where the National Guard imposed martial law on June 14 and again on July 12, the Freedom Movement shows its determination not to be diverted or deceived by force or guile.

In "moderate" North Carolina, for example, some 2,000 Negroes were jailed, during the month of June, in the course of continuous demonstrations throughout the state. Finally compelled to grant some concessions, Gov. Terry Sanford said, as though he had just seen the light at the end of June, "The demonstrations have shown . . . how anxious you are to remove right now the indignities and injustices which have been visited upon your parents and their parents." Then he showed the tail that bears the sting: "The mass demonstrations," he continued, "awoke and jolted many people. This method has reached the point of diminishing returns . . . destroying goodwill, creating resentment, losing friends and not influencing people."

Gov. Sanford got his answer from John Brooks of the NAACP: "I think that the best thing we can do now is to go home and plan bigger and better demonstrations." President Kennedy got the same answer to the same request. The movement speaks with many tongues but with one purpose — Freedom, Here and Now.

What Kennedy hasn't learned is that the scope and breadth of the Freedom movement is already so far beyond him that it will neither stop marching nor allow him to dictate when or where it will sweep next.

It certainly will march on filibustering Congress. It most certainly will continue to march, North, East, South and West, after Congress passes whatever watered down bill it will finally pass. The movement most certainly will not be channelized by anyone from getting freedom here and now—and meaning by that not a few mended fences but a fundamental reorganization in all human relations.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

UAW LOCAL 600 ELECTIONS

The recent elections — two were necessary to get "a winner" — in Local 600, which brought forth a new anti-Reuther, anti-Stellato force, has focused attention on more than rigged elections. It has also shown that the rank and file who are anxious to fight against the labor bureaucracy and for better working conditions must also face the Negro problem.

One of the ways the bureaucracy prolongs its life in office is to allow workers who are retired and who have no immediate interest in job conditions in the shop to vote in all local elections. Despite this, in the first vote, Harry Becker succeeded in outvoting Carl Stellato 11,657 to 11,471, while a third candidate received only 383 votes. Thereupon Reuther's man, Stellato, gathered together more than 1,500 retired workers by car, ambulance, and even stretcher to win the election, 12,860 to 12,225. Not an overwhelming victory, but the bureaucracy squeezed through.

How did this happen when Harry Becker definitely was the more popular candidate with the rank and file and also, at first, with the Negro union members. Involved in the election were charges that Stellato discriminated against Negro union members. The city where the plant is located, Dearborn, Mich., does not permit Negroes to live within its borders. Stellato and Reuther have never taken any action, educational or otherwise, to correct this flagrant violation of civil rights. A leaflet issued during the campaign calling for racial integration in Dearborn, Livonia, Redford and Allen Park was disclaimed by both candidates, costing Becker the election.

Reuther, when he appeared at the 250,000 man demonstration for Negro Freedom on June 23, could not muster more than a handful of white followers. The job equality which the Negro workers want is not furnished to them by Reuther and the U.A.W. The "Lily White" departments which Reuther and the auto companies maintain have got to go NOW. It will not be done by Reuther or officials elected by his rigged elections.

Had Becker been more courageous in his stand on Negroes instead of being merely "better" than Stellato he might have been of value to a genuine rank and file movement of white and Negro. As it is, the rank and file will not only need to trust only themselves, but will themselves have to extend a fraternal hand to the Negro workers on conditions both in the shop and outside.

SOUTH AFRICA

One person out of every 236 persons is in jail in South Africa under white administration. No less than 67,636 Africans await trial on various charges. There

are some people whom even their lawyers are unable to contact.

• 5,293 persons have been arrested in the past year for alleged security crimes.

• 3,246 persons were arrested as suspected members of the reputed African underground terrorist organization POQO.

• 2,047 were arrested on charges of allegedly attempting to further the aims and aspirations of "unlawful organizations" such as the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, once the two main African nationalist political parties in South Africa.

• 126 persons have been convicted of sabotage since the Sabotage Bill became law in May, 1962; 511 are awaiting trial.

• 88 men and women are being detained for 90 days, beyond the reach of the courts or their lawyers under the terms of the "No Trial Bill" that became law last month.

• 142 persons, including Albert J. Luthuli, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, are "banned" from public print or recognition.

• 24 men and women are under "house arrest," confined to their homes for from 12 to 24 hours a day in a sentence that amounts to "civil death."

It is also significant that it is in this police state that General Motors has just bought 395 acres of land for "such further expansion as the company may find necessary. It is the biggest land deal in the history of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, and the site is four times as big as the existing 90-acre General Motors factory area in that car-industry center. The purchase sparked off speculation that GM may be contemplating making its own car engines there, and comes at a time when more cars were sold in one month than at any time in the country's history.

Despite these well-known facts, the U.N., guided by Anglo-American imperialism, has done nothing but talk. The Kennedy Administration, which is fast enough in calling attention to the evils behind the Iron Curtain, is blinded by the brilliant diamond curtain. This week however they will all be put on the spot because the African Bloc at the I.L.O. congress succeeded in upsetting all the previous calculations and passing a resolution which demands that the UN expel apartheid South Africa. It will be interesting to watch how the Kennedy Administration faces this challenge to its use of "the due process of law" and "anti-Communism" to keep fascist South Africa in the U.N.

SUKARNO

In case it missed the attention of our readers during recent headline grabbing events, Sukarno of Indonesia is joining with Macapagal of the Philippines and Abdul Rahman of the Federation of Malaysia to form a new alliance to be known as Maphilindo.

This adds still one more

surprising chapter to the checkered career of Sukarno, the bourgeois opportunist head of the Indonesian Republic who is glib with words about "socialism" but who had actually collaborated with everyone from the Japanese invaders to the American oil interests and the ruling Dutch imperialists. Sukarno headed one of the factions of the broad nationalist movement that aimed at independence from Dutch imperialism during World War II. As the war ended and the resistance against Dutch imperialism's attempt to return grew to civil war proportions, Sukarno stood for collaboration first with the Dutch, then the American oil interests and the U.N. compromise of limited independence, and finally with that of the Indonesian Communists.

First this helped him murder Tan Malaka, the head of the mass Trotskyist movement there, and then to get a red coat of paint from both Khrushchev and Mao at the Bandung Conference. Since then, as the Sino-Soviet conflict widened, and as the Indonesian Communist Party seemed in its majority to side with Mao, Sukarno invited Chou En Lai for an official visit and concluded some sort of agreement that was never revealed. This was no sooner done than he suddenly announced that he was joining the most rightist anti-Red Chinese federation yet attempted in South East Asia.

While embracing "socialism" in the abstract, Sukarno recently made a deal with American and British oil companies, a 20 year contract which permits them to continue the exploitation of the oil fields if they turn them over to the Indonesian government at the end of that period. This deal permits him to collect from the oil companies while still getting American foreign aid which would be denied if he seized the fields.

The alleged freedom of the Indonesian people is spurious. Of the national budget, 75% is spent on the military and all opposition to the Sukarno regime is crushed. The Communist party flourishes, primarily because they support Sukarno. The majority of the Chinese in Indonesia are middle class businessmen who are subject to frequent attacks by the poor of the country as the visible signs of their exploitation. The Chinese shopkeeper and the national bourgeoisie of the country have merely taken over the role played by the departed Dutch, who drew millions in revenue out of the islands for years. The people are no closer to ruling themselves than they were under colonial domination.

Yet the very fact that they know that a sham independence has brought them no fundamental change in conditions of labor has stiffened their opposition to Sukarno himself. This no doubt is a fundamental reason for Sukarno now joining the Anglo-American inspired Malaysian Federation.