

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

### Production Knows No Dignity

I have just read in the company's monthly tabloid paper a column called, "The Evil of Prejudice." I was very glad to see the article. After 20 years or more with this company, they finally recognize that discrimination against a person because of his race is wrong.

As the article states: "It is a good time to remind all concerned that this company has recognized this policy by voluntarily entering into the non-discrimination pact known as the 'Plan for Progress' developed by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity." Then they say the proof is shown by the substantial number of Negroes among those gainfully employed throughout the nation.

What concerns me about many of our national white leaders, as well as management, is that they don't seem to think that Negroes and other oppressed minorities understand what prejudice and discrimination is—and that both can, and do, take on many different forms.

Let me speak of one against the whites in the shop today. There are many white ex-foremen who have spent 20 to 30 years in supervision. This same company, after introducing Automation and inhuman speed-up, has taken the majority of these foremen off supervision and put them back on production. At the same time they have put young white workers with only five to ten years in the plant as foremen—some are from the deep South and full of prejudices.

At this plant where I work, not one Negro has been upgraded to a foreman, not even today. There are still lily-white departments. The Sewing Department has never had a Negro woman employee.

Second to the last paragraph (in the article, "The Evil of Prejudice") there was an appeal that each individual human recognize and respect the equal rights and equal dignity of every other human being.

#### PRODUCTION KNOWS NO DIGNITY

But a worker on a production line has no rights and human dignity. If he is forced to go to a rest room, it is up to the dignity of the foreman to let him go.

Sometimes we are forced to wait from 15 to 45 minutes after we ask. We do not have relief men any more. They will send a repairman to relieve us when they get around to it. Sometimes there is a wait until three or four who asked ahead of you are through before you can go. If you pass your action on the floor you are fired. If you walk off the line you are subject to be fired. This is respecting the human dignity of an individual.

This is why I was stunned by this article from the company. Today I was told that Negroes can get application blanks from the company and fill them out for skilled trades. How many will they accept is the first question. And if the agreement is the same as was before, how many workers would take the chance?

You are hired in with no seniority (this is discrimination) and you give away your production seniority when you are laid off. You go into the streets even if you have 25 years with the company, while some other worker is hired from the streets.

#### STATEMENTS VS. PRACTICES

Everyone knows that this mass movement of the Negroes and their supporters for total Freedom NOW has shaken this nation. Their boycotts and threatened boycotts have caused many leading firms and auto companies to issue some kind of a non-discriminatory policy statement.

I feel sure the companies know that if the Negro employees began to yell loud and long about their discriminatory policies, and this began to spread, that it would cause them to lose some sales.

But as long as any company has all the power, all the say about how a worker must work from the time he enters the plant until he leaves, there will be discrimination. If the foreman dislikes a worker for any reason at all, that worker will not be treated as any other worker.

But there is another gimmick. You must have proof of discrimination, then follow procedure, according to the contractual agreement between the company and the union.

After filing a grievance, it may take a month or six months before you hear from it—and sometimes, never. But if it goes through all four steps, then to the International union, that is the end of it for any worker, white or Negro.

#### IF ALL ARE READY, WHERE ARE RIGHTS?

They can give workers high-sounding phrases such as in the article I have quoted, which concludes, "We are reminded of a scholar's assertion, 'Nothing is so powerful as an idea whose time has come.'"

The idea of equal rights is a century old. For this idea, the time has come. So I would say: if the company is willing and ready to give its Negro employees equal rights, and the union claims being for equal rights now and always, then why is it that the Negroes do not have them?

### ON THE INSIDE

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## Alabama Negroes Form Defense Patrols

### New Demonstrations Protest JFK Failure to Act Against Wallace

"During a war we don't bomb schools, churches, hospitals . . . but they bomb indiscriminately in Birmingham." With these words, grieving Christopher McNair appealed to the conscience of white America in a network radio interview four days after he buried his pretty 11-year-old daughter, Denise, who was killed with her 14-year-old

companions, Addie Mae Collins, Carole Robertson and Cynthia Wesley, in the ghastly Sunday morning bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church on Sept. 15.

The counter-revolution answered with two more bomb blasts against Negroes in Birmingham. This brought to a total of fifty the number of bombings

which have rocked "Dynamite Hill" since 1947, eight of them since last May. Though such barbarism violates even the rules of war, President John F. Kennedy, far from sending troops to protect the lives of innocent children, went no further than empty words of sympathy. The two so-called mediators he sent, former Army Secretary Kenneth Royall of North Carolina, and former Army football coach Earl Blaik, met behind closed doors with segregated groups while the FBI once more showed its self-imposed impotence by failing to find a single perpetrator of the atrocities.

This is why no Negro intends to rely on Congress for civil rights.

That is why SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) proposed a march to Montgomery.

That is why the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. is once again in Birmingham with the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth to plan new demonstrations.

That is why Birmingham Negroes have organized and are maintaining their own defense patrols around the clock.

#### DO-NOTHING CONGRESS AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

The do-nothing Congress continues to stall on its too little and too late civil rights legislation. While it seeks to divert itself and the nation with the Valachi super-spectacular hearing on the underworld conspiracy of crime and murder, it condones by silence the official conspiracy of violence and murder unleashed by Alabama's Wallace and Mississippi's Barnett.

Meanwhile their poison spreads in the North as well as the South, and has the added aim of terrorizing into silence the small white voice that has finally been emboldened by the Negroes' courage to speak out against the racist madness. Yet the counter-revolution, on the march with no holds barred, brings from the Administration nothing but cowardly compromise and vote-seeking appeasement as the president's recent appearance with Gov. Faubus in Arkansas shows.

When, right after Labor Day, Gov. Wallace moved his state troopers into Birmingham, Huntsville and Tuskegee to prevent the opening of schools that were belatedly scheduled to start token desegregation, even city officials as well as newspapers like the Montgomery Advertiser and the Anniston Star, which had previously supported him, said that Wallace had gone too far. Much more important was the fact that white Alabama parents as well as their student children denounced and even defied the governor and his troopers.

On Sept. 25, the five federal judges in Alabama issued separate injunctions prohibiting



LARGE CONTINGENT from Mississippi demonstrated for civil rights during the massive March On Washington. They wore overalls to emphasize their working class roots.

### Report from Mississippi

#### 'We're Changing Our Lives'

By Martha Prescod, SNCC Field Representative

I spent last summer working for SNCC in Greenwood, Mississippi, on the voter-registration drive.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is an organization that grew out of the 1960 Southern student sit-ins. In the rural South you offend somebody just as much when you walk up to the courthouse to register to vote as if you walk into his store to sit down. When the first registration project was set up in McComb, Mississippi, in the summer of 1961, SNCC found that people going to the courthouse to register would be beaten up right on the courthouse steps.

To this day when a person goes down to register, his name is published in the paper and everybody knows it. Many times he loses his job. He loses his credit. He is cut off Welfare.

And of course, he is also subject to physical violence. It is not rare. For every instance that is brought to public knowledge, there are at least 10 or more that nobody hears about. Medgar Evers is not the only person who has been shot in Mississippi. Neither is William Moore the only person who has been killed in Alabama. There are countless shootings, countless houses that have bullet holes in the screen door and on the walls. It is common, very common.

The people we are working with are poor. The average wage for the Negro in the Mississippi Delta is between \$200 and \$300 a year. Most people either pick cotton or work as domestics.

#### EASTLAND'S WORKERS

The people who pick cotton on Senator Eastland's plantation earn \$2.90 a day. They work maybe three or four days a week,

during the cotton season, which extends for about ten weeks each year.

Many others work as domestics, which is a \$10 to \$15 a week job. Depression is not an invention—it is there in real terms. People live in houses where they paste up advertisements to keep the cold out. Many of the houses burn down in the winter because the heating system is so bad.

We have to depend on face-to-face contact. There is no other means of communication. We canvass door-to-door, telling people how registering to vote will change their lives, how it will mean a better education for their children; and maybe a minimum wage so they won't have to have their little children picking cotton 12 hours a day instead of going to school.

#### WORST IN COUNTRY

We then have to train people to take the literacy test. This state has the worst school system and the largest percentage of illiteracy in the entire country.

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# Yesterday's 'Nothings' Are Plenty Today

(ED. NOTE: Space of THE WORKING DAY and WAY OF THE WORLD columns is given to this article by a new contributor for this issue.)

DETROIT—In the early years of life, I will say between nine and 14, I learned that in being a Negro you have only one purpose in life: that of being an underdog. And being an underdog, you are considered nothing.

My first job I will never forget. It was in the year 1930. I was hired as a maid. The house had four bedrooms, one large living room, one dining room, a kitchen and two bathrooms.

### WORK, WORK, WORK

My duties were to get the children dressed and out to school, then I would get the baby out in the buggy for air on the porch. Now I would have to get back upstairs and make the beds and dust furniture and run the dust mop and the vacuum. I also had to fix lunch and wash dishes.

On wash days, I did the wash after I got breakfast and got the children off to school. Then I would have to rush and make the beds — no dusting or vacuuming today. After lunch I would start ironing. Wednesday was the day I ironed. If I didn't get through I would have to finish Thursday. After ironing or washing I had to start supper.

But on the other days after lunch, I would either have to walk the baby or go down and sweep the dry goods store that they had, or do some sewing—such as belts on the girls' dresses or buttons. Just anything to make me keep busy.

Then at night, after I had done the dishes and gone to my room to rest, which would be around 6:30 or 7 o'clock, she might call me out to watch the children while she went over to Mrs. Green, or Susan, or grandma, or anybody.

For a whole week, I worked for a mere \$3 and car-fare.

### 100% FOR FREEDOM

Now we are all caught up in this movement called Freedom NOW—some for it, some against it. Well, I am for it 100% because even a dog has more freedom than the Negro. There are some people that will try to get freedom now at any cost, and there are some that will try to keep the others from getting freedom at any cost.

Needless to say, I detest the way that the police, Bull Conner, Governor Barnett and other authorities are using tear gas, fire hoses and even vicious dogs. This is no way to treat humans. Oh, I forgot! The Negroes are considered as nothing. That is probably why they can do these awful things and don't feel any sorrow.

Yet they can hire these nothings in their homes to do all hard dirty work, that some of them are too lazy to do. Many are not able to do their work—and many of the younger women don't even know how to do their own work.

So these nothings go in and work for a little of nothing. Yes I said a little of nothing, because back in 1933-1934 I have worked right here in Detroit for a dollar a day and car-fare. Seven cents car-fare and one cent for a transfer—a total of \$1.15 a day.

### FRONT DOOR TABOO . . .

I have experienced these things, and as bad as it may seem, I wasn't even allowed to go in the front door. I remember one day I was sent to a place on Calvert and Dexter to do a day's work.

I went up on the front porch and rang the door bell. Finally the lady came to the door very, very angry and blurted out to me, "Why girlie, how long have you been going out working?" I told her about three or four years, so she asked me very angrily, "How old are you?" I answered 17. She said, "Well, haven't any of the other ladies you've worked for ever told you that you are never to enter into white people's doors?" I asked her how would I get in to do

her work, and she said through the side door or back door, and slammed the door in my face.

Well, I thought to myself, the best and most human thing to do is go back home. So I went down off the porch and started back down to Dexter to get a bus. I had travelled the distance of about six or seven houses when I heard someone shouting, "Girlie, girlie, hey girlie." So I turned and looked back and there was Mrs. Somebody as big as ever yelling for me.

### . . . IS QUICKLY BROKEN

I started not to go back, but I did. When I got back she spoke very calmly, "Why girlie, where were you going?" I answered, "Home." She said, "Oh, girlie, please come in and help me today. I have the wash started and this is the day for my cleaning to be done, and I am in a mess if you don't help me."

She knew that if I went home that by the time the employment office would send someone else out to her it would be too late to get her wash done and also her cleaning.

Just about five minutes before I was to stop and go home, she came pleading, "Oh, girlie, can't you please hurry a bit? I would like for you to wash my bathroom floor and also the kitchen floor, and just wipe down the basement steps. I will pay you for the few minutes over time."

Well, to get on my knees and scrub the bathroom and kitchen floors and also scrub the basement steps, it took me roughly 18 minutes. For overtime, she gave me 15c!

### FREEDOM NOW

Now I gather that freedom, to most of us, may mean that we will not go into their homes and be worked like horses and treated like not even dogs, I'll say like dirt. If Freedom NOW means that much to the Negro, it surely must give many whites high blood pressure, heart failure, heart palpitation, ulcerated stomachs, indigestion, and all other uncommon ailments.

These are the people that will do anything and everything, even bombing public or private homes to keep the Negro in bondage.

The Negro has been low-graded, low-fed, low-housed, low-paid, low-educated and low-classed. When most white people look at him they can only see a black face, and stupidity, dumbness, silliness. They see disloyal, dishonest, ignorant criminals and call them liars, cheaters and every other unworthy name in the dictionary. They say that Negroes have an I.Q. of nothing. What do you expect under the circumstances? All brilliant, smiling, happy, talented people? Contented?

### NEEDED: HARMONY

We, white and Negro, to have sweet peace for all, will have to unite ourselves and love one another. Harmonious is just about the most pleasing word that I can think of at this time. I often stop and wonder: what is going to happen? and where will this movement lead us all? I wonder if death and destruction is facing us all? What? What? What? The future has all doors closed to us.

Freedom, here, now. Yes, ever since this Freedom NOW movement began, there have been thousands of people all over the world getting killed because they want that blessed thing called Freedom. Well, I wonder if when we the Negro people get that sweet freedom, if there will be anyone left to enjoy it. Freedom here and now, has the whole world in the worst turmoil that any of us have ever seen or heard of. Why? What? When?

# Milwaukee Actions Answer Call of Freedom Movement

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Over 700 people held a silent march for the Birmingham Children here the Sunday following the bombing. All the civil rights and Negro groups participated together, and it was the biggest demonstration for civil rights that Milwaukee has ever seen.

Many of these groups have recently launched more militant action than ever before, and it is, in part, the result the activity CORE initiated here, when they began a campaign to removed a bigot, Fred Lins, from the community social development commission which was a phony body to begin with, designed to circumvent the already weak human relations commission.

CORE had picketed the office of Eugene Grobschmidt, chairman of the county board of supervisors, who had appointed Lins but refused to remove him. Later they held a sit-in in his office and about 10 people were arrested.

The campaign continued with more picketing, plus various tactics designed to worry and harass the county officials, the sheriff, and the cops. For instance, a stand-in was held outside Grobschmidt's office, which for some reason is not as illegal as a sit-in in the same place.

### SWITCH TO MAYOR

The next week we switched our attack to the mayor himself, whose idea it was to form this commission in the first place. After a meeting with him, at which he refused to take a stand against Lins (though he weakly said he didn't agree with Lins' "stark statement" that Negroes look so much alike you can't tell who committed

the crime, and a big mess of them have an IQ of nothing), we began a sit-in in the lobby of his office.

### ARRESTED, BOOKED

The first day we remained there until five and were allowed to do so. However, the next day we simply stayed in the office after five and immediately sent everyone into a tizzy!

At first it seemed that we would be allowed to stay all night, which was our plan, but the building superintendent got nervous and at nine, called the cops. After a polite request, given three times, to leave, 16 of us were put under arrest, most of us going limp and having to be carried onto dollies and wheeled to the waiting paddy wagons.

We were taken to the Safety Building (police headquarters, jail, and courts) where we were fingerprinted, booked and put each into a separate cell where we waited for about three hours to get bailed out. That three hours seemed like eternity, but we kept up our spirits by singing Freedom Songs at top voice, joking, and shaking the hands of the people in the next cells. We were treated OK, but being in jail even for a short time is not pleasant.

Finally we got bailed out. Our bail was taken care of by a special fund set up by some rich businessmen and politicians who mostly remain anonymous. Our bondsman is a Negro and takes no profit on it.

The next morning we appeared in court, and that was a revelation, too—seeing how the sad drunks, prostitutes, and runaway kids were treated. After a big argument between our attorneys and the city attorney, warrants were issued against us, and our bail was continued. Trial will be Oct. 15, and we will ask for a jury and of course, plead not guilty. The charge against us is disorderly conduct. We have good lawyers who will argue it on a constitutional basis: that we were exercising right of free speech and petitioning our government for redress of grievances.

### PRESSURE CONTINUES

A few days after the jailings, the commission of which Lins is a member met in special session to discuss the issue. Fifteen private citizens and representatives of Negro organizations spoke in favor of his resignation. In spite of all this, however, they voted to refer the question to the other human relations commission, and Lins himself stands fast, although you can see he is feeling the pressure.

### EXPOSE PHONIES

CORE feels, nevertheless, that the issue has really shaken up the whole town and has put public officials on notice that they can't be bigoted, at least so crudely and in public.

It has also exposed the phoniness of several politicians, including the Mayor and Grobschmidt, who has turned out to sound almost like a John Bircher, defending Lins' social philosophy of excluding the "ignorant Poor" from Milwaukee and going back to the days of "beans and baloney" welfare hand-outs. The situation could really develop into a second Newburgh, New York.

## The Negroes of Birmingham

Salute the Negroes of Birmingham

Hail the fighters for freedom  
Who fight the battle for us.  
Plain men, plain citizens,  
Brave workingmen and women  
Ordinary housewives  
All fighting for the right.

Dogs set upon them, they did not flinch  
They kept on coming to defy the beasts,  
The beasts of the local law,  
The watchdogs of state and property  
That is to say, they defied the cops  
—Guardians of injustice—  
The cops and the hounds of the cops.

And the bombs they endured for years and years  
With a patience awe-inspiring  
That gave birth to a mighty will  
A will for freedom, full freedom,  
Not a quarter nor a half  
They want all of it, the whole of it  
Neither "cheap imitations" nor compromise  
No tokens, no tokenism  
Freedom is for them indivisible  
The freedom to be human beings  
To walk the earth like men.

And though Shores and Gaston may say  
"Let us halt" ("After all, we two have it made already")  
They will not trade the savage Bull  
For the subtle oppression of Boutwell  
They will go on, they will not falter  
Till the fight for full freedom is won.

—A. Margulis.

—B. G.

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# Wilson on Capitalist Chariot

GLASGOW, Scotland — Parliament is in recess but, with a general election looming ahead, the wordy conflict between the leaders of the two main parties gets wordier every day that passes.

Lord Denning's report on the Profumo affair is of little importance to politically-minded workers, but it does enable the leaders to add to their vote-winning vocabulary. Harold Wilson knows that Denning's report will have little effect on the outcome of the general election, but having made so much of the Profumo scandal he must continue with it and score as many points as possible pending its final burial.

Wilson's principal concern, every day and every night, is how to win the general election and have himself established at 10 Downing Street. He hopes to sweep us all off our feet with a new plan to modernise and re-equip British industry by making the greatest possible use of science and technology.

A pamphlet which outlines this policy enlightens us with the following sentence: "Planning without automation equals stagnation; automation without planning equals chronic unemployment." The aim of the plan is to assist capitalist development by mobilising the workers, the educational establishments and the resources of the whole country. This plan—like all plans that come from above—will make the worker less of

a man and more of a plant tool. **BUREAUCRATS TO OPPOSE** The worker will continue to run to work at the bidding of a hooter that isn't his; work at a machine that isn't his; and produce commodities that aren't his. Under this system of state-directed capitalism, it will be the job of the Labour and trade union bureaucrats to oppose every move by the workers to improve their working conditions.

That arch-hypocrite, Ted Hill, has made it clear that he would consider a wage-freeze under a Labour Government. There are many more like Hill among the trade union leaders. Wilson will be surrounded by sycophants if Labour wins power.

**CLASS INTERESTS VITAL** We will soon be faced with the call to make Britain strong. Labour, we will be told, will ensure that Britain will win a greater share of the world markets. By that means our unemployed army will disappear. The call put forward by both the Communists and the Fascists, "Britain First," will be taken over by the Labour politicians. As the campaign develops it will be easy to conjure up a picture of unemployment everywhere but Britain. Despite them, however, the workers will fight for their class interests.

There is no political party in Britain voicing the class interests of the working class. We are devoid of any genuine organs of struggle. These defects must be remedied as early as possible. The initiative must come from the workers themselves. We are moving rapidly in the direction of state-capitalism and all the slavery and oppression that entails.

Class interests are paramount. There can be no Socialism without working class power. The spirit shown by the Russian workers in 1917, and by the workers of Hungary in 1956, must animate the British workers. That is overdue. (Reprinted from Information Bulletin of Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group).

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## Toilet Entails Big Negotiation

I was in on the last negotiations with Chrysler at the local level. One of the things we asked for was a rest-room on the main floor. We spent 48 hours on that issue alone. We had told the company that we felt many of the workers who were getting older shouldn't have to climb the stairs for the toilet. The company said that if they were so tired they couldn't make the stairs maybe they should be put on disability or retired.

The deadlock on the question was finally broken when an industrial engineer got in on it. He told the company it just wouldn't cost that much to install a new rest-room, and asked them how much longer they were going to haggle over one lousy toilet.

The request was finally granted, but I thought one of the company men was actually going to cry, he was so upset. A lot of the public think negotiations get tied up over big important questions. They wouldn't believe how assinine these industrialists can get.

Unionist  
Michigan

## ON THE LINE

# Conquest of Production— Or Beauty and the Beast

By JOHN ALLISON

DETROIT, Mich. — The public sees the finished product: a magnificent car in a place of beauty. It hears the sales pitch of those who make their livelihood off of the backs of the workers. Now to speak of beauty and the beast is not enough.

In the vast wilderness of production in the auto shops in America and around the world, there lies the hope of the workers to change the whole concept and practice of production. For as long as the capitalist class controls the means of production, the human being is lost in a world of gadgets, automation and mechanical aids too numerous to mention.

### NOW IT'S BICYCLES

The public does not know the strange and unreal life that a working man lives in the factory. Most people have heard the joke about telling someone to get a pair of roller skates if he has to walk very much or very fast. It hasn't quite come to that in the factory, but now they have bicycles.

It's a fact. Bicycles are used in the skilled division to get a tradesman quickly from one breakdown to another in order to keep production going at full speed. And full speed may bring to the mind of someone who hasn't worked on a production

line the idea of efficiency, high production and profit.

But to the worker on that production line it means something entirely different. He has to keep exerting himself, every second, to keep up with his work in tune with the full speed of the line. Some people may think the line is run by electricity. The worker knows it is run by his muscle, sweat and nervous system.

The conquest of the beast of production can only change when the workers' concept of production for profit is transformed into a new way of life—humanism. The machine is dead, but in man there is life. Man must become the center of all activity.

All of this is to say that the workers must control production. The conditions of labor will never be solved any other way.

### DIRECT ACTION NEEDED

Labor unions, once thought to be the great fighting arm of the workers, have transformed direct action into its opposite—negotiation. Unions have taken the will of the workers to freedom, and sold it for a system of production.

And now we see a strange thing: The UAW staff members want a contract. Why? There is no machine or production in these pork-chop jobs.

They are now crying for justice, these men who live off of the backs of workers and tell them not to strike over production standards because they gave the workers' rights away at the negotiating table. At this hour they cry for protection from the union they helped to create.

The rank-and-file worker has no choice but go into a program of direct action now to change the production system in the factory from profits to people. The real beauty of people will never be known until they have conquered the beast of production.

## Shovel Displaces 1,000 Miners

Morgantown, W. Va.—When the continuous miners came into the coal mines, they really chopped up the men. But compared to a new electric shovel that will be used to strip hard coal in Pennsylvania, the continuous miner is nothing.

It's true that the continuous miner knocked out one-half to two-thirds of the men working in mines when they came in. Where you had 15 men working on a section underground, with the continuous miner there are but six. Those left working have it rough, but there are a few left.

Now take this new high speed electric shovel. That's something else again. It's supposed to do the work of 1,000 men.

According to reports, the shovel will handle 16,000 tons a shift—three shifts a day. It has a 12-cubic-yard bucket and weighs about 414 tons. It has an electronic control system that is supposed to go through the cycle of digging, swinging, dumping and swinging back again at speeds as fast or faster than shovels one-third its size.

The time comes again to chalk one more up for Automation; and another one up against the miners and their families. Isn't progress just grand?

## With the Committees

Our youth and the second edition of American Civilization on Trial, with its new interest blank, have combined to start us off on a new level of growth this fall.

In DETROIT, where our youth have been active in many of the civil rights organizations, a field representative for SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) was the guest speaker at the October 4 local meeting. Miss Martha Prescod, a very moving speaker, with a very great story to tell—is an 18 year old student who worked in Greenwood, Mississippi last summer on the voter-registration drive. Her story of the conditions in rural Mississippi and of the people who make up SNCC is reprinted on page one of this issue. The Detroit meeting collected \$23, discussed the collection of food and clothing for Mississippi, and is working for other meetings where this story can be spread, from block clubs to union locals.

The presentation was tape-recorded, including the beautiful songs Miss Prescod led, so that other locals might share it by holding similar meetings where funds and aid for SNCC would be solicited. Such meetings, for example, may soon be held both by the MILWAUKEE local, which has been very busy with Civil Rights action all month; and by the PITTSBURGH local which has reported good sales of American Civilization on Trial and Freedom Riders Speak For Them-

selves not only in their own locality, but in Cleveland as well.

IN LOS ANGELES, during the same week, the first issue of The Marxist-Humanist appeared on the UCLA campus. An article by Betty Kramer which appeared in that first issue is reprinted on page 6 in Eugene Walker's Column "Youth Beginnings". Their journal asks other youth to contribute their ideas to the future issues: "To us the Freedom struggles which are taking place all over the world today are in need of a unifying philosophy that would embrace both thought and action. We are opening the pages of this journal in the hope of establishing a dialogue between us and those of you who see a similarity between our ideas and yours. If the ideas presented here find a response in you, by all means write. Friends or bystander or even foe, let us hear from you."

That the ideas presented in American Civilization on Trial have already found a response in those who have read it, was clear from the fact that workers who have bought copies of the second edition at sales the Detroit local has conducted, have taken the invitation for them to join with the News & Letters Committees so seriously that they have come up to the National Office to get a copy of the Constitution, buy copies of Marxism and Freedom, and attend the meetings of the local committee regularly.

## This Is Progress For Hungarians?

Glasgow, Scotland—We make no apology for again saying something about Hungary. Adrian Pigott, in a letter to the "Freethinker," says that he was there in September and that conditions are better than under the Hapsburgs. Somehow, we did not find this news very exciting. Perhaps we are hard to please.

In view of the fact that Glasgow Trades Council is sending a delegation to Hungary we draw attention to the latest decision on working hours for those employed in the building industry. Mr. Reszoe Trautman, Minister of Building, has announced that the working week will be advanced from 48 hours to 56. This is to make up for the lag behind in the plans in the first half of the year. This, we are told, is being done on a "voluntary" basis which means that "the labour code has not been violated." It may well be that the building workers are better off than under the Hapsburgs, but longer working hours is not a mile-stone on the road to freedom.

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For information on activity in Pittsburgh, New York and Milwaukee, write to the national office in Detroit.

**Editorial****JFK Shows Contempt of Labor  
By Forcing Compulsory Arbitration**

For eight months, from the time the present do-nothing 88th Congress convened on Jan. 2, not one single major legislative act was passed. Then, moving with a suddenness that even the party leaders couldn't believe, both the House and Senate passed a history-making bill in three days—taking only from Aug. 26 to Aug. 28 to enact it. President Kennedy's signature immediately penned to the bill made it law.

Nor was the speed of the action synonymous with courage. Quite the contrary. When a roll-call vote was called for in the House, the idea was drowned by the Congressmen by an overwhelming and hysterical cry of "No!" These legislators were quite willing to act, but trembled at the thought of being held responsible for their actions.

Well could they tremble, for they knew the opposition to the bill they had just passed. It was the first law in the country passed to force compulsory arbitration in a management-labor dispute. Although the law passed hit at the railroad workers in this instance, it is aimed at the whole of the working class.

**AUTOMATION VS. HUMANISM**

The issue involved was eloquently expressed by H. E. Gilbert, president of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engine-men, who said: "We can never forget that we are representing human beings, and that management is representing money. There is a big difference. You can always mint more money. But you can't mint new lives."

The struggle is one of Automation vs. humanism, the issue which is central to every industry in the nation.

Since the end of World War II, the workers of five railroad operating brotherhoods have been fighting a losing battle to keep their jobs. The 500,000 railroad workers employed in 1945 have been slashed in half, until now there are some 250,000 left.

This is not enough, however. Management demands that firemen on diesel locomotives have to go. And to the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, this demand spells virtual destruction of the union.

With a present membership of 78,000 men, elimination of the firemen means an immediate loss of 32,000 workers, reducing the membership to 46,000 men. Further Automation waiting to be unleashed by railroad management promises to reduce this skeleton force even more.

**STRIKE INTOLERABLE**

The life-and-death struggle thus posed to the union, which faced a deck of cards completely stacked against it, left only one course open. The strike. However, this weapon of the workers, the only one they really have that means anything in their struggles against management, was not to be tolerated by the Kennedy Administration.

The law didn't "just happen." It was carefully timed and executed by Kennedy. He maneuvered the railroad management and union into a stalemate, knowing that management tasted blood and wanted a showdown and that the workers would never agree to management's demands which would destroy them. When the time ran out, Kennedy was ready—and dumped the issue squarely into the lap of Congress.

**WORSE THAN TAFT-HARTLEY**

Congress enacted what Kennedy demanded: compulsory arbitration which outlawed the strike and left the settlement of the question of firemen and the number of men to be employed on an engine up to a committee.

Stripped of all of the fine words that come so easily to Kennedy, the naked truth stands out for all to see:—Kennedy's contempt for the working class is so great that he dared hit labor with what he hopes to be a killing blow. Not the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act, and not even the more recent anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act, can compare to Kennedy's action.

As much as these two labor crippling laws are against the working class, neither one of them dared go so far as to even hint at compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

The compulsory arbitration law passed by Congress was the first. Kennedy knows it will not be the last, for no one knows better than he that in Congress "A precedent soon becomes a principle." And the principle for Kennedy is simple: he, and he alone, will decide what the working class will or will not do.

He felt perfectly safe in proposing compulsory arbitration, knowing that he has Reuther, Meany, McDonald and their ilk so completely tied to him that they would not dare oppose him. And he was right, for not one of these self-anointed labor leaders uttered one word against this law designed to chain and destroy the self-activity of the workers and free collective bargaining.

Not all labor leaders have been silent, however. And it is a tragic commentary on the labor union leadership in this country that only the voice of James Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union, is raised loudly and clearly to warn the workers of the Administration's intention to shackle and control the working class.

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**Readers'****AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL**

We in Italy read with interest and concern what is happening in Birmingham. If only half of that had happened here we would have been up in arms, like the 14th of July 1948 and the 30th of June 1960. Is it possible that nobody organizes themselves to oppose violence and finish it once for all?

Reader  
Italy

I wish to offer my condolences to the relatives and friends of the little girls who were murdered in Alabama. That act was the most dastardly exemplification of human bestiality that the mind of mankind can conceive. I say also that the perpetrators of that act were only doing what society — government — has taught them to do! In no respect was it worse than Truman slaughtering probably hundreds of Japanese babes and kids with two atomic bombs. Those Japanese mothers and fathers loved their kids just as much as any other species of the human race can love their kids.

E. L.  
California

I agree with the other guys in my shop. The responsibility for the bombing is not only on Wallace's shoulders, but on Kennedy's. And even on Eisenhower's. If a stand had been taken on Faubus way back in Little Rock — if they had thrown him in jail to rot, as they should have — those four little girls in Alabama might still be alive.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

Robert Kennedy tells us he can't send troops to the South because you can't lead people by bayonets. What does he think the Southern whites are doing? If it isn't leading people by bayonets, when they use their dogs, their hoses, their cattle-prods, and their bombs, what IS it?

Welder  
Detroit

Jack and Bob Kennedy are trying to push the idea that they are "brave men" by pretending that it is a public liability to be "for" integration. But all the while, as politicians, they know the truth is the exact opposite — that this is the greatest thing they've got going for them.

Just look at Eisenhower. The whole time he was in office he made sure to keep his mouth shut tight, but now it's "the thing" to be "for" — so, finally, in 1963, for the first time, he comes out in favor of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. It is really pretty sickening.

Journalist  
Chicago

Wallace may be insane, alright. But he's no more insane than Hitler was. They are both perfectly adjusted to this insane system.

Freedom Rider  
Detroit

I can't really figure out a man like Wallace. Maybe he would think a little differently if he had been with us going over Pork Chop Hill in Korea. Those bullets didn't stop to ask us whether we were white or colored.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

Whites who kill Negroes (like Byron de La Beckwith who killed Medgar Evers)—or lead insurrections (like General Walker at Ole Miss) — are called "insane" and sent to an institution for rehabilitation. Negroes are simply sent to the electric chair (in the North), or lynched (down South).

Negro Reader  
New York

**SOUTH VIET NAM**

American foreign policy as it affects South Viet Nam has been exposed as a policy of two branches of American government—the state dept. and the military, each holding opposite positions while the ruling family of the country plays one against the other.

While the country is in open revolt against "The Dragon Lady", the President and the Catholic Bishop who, as members of the same Diem family, rule the country, it has been necessary to send McNamara and Taylor to conduct a personal investigation of the mess. The American taxpayer pays a million dollars a day to maintain this rotten corrupt regime, which uses U.S. arms and military supplies to arrest high school children by the thousands while Buddhist priests burn themselves to death in protest.

Aside from the regular U.S. military forces in the country, the democratic forces within South Viet Nam have to contend with the C.I.A. financed secret police under the command of the Dragon Lady's husband.

Journalist  
New England

I can't help thinking every time a demonstration for freedom is put down by cops and soldiers how grotesque the situation is. Just like that, some parasitical government gives an order and thousands of deadly machines called cops and soldiers are ready to go to work to create destruction and human misery among their own people as well as among other people. It is because governments have these robots to do their dirty work that the Negro race is having all its miseries and heartbreaks right now, and have had in the past.

Reader  
California

**FREEDOM NOW  
MOVEMENT**

The enclosed clipping from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin is very typical of the outward thinking of many Philadelphia whites in the lower and lower-middle-income brackets. It is called "The Apprentice Story: Father-to-Son Tradition is Challenged With Negro Pressure For Jobs" and is a good example of how a newspaper cloaks ugly sentiments

in a high-sounding manner. I feel that the Philadelphia incidents of last spring, and others like them, must be understood before a real union of white and Negro labor can take place.

A. M.  
Philadelphia

The building trades unions are having a tri-state convention here and Schoemann of the plumbers and pipefitters union harangued yesterday against the civil rights agitators and the federal government trying to get them to take Negroes into their apprenticeship training programs. So today we (NAACP and CORE) picketed them. I wish it would get national attention and news coverage, but I doubt that it will.

Activist  
Milwaukee

I think that there is no possibility that Negro youth, and Negroes in general, are going to let the Freedom Movement be stifled, by Kennedy or Martin Luther King or whoever it is. I don't think there's any possibility that they are going to give up the struggle for complete equality NOW . . .

I know that the Negro can't achieve complete equality or complete integration under capitalism, but I think the Freedom NOW movement is going to keep its momentum and be transformed into a class struggle movement with it. There is quite a bit of consciousness already that it is an economic question that is going to demand much more than just asking for a certain quota of jobs for Negroes.

Marcher  
Wisconsin

**PEOPLE ON WELFARE**

Thanks for publishing the story about the girl on Welfare in the August-September issue. She did all she could on her own to get help for her children. One very humane organization had contacted the Long Beach Press-Telegram and Paul Coates' people and they were going to help publicize the story of being thrown out of the housing project. When they found out she had appealed they decided not to cover it. Just why I don't know.

I guess that's why it was so important to me to have her story told somewhere, even though it might not do much good locally. Those on aid are very desirous of having the Long Beach welfare office, and in fact, the self-support clause of Public Law 87-543, investigated, but we wonder if it will ever happen.

Sometimes when you cover a controversial subject like illegitimacy, you feel somewhat doubtful as to how the story will be accepted. These babies are just as human as the legitimate ones, however, and their needs are just as great. That's something the Long Beach welfare office denies. We are grateful to you for publishing it.

Indigent Anonymous  
California



# Views

## DEMANDS AND CONCESSIONS

There was a story reported on the radio, which hasn't been reported in the papers, that I have been trying to get more details about to write up for you. (The editor of the local paper is anti-welfare and published letters from cranks against the people on welfare, which really do nothing but harm the poor and illustrate the writer's ignorance.)

The story concerned a man who killed a social worker here because he was so desperate and the worker would not help him. He didn't realize how little the social worker really has to do with it. But this is just the sort of thing we have felt was going to happen if something was not done to help the poor, not only here, but all over the United States.

I'm afraid that this is only the beginning. And you can bet your bottom dollar that the editor of the paper will make a martyr of the social worker and cry for the killer's death, as he is pro capital punishment.

Concerned California

## MARXIST-HUMANISM

New York City, as the intellectual center on the East Coast, is where radical ideas are being debated and intellectuals are beginning to face issues. I believe that Marxist-Humanism should be present to be weighed on the scales along with all other ideas.

What is needed is an area where ideas and issues may be discussed and where a dialogue may be reopened on those ideas and issues which the radical movement in New York has seen fit not to recognize, or simply to bury.

Generally the radical youth are publication conscious, and hipped on publications. Something like *The Young Marxist-Humanist*, a forum centered around Marxist-Humanism can play a very important role. *Marxism and Freedom* could be one of the books around which such a discussion could take place.

Radical Student  
New York

## MORE ON THE MARCH

News & Letters, like so many other radical publications has apparently siezed upon the alleged "censoring" of John Lewis' speech at the Lincoln Memorial as the most significant event of the day in Washington. Instead of noting that the March presented the most radical demands ever heard by such a large number of people — millions across the country followed the March—radicals have sadly mimicked the bourgeois press by emphasizing the logistical problems of the March and such matters as the Lewis speech, while ignoring the political significance of the demonstration.

Sniping (and it is precisely that) at the March for its moderate atmosphere and the obvious role played by the conservative groups in creating that atmosphere ignores the single most significant fact about the March: it was

a tremendous victory for the left-wing of the movement. Remember — the conservative groups did not want a March at all. They were forced to agree to it . . .

The March reflects the growing militance and aggressiveness of the black masses . . .

Sean  
New York

The March on Washington was an operation controlled and directed by a central committee of a chosen group of people representing certain organizations. That is why the President and the Administration was able to contain it. I felt there was a lack of spontaneity that was needed for that occasion.

I think also that the March and other so-called "direct-actions", like picketing City Hall in New York are really indirect action. It has been suggested that instead of having bus loads of people going to Washington, they should have been sent down South.

Just as News & Letters keeps saying the real conflict is at the point of production in industry, so I think the point of conflict in the Civil Rights movement is not in the White House or at the Lincoln Memorial, but in those areas in the South and in the North where there is discrimination in industry.

Student Marcher  
New York

## NKRUMAH, CASTRO AND REUTHER

The article by the Ghanaian revolutionary who wrote of Nkrumah's terror tactics now that he is in power there made me think of what happened in Cuba with Castro, and what has happened right in our own union movement. It seems that when people try to gain their own freedom they wind up getting back part of exactly what they had before.

It is a bit unbelievable that a man like Castro, who suffered so much himself before his revolution, should so quickly turn around to use his power against his own people. The same is true of Walter Reuther. The real tragedy, of course, is that they do not just take themselves down the dusty road, but they take so many others with them.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

There was a time when sainthood was only for the dead. Now men are having themselves made saints right in life. At least that's what people like Nkrumah seem to be working for. To make his sainthood, Khrushchev had to go to the extremes of even digging up a man! And in China, there aren't even any "saints" — just one God, and Mao's it.

Production Worker  
Detroit

## CANADIAN WHEAT

It took the sale of \$500 million in Canadian wheat to Russia to bring out the real Capitalistic instincts in our otherwise loudly anti-Communist legislators. They are all hopping on the bandwagon — from Senator Ful-

bright to ex-President Eisenhower. C.I.O. President George Meany also approves.

It is not as if anyone of them cares about suffering or starvation, or political principals for that matter; it is just good capitalism to make a fast buck where you can. "Principles" can be patched up later to justify what was political stupidity in the first place.

Observer  
Illinois

## AN OPEN LETTER

This is an "open letter" I am sending off to the *Detroit Free Press* and *The Detroit News*, in answer to those white mothers who keep saying they aren't against Negroes, but they just don't want their daughters to marry one.

In the interest of our sons, I want to tell you that we are sick and tired of you worrying about your daughters and our men. I will try to clear your minds. If your daughters are so dumb that they can't see love when it comes along, rest assured that our men have too much respect for themselves, and are too intelligent to marry some woman just because she is white.

If you are sure that this is the only reason you have for not wanting integration, you can rest in peace. Your daughters can live their lives as they see fit, and you can prove to the world that you really are an intelligent bunch of women.

Negro Mother  
Detroit

## NONE EXPENDABLE

When Haile Selassie came to the UN the world was reminded that Ethiopia was once considered expendable and Hitler was the result. With Hitler, the whole Jewish people were expendable. In Hungary in 1956, the students and workers fighting against Communism were the expendable ones. In Alabama it is now four little Negro girls. And last year over Cuba Kennedy almost decided the whole country was expendable, Negro and white alike.

When will the world learn that nobody is expendable? Nobody is immune to death — or to brutality.

That's why the current test-ban is such a sham. It isn't enough to ban "tests" — we have to ban brutality. If not, we will find that while I am the expendable one today, my white brother will be the expendable one tomorrow.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

It is interesting to note that the Senators who voted against the Test Ban Treaty are the same ones who support segregation in the United States—the southern Democrats: Byrd, Eastland, Lausche, Long, McClellan, Robertson, Russell, Stennis, Talmadge and Thurmond.

P. M.  
Detroit

# TWO WORLDS

## Sartre's Search for a Method To Undermine Marxism

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of *Marxism and Freedom*

It is difficult to know what to make out of *Search For A Method*.\* In part, and only in part, this is due to the fact that it is Introduction to a work we do not have in English and which has, in any case, not yet been completed. Yet it is no accident that the book under consideration here had undergone three different types of publications before, in its sixth year, it came out as an independent work. Sartre himself felt that it "logically" belonged at the end of the *Critique* since it comprised the method for which the *Critique* laid the foundations. As a philosopher, Sartre knows well that methodology is the most concentrated expression of theory, a result of a complex interaction of the spirit of the times, class base, theoretical analysis, practical activity, including a struggle with rival theories, rival praxis, rival methodologies. In a word, to use one that is a favorite with Sartre, it is a "totalization." By this it must be judged. And, indeed, the difficulty in understanding what Sartre is trying to say is, fundamentally, not related to the book being only an introduction to a work that is only half finished. Rather the difficulty arises from the fact that *Search For A Method* is weighted down by contradictory statements.

Take the central thesis, that Marxism, and only Marxism, is the philosophy of our age, while Existentialism is only "an ideology," "an enclave inside Marxism." (p. xxxiv) It is stated. Period. The argumentation that follows over the next 181 pages contradicts this either directly or indirectly. For, while Existentialism has, "in general," been demoted to a "parasitic system which lives on the margins of real science," specifically it has moved forward while "Marxism stopped." (p. 21) This is supposed to refer, not to the "Marxism of Marx" but to "today's Marxists." "Today's Marxists," a very loose expression at best, becomes, in the hands of Sartre, a cover-all not only of Communists, Trotskyists, ex-Trotskyists, and independent Marxists of all sorts, but of Marx himself insofar as this theory, says Sartre, is only "in its infancy." (p. 30)

The new Sartre proclaims himself a Marxist, properly defined ("Stalinized Marxism assumes an air of immobility . . ." p. 125); properly condescending to "revisionism" ("As for 'revisionism,' this is either a truism or an absurdity." p. 7); and, in his own eyes, sufficiently de-existentialized: "I consider Marxism the one philosophy of our time we cannot go beyond." (p. xxxiv)

The central core of all of Sartre's criticism of "today's Marxists" rests on the accusation that they have become "dogmatists" who fail to see the particular individual, the given events, the facts, the concrete experience, the new; in a word, reality, and have therefore caused "the temporary arrest of Marxism." (p. 89) Since the essay was originally written in 1957 for a Polish periodical, we shall start with the reality of that historic period—the crushed Hungarian Revolution. It is, moreover, the only current event Sartre deals with; all the rest of the book concerns itself with such pressing realities as the Great French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, literature in general and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* in particular, anthropology, microphysics, psychoanalysis, and other analyses by "today's Marxists"—or else it is on a subject "today's Marxists" have failed to analyze.

### SARTRE'S DISTORTED VIEW OF REALITY

Although Sartre himself had opposed the bloody suppression of the Hungarian Revolution by Russian might, at least on the ground that it was "not necessary," nor enhanced the "security of socialism," he here pours forth his indignation, not against the Russian counter-revolutionaries, but those of "today's Marxists" whose "method in all its nakedness" was used to make a new category of the Workers' Councils as "a democratic institution": "one can even maintain that they bear within them the future of the socialist society," Sartre continued, "But this does not alter the fact that they did not exist in Hungary at the time of the first Soviet intervention; and their appearance during the Insurrection was much too brief and too troubled for us to be able to speak of an ORGANIZED democracy." (p. 24, my emphasis, RD)

Because the Workers' Councils were not an organized democracy, neatly packaged for the modern Kierkegaardian of the "unsurpassable opaqueness," (p. 9n) because the spontaneous, self-organization of the Councils had a life that "was much too brief and too troubled," (p. 24) this consequence of their forced suppression becomes the sufficient ground for the dramatist Sartre's preference of speaking about the Hungarian Revolution as "the tragedy" rather than the elemental creativity. Sartre wants us, not to build a philosophy of freedom on that reality, on that "unsurpassable singularity of the human adventure," on that unarmed mass facing the armed, organized, state might. We are supposed, instead, to follow Sartre in donning a full suit of administrative armor to cover up Existentialism's distorted view of reality, in all its nakedness.

We have already quoted Sartre's gratuitous remark on "revisionism." (1) The myriad of new tendencies—whether expressed by Hungarian revolutionaries or Polish non-revolutionaries, by intellectuals or workers, by youth newly aspiring to "socialist Humanism," or old Communists like Imre Nagy upon whom freedom fighters suddenly thrust new leadership—one and all of these living forces, the true human dimension, get headshrunken into a non-differentiated category, "revisionism," and shrugged off with a "despite their good intentions . . ." The fact that the appellation was not theirs, but that of "Other," their tormentors, Khrushchev and Mao, who have long since transformed Marx's theory of liberation into state-capitalist enslavement does not seem to disturb the philosopher of existence. Though those who fought for freedom from Russian Communist overlordship were the real "existents" in the Poland of 1957 whom Sartre was

(Continued on page 7)

\**Search For A Method* by Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Hazel E. Barnes, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1963, \$4.50.) In the French edition this is the introduction to *Critique de la Raison Dialectique* of which only one volume has thus far been published.

# YOUTH

## New Beginnings

### On Working with People in a LA Negro Ghetto

(I give my column over this issue to a guest columnist whose article here appeared in "The Marxist-Humanist," a publication on the UCLA campus.—Eugene Walker).

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — During the summer I joined a group of young militant people who had recently formed a civil rights group which would work exclusively in the Watts ghetto, to the south and east of UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles). The project of the last three weeks of summer was the hopeful, but ill-timed, mobilization of Jordan High School students to boycott their school in protest against inferior and segregated schools.

I have been accused of being an "outside agitator" for my participation in the project. In addition to the fact that those who cry out against outside agitation in reality can never discriminate between those who do reside outside the crucial locality and spontaneous, internal protest, I believe that there are no outsiders.

#### BIRMINGHAM IS EVERYWHERE

Birmingham is not just Birmingham, Alabama, some 2,000 miles away; Birmingham is a dramatized symbol of the forces of racism which are at work throughout the entire nation. We lack the vicious dogs, we lack the laws which spell out the privileges of whites and the concessions to the "colored only." But we here are no more moral, no less prejudiced than the Southerners.

We spent two weekends trying to canvass the community of Watts to inform the people of the situation and to consider direct action against the school board in the form of a petition, a demonstration at South Gate High, or a possible boycott of Jordan. A meeting was announced at which the residents would decide themselves whether or not they wanted a boycott.

#### NO FEAR IN WATTS

I found that the hysterical fear among most white middle class Americans of signing even innocuous petitions was lacking in Watts. It is hardly surprising . . . the middle class is unaware that they are not free; the Negro is wholly aware of his condition, for it is jammed daily down his throat by whites who deny him decent jobs and housing, forcing him into ghettos and ghetto schools, and by the same whites who blame him for not caring about his education.

And I saw segregation. I saw thousands of shoddy homes—all black. I saw maps which depicted the boundary line. Whites lived on one side; Negroes on the other. The line bore no relation to the proximity of Negroes to the white school.

The meeting was held, and after many heated speeches, the students who attended decided that not enough of their classmates were well-informed and would know exactly the purpose of the boycott. They proposed a series of educational meetings and a postponement of the boycott.

Our failure was due to the fact that we began too late in the summer to organize a substantial amount of people. Those who attended the meeting wanted to act in some way, but they felt that they alone could not comprise a boycott. The group wants to continue its efforts to mobilize the Jordan students, but the boycott will come only when the Jordan students are fully aware of the situation and

decide for themselves to act.

#### NO OUTSIDERS

A week later I marched in the Protest Walk to the Board of Education. This time I saw segregation in a different way, a segregation justified not by laws but by clichés such as "property rights" and "property initiative" on the part of the Negro, and the expression of a woman's fear of traffic hazards which would accompany a boundary change. This is Northern segregation—fears of property values rationalized by "individual rights."

Property rights is an obsolete concept, for human beings can relate only to human beings, and not to things. Only when a person concerns himself actively with the freedom of all can he be a free human being himself; until then he is a slave to an immobile piece of property which can give him no happiness, no opportunity to develop his human powers. Thus no human being can be an "outsider" where others are involved.

## Mississippi: 'We're Changing Our Lives'

(Continued from Page 1)  
try — among both Negro and white.

We have urged illiterates to go down and have adopted the slogan: "One man, one vote." We feel that because someone has been denied the right to an education—which the Negro in this country has—you cannot then deny him the right to vote to change this situation for his children.

To pass a literacy test to register, you have to be able to write your name and address, how long you've lived in the state, and so on. Then the Mississippi clerk opens the Mississippi constitution, which contains 500-odd sections, and asks you to copy one of these sections and interpret it. In Greenwood, maybe 5 out of 2,000 people who have gone down to register have actually been put on the books. We have had college graduates fail to pass. The test, of course, is not administered to whites.

#### NO FEDERAL AID

We have asked many times for Federal marshals but we don't get them. People went down in Ruleville on Aug. 6 to vote. Eight people were registered there. They were met by 12 white men, armed with rifles, drawn and cocked. They had to go through these men to vote. They were followed back by a truckload of white men with rifles. The only kind of protection we have is publicity.

People register knowing this is what they risk. They know they may lose their jobs, their homes may be shot into, they may be arrested and beaten. But they know also that they are changing their way of life. Time and again people say:

## Reprint from the 'Young Marxist-Humanist'

### 'All My Life I Have Wanted to Be Free'

I am an average Negro girl. I want the same things most people want. All my life I have wanted to be free. I have always wanted freedom of traveling anywhere I pleased with whom-ever I wanted, but this very simple right is impossible for me to have at this time.

When I was in grade school I always dreamed that I was that little white Jane in my first-grade reader; that I lived in that very nice home in such a nice neighborhood 20 miles out of town. When the bell rang and class was over, my dream was over too. At a very tender age I learned to face reality, that I was a Negro; that my grandparents were slaves; that they were so stupid they didn't know what to do with their freedom when they got it. This is what 99-9/10 percent of all history books in the United States say.

#### PICKET LINE ROUSES SPIRIT

I can remember so clearly the wonderful feeling I got when I finally got up enough guts to participate in the civil rights movement. Yes, I—like countless others—had read and heard about the sit-ins down South. I felt it was good that the youth right in the heart of the South were standing up and fighting for their rights.

But the fighting spirit didn't hit me until later. It was a nice Saturday afternoon. I was shopping downtown, and passed Woolworth's, a ten cent store which was under a nationwide boycott because of its segregation policies. In front of the store was a mixed group of people picketing, mostly youth, but some adults. There was a young girl at one end of the

line selling pins. The pins were in black and white. They said: "Freedom Now." I went over to buy one, and to get a closer look at the signs. One said: "Don't Support Second-Class Citizenship." Another said: "We Want Our Freedom Now." At the same time the line was singing: "We Shall Not Be Moved." They had changed the words to: "Black and white together, we shall not be moved; Integrate the cop cars, we shall not be moved . . ." It seemed that all of this hit me at once. I could help in the fight for my dignity and self-respect, but most of all my Freedom, just by joining this picket line.

#### SOCIETY BASED ON LIE

This picket line was composed of people with many different political views: Trotskyists, Communists, good old flag-waving Democrats, and Republicans, and a few Marxist-Humanists. From this line there was formed a civil rights action group called the Detroit Brotherhood Youth Council (DBYC). For about two years we participated in a number of civil rights actions, with a certain amount of success.

The DBYC, like countless other groups, soon wasted into loss of members, inactivity, and finally inexistence.

To me, the main reason was that we were incapable of fulfilling the inner needs of an organization. We were all fighting segregation, but that was not enough. You have to fight the cause of it, this type of a society.

A society that is so much like an inhuman science-fiction creature that it thrives on the blood of the people for its very existence. A type of society that is based on the greatest

lie in history. One that loves to hide behind two great words—Christianity and Democracy—and at the same time tries every dirty trick to keep the common people down so that a handful of rich can prosper even more from their sweat and blood.

We had no basic philosophy because everyone had his own politics outside of the group. Through some of the kids in the DBYC, I began to go to some of the Trotskyist meetings. At one of the meetings there was a man talking about his great invention, his one-man-band. This was the topic of the whole evening. To me this seemed a little nutty for the topic of a political meeting.

As far as their philosophy went, I couldn't see any great difference between Communist Russia and Capitalist America except the spelling. They both are two great parasites living off the common people. After that I only went around to be with some of the kids, but after awhile even that became an effort.

#### MARXIST-HUMANISM ILLUMINATES

When I began coming to Marxist-Humanism, it was extremely hard for me at first to understand what was going on except that the people were very nice, and it was very clear to me that they were fighting just as hard for the rights of Negroes and workers, but unlike so many other organizations this was not for the sole purpose of getting their name in print or in order to take over and use people for their own selfish reasons.

Because of their basic philosophy I saw my life, the world, and the whole Civil War through a different light. I saw why the world is in such a big mess, why the Civil War was fought, and the true reason why good old Abe declared us free. I also saw why, as long as we live in this type of a society, the common people will always have a hard way to go.

Before I came to Marxist-Humanism I knew that our educational system was shot, insofar as history goes. In high school they talked about Karl Marx in only one of my history classes. It was all in one line: he was a Communist. There was nothing about his writings or about his philosophy. It is now very clear to me why this was so.

—Bobbie Turner

I don't want to see my children come the way I did. This is what drives them to keep coming.

#### BRUTALITY—AND COURAGE

SNCC workers are predominantly Southern workers, and most of our people are from the states they work in. These are just a few of the people I worked with:

Jo Ann Christian—Jo Ann was 15, and had been to jail 12 times. She was with a group of kids who went to kneel at City Hall. The police knew who she was and when the police were arresting her, she was picked up, dragged into the station—and deliberately dropped four times. When she went into the station to be booked, Chief Prichett of Albany picked her up by the hair and threw her around the station. One of the police officers slammed her behind the steel doors several times. She was stomped on. And finally they put her into solitary confinement.

There are two special things I remember about Jo Ann. I remember her mother standing up at the end of a mass meeting in Albany and asking our attorney very quietly: "I wonder if you could tell me if my daughter is alright?" The other thing I remember is that when they finally got to visit Jo Ann and asked her if she wanted any more light, she said, "I always carry my light with me."

#### ONE OF THREE ALIVE

Then there is Bob Moses. He is known state-wide by the police, and all whites in the county. There was a trio: Herbert Lee; Medgar Evers, and Bob Moses. They had all been shot at innumerable times. Both Lee and Evers are dead. Moses

is still in Mississippi and he's staying, and working on in his usual, quiet, patient way.

And finally Miss Hamer from Ruleville, a very strong woman. When she went down to register she was kicked off her plantation that very night. She just had to leave her husband and go. The house where she stayed that night was shot into the next day. The next house she moved to was also shot into. But she still works there. And she voted this year. It was the first time Negroes have voted in Mississippi since 1890.

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Two Worlds

Sartre's Search for a Method to Undermine Marxism

(Continued from Page 5)

addressing, the philosopher of "the individual" didn't take time out to personalize a single one—unless the questionable choice of that time and that place for launching an attack on the only truly original Communist philosopher who finally got swept up by the revolution in his native land—George Lukacs—can be called "personalization": "It is not by chance that Lukacs—Lukacs who so often violates history—has found in 1956 the best definition of this frozen Marxism." (p. 28)\*\*

It has taken Sartre some 17 years to return to the field of philosophy. No matter what one thought of BEING AND NOTHINGNESS—and this writer considers it a manifestation of the disintegration of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thought under the blows of Depression, Fascism, and the Fall of France—the book was a carefully elaborated, closely argued work. This is not true of *Search For A Method*. Where not totally wrong, its argumentation is perfunctory. It jumps all over vast fields of thought—from philosophy to science, from literature to anthropology, from economics to psychoanalysis, from analyses of revolutions to those of the Proletariat, (the capital P is Sartre's), and from history to the time of day. But it lands nowhere.

Its rootlessness leaves a deep gap in the book, which is not due to the fact that we have not seen the whole work. Rather it is of the essence to the whole work. The abyss opened up here (*Search For A Method*) will be the more glaring in *CRITIQUE DE LA RAISON DIALECTIQUE*, Vol. I. Let's follow the indications in the work we're reviewing. "Sade's pessimism," writes the uniquely equipped dramatist Sartre, "joins that of the manual laborer, to whom the bourgeois revolution gave nothing, and who perceived at about 1794 that he was excluded from the 'universal' class." (p. 117)

SARTRE'S DISTORTED VIEW OF THE PROLETARIAT

Now, Sade's pessimism "joined" that of the manual laborer neither in theory, nor in life; neither in the specificity of the act, nor in the given situation. Nowhere, in fact, except in the head of the Existentialist Sartre could "the lived hope of a noble, outlawed by his class" (p. 116) "join" that of the manual laborer who by the very fact of being "excluded from the 'universal' class," would gain that "quest for true universality" which would lead him, not to sadism, but to revolution.

All that Sartre reveals by intellectually forcing the unification of the irreconcilables is that he is a true son of bourgeois society dominated by the dogmatism of the concept of the backwardness of the masses who are supposed to be incapable of thinking on their own, and therefore must be managed, led, and made to work the harder and produce the more. By his insistence on the particular against the general, the concrete—"incident by incident"—as against the "abstract ideology of universality," the historic event against the a priori judgment, "absolute empiricism" as against dogmatism, Sartre may have destroyed as many dogmatisms as he claims. But one, unstated, yet all-pervading dogmatism continues to be the underlying motif of all Sartre thinks, writes, does. It is the dogmatism of the backwardness of the masses.

Sartre seems to revel in "revealing" that the Proletariat is not "an abstract ideology of universality," but a concrete separateness: "Wasn't Thermidor rendered possible by the growing dissension between the sans-culottes and controlling faction of the members of the Convention?" (pp. 120-1) And then the shocking conclusion: "It is true that the people supported the Revolution and true, too, that their distress had counter-revolutionary tendencies." (p. 121)

He sees "counter-revolutionary tendencies" everywhere—except, of course, in himself, and in the Communist Party, which even when it perpetrates actual counter-revolutionary acts, continues to remain "the only revolutionary Party." (2)

Failing to perceive alienations as manifestations of class contradictions, Sartre stands everything on its head and has alienations "give birth" to these contradictions: "In a socialist society, at a certain moment in its development, the worker is alienated from his production . . ." (p. 178) ". . . the new alienations which give birth to the contradictions of socialist society and which reveal to it its abandonment; that is, the incommensurability of existence and practical Knowledge." (p. 179)

Why is this master of language so slippery, ambivalent, contradictory, confusing on the warp and woof of Hegelian and Marxist philosophy—the theory of alienation—where he should, as "a philosopher of existence" get along so swimmingly? The Humanism of Marxism is grounded on this theory. Here Marxism transcended Hegelian dialectics, stood Hegel "right side up," and at the same time separated itself from what Marx called "quite vulgar and unthinking communism" which was "only the logical expression of private property" and "completely negates the personality of man."

Since, to a philosopher, an "alienated existence" is an analytical phrase rather than an exploitative reality, it becomes easy for him to think that introducing another idea, such as the notion of "future," therefore means the achievement of a "synthetic transcendence" rather than the giving up of the today for the tomorrow. Thus, Sartre writes glibly: "For the man in China the future is more true than the present." (p. 97)

A NEW COMMUNIST METAPHYSIC

No doubt, for the author of *Being and Nothingness* who rooted man in desire, anguish, dread, finding "the root of the human—in need" is new. (p. 91) Moreover, this need is tied by Sartre to a "theory" of scarcity. (3) Sartre had insisted, from the beginning, that Marx's concept of freedom could not be realized "so long as the transformation of social relations and technical progress have not freed man from the yoke of scarcity." (p. 34)

Along with this view of scarcity Sartre has made a fetishism of the State Plan. "That the Marxists allow themselves to be duped by mechanical materialism is inexcusable," writes Sartre, "since they know and approve of large-scale socialist planning." (p. 97) Just as Smith and Ricardo, despite their discovery of labor as the source of value, became prisoners of "the fetishism

\*\* We're sorry that, for space considerations we have to leave out good portions of this letter. But it can be bought as Political Letter, New Series, No. 7, 20c N&L, 8751 Grand River, Det. 4, Mich.

of commodities" because they could not see capitalism as anything but a "natural order," nor labor not only as "source" but as "subject," and there met their historic barrier, so Sartre met his in the State Plan.

And, as Smith and Ricardo tried explaining away labor alienation as a "feudal blemish," so Sartre seeks to explain away labor alienations under "socialism" by his "theory" of scarcity—scarcity in this over-productive, state-capitalist, automated, "microphysic," atomic age of ours! It may not be much of a theory to explain the ills of capitalism in the United States or Western Europe or even Japan. But, obviously, when he first dragged in the "yoke of scarcity" (p. 34) in talking of Marx's analysis of the reign of freedom and claiming that "we have no means, no intellectual instrument, no concrete experience which allows to conceive of this freedom or of this philosophy," Sartre was thinking of "socialist societies."

Before therefore we jump to the conclusion that Sartre's new theory of scarcity reveals more a scarcity of thought than a material scarcity, let's remember that new reality which did not confront Marx: the state-capitalist societies of Russia and China which he calls socialist. Consciously or unconsciously, it is for these he created the theory of scarcity.

Just as, in the 1930's, it was neither the sit-down strikes in France which destroyed the pretensions of fascism in his native land, nor the Spanish Revolution in the other Europe, but rather the proletarian defeats by German and Spanish fascism that set the mood for *Being and Nothingness*, so it is that, in the 1950's, it is neither the Hungarian Revolution from Communist totalitarianism, nor the African Revolutions from Western imperialism that set the mood. Rather it is the victories of the counter-revolutions that set the mood for *Search For A Method* and the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* . . . \*\*

The work at hand escapes from any need to resolve the conflict between his theory of individual freedom and his theory of human relations by shifting from man the individual to man in the mass. Here "Hell is other people" becomes "Hell is the practico-inerte." In a word, the division between the "passive" masses and the "active" elite which has stood capitalist production and its philosophy of rationalism so well from its beginnings to its state-capitalist stage is given a new coat of philosophic paint. This is the remorseless logic of the failure of seeing creativity in the proletariat.

The anti-Stalinist, anti-capitalist, contemporary petty-bourgeois intellectual, himself the victim of the absolute division between mental and manual labor, the climax of centuries of division between philosophers and workers, is all too ready to hand over the revolutionary role of their self-emancipation into the hands of the Communist Party and its philosophy of the elite who will continue "to lead" the workers while the latter must continue to labor as before, only harder. In the *Critique* Sartre creates a veritable mystique about the "political group" which fights the "inertia" of the masses; he even glorifies terror: "The communal freedom creates itself as Terror." The methodological foundation for the new Communist metaphysic has been laid by Sartre here in *Search For A Method*.

Footnotes

(1) Due appreciation for this is tendered Sartre by no less a personality than the chief philosopher for Polish Communism: "Sartre's ideas on revisionism are of interest. The term is, he says, either a truism or an absurdity." (p. 37) "This thought of Sartre's goes far beyond the shallow but loud propaganda of the revisionist miracle-makers, and, in my opinion, deserves a deeper analysis. So we see that Sartre not only avows Marxist philosophy but attempts to defend it from attack." (p. 38) (Adam Schaff, *A Philosophy of Man*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1963, \$3.25)

(2) "Materialisme et revolution" (*Les Temps Modernes*: Vol. I, Nos. 9 and 10, June-July, 1946) In 1947 the old periodical, *Politics*, translated this essay on "Materialism and Revolution." It reappeared as Chapter 13 of Sartre's *Literary and Philosophical Essays* (New York, Criterion Books, Inc.) in 1965. This edition bears a footnote by Sartre, which reads: "As I have been unfairly reproached with not quoting Marx in this article, I should like to point that my criticisms are not directed against him, but against Marxist scholasticism of 1949. Or, if you prefer, against Marx through Neo-Stalinist Marxism." The truth, however, is that the article couldn't have referred to "the Marxist scholasticism" of 1949 since it was written in 1946. Nor could it have been directed against "Neo-Stalinist Marxism" which did not arise until after Stalin's death. Sartre, at the time of writing his original article in 1946, (which duly quoted Stalin as an authority on Marxism) was such a millenium away from thinking about "Neo-Stalinist Marxism" that the chief target of his was—Frederick Engels. Instead of being then wrought up about "Neo-Stalinism" which was yet to appear historically, he couldn't find it in himself to resist footnoting even the favorable mention of Marx's Humanism as follows: "It is, once again, Marx's point of view in 1844, that is, until the unfortunate meeting with Engels." It is one of the marks of our state-capitalist age that our intellectuals seem more adept at re-writing history, than at writing it.

(3) It needs no Marx to answer this excuse for class exploitation. The "scarcity theory"—basis of primitive societies—and the "buying cheap and selling dear" idea of pre-Industrial Revolution societies were answered by classical (bourgeois) political economy of Smith and Ricardo. The Marxian theory of surplus value, which said Marx, was really implicit in the Smith-Ricardo theory of value, is based on the assumption and the fact that the technological revolution put an end to any "theory" of scarcity as an excuse for the maldistribution of income or the cause of crisis.

As Others See Us

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

American Civilization on Trial. A Statement by the National Editorial Board of News & Letters, 8751 Grand River Ave., Detroit, Mich. Price 50 cents.

"It was the Negro's will to be free, not his alleged docility, that inspired the first draft of the Declaration of Independence in which Thomas Jefferson lashed out against King George III for conducting 'a cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere' . . ."

"A American Civilization on Trial" relates that this "will to be free," expressed in slave revolts and individual resistance, was the primer, that sparked New England Humanism into action against slavery and prompted the intellectuals to line up in Abolitionist movement.

The pamphlet analyzes, from a Marxist point of view, the conditions that brought on the Civil War; and notes what Marx thought of the fight for racial equality as a factor in the class struggle . . . "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

As was soon seen, the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation failed to remove the brand that separated black from white workers. The 19th Century social and economic revolution, destined to wipe out feudal relations and race barriers, remained unfinished—and remains still unfinished to this day.

But it wasn't because Negroes didn't try to break down old barriers. The authors point to the participation of Negroes in the populist movement, in the Knights of Labor, the United Mine Workers and the IWW.

With respect to the IWW the authors point out that at the time of its greatest activity in the South, nearly 87 percent of Negroes still were farmers, and thus not in position to take part in labor union activities. Nevertheless, as they state, the Brotherhood of Timberworkers (IWW) in 1910 had a membership of 35,000 in the South and half of these were Negroes; and that there was successful integration of white and Negro workers in the IWW's longshore branches in Philadelphia and other Eastern port cities.

The pamphlet (it is better than many a book, it is so full of information), carries the Negroes' story right up to the fight for integration in Birmingham, Alabama, which is still very much alive today. It takes note of the Communists who, uninvited, drew up irresponsible programs for the Negroes, as they did for everyone else in days now past; and of "Operation Dixie," the AFL-CIO promise that flopped.

The book abounds in footnotes which direct the reader to valuable source material.

In their conclusion, the authors become a bit philosophical. That section is topped with a quotation from Hegel. Let the reader wrestle with the theory if he wishes. We end this review with a few lines from the last page of this absorbing working class statement:

"A new man will emerge. A new society.

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(Reprinted from THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, June 5, 1963)

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## New Demonstrations

(Continued from Page 1)

Wallace from interfering with court-ordered desegregation. By then, however, Wallace had succeeded in his aim of mobilizing the counter-revolution. The vicious National States Rights Party, the White Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan had already taken their cue from the governor.

Taking as its swastika the confederate flag which bedecks the cars and helmets of the state police, the counter-revolution opened its new campaign of terror with bombings.

The most horrible was the dynamiting of the 16th Street Baptist Church which took the lives of four Negro girls, blinded a fifth, and seriously injured a score of people. No less racist and barbaric was the Birmingham cop who, that same day, killed 16-year-old Johnny Robinson with a shotgun blast "fired over his head." No less racist and barbaric were the two teenage white boys who, wearing their confederate flags on that day of infamy, shot and killed 13-year-old Virgil Ware.

### THE INSANE SYSTEM

The day after the church bombing, Bull Connor, evil genius of the hose-and-hounds atrocities against Negro demonstrators last spring, crawled out of the hole in which he was biding his time to suggest that the Negroes were themselves the bombers and murderers of their children in order to provoke a reaction. Two weeks later, state police Col. Al Lingo went out of his way to tip off the masterminds of the vicious bombings by arresting two minor KKK hoods on the innocuous charge of illegally possessing dynamite.

When Wallace, on the heels of the massive March on Washington, made his first move against the schools, Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon revealed that the governor's actions not only appeared insane but that he is still actually collecting a ten per cent disability from the government for war-caused psychiatric illness. The Negroes know that the election of a ten per cent demented governor is in keeping with the insanity of the whole system.

But what, other than spinelessness, explains the chorus of denunciation, by Northern liberals no less than Southern reactionaries, of Sen. Morse for "violating" Wallace's civil rights by divulging his psycho-neurotic record. It is precisely such misplaced sensitivity that helped bring to power the Hitlers of World War II—and that now watches silently while the neo-Nazi Rockwell and the neo-fascist National States Rights Party make an unholy bloc with the KKK, the White Citizens Councils and Wallace.

### THE DO-NOTHING LABOR BUROCRATS

One of the worst offenders in this conspiracy of silence is the organized labor movement down South. In Birmingham it is particularly the Steelworkers Union that must wear the brand of shame, from its international president, David McDonald, down to its local bureaucrats in that embattled city.

Ten years ago, the Steelworkers Union in Gary, Indiana, intervened to silence and defeat a segregationist outburst in Gary public schools. By a prompt and forthright appeal to its membership and to the city as a whole, that Gary local was able to defeat the segregationists, counterposing the fundamental class solidarity of Negro and white steelworkers and their historic concern with safeguarding free public education.

Today in Birmingham, however, the Steelworkers Union maintains a craven silence. For-

gotten is the fact there would have been no union in Birmingham if it weren't for the organizing activity of the Negro steelworkers 23 years ago. Forgotten is the fact that the same counter-revolutionary elements which launch violent attacks against the Negroes today, launched similar murderous violence against the early Union organizers yesterday.

Frightened by increasing unemployment in the steel mills, the Union leadership isolates both the white and the Negro workers. By their silence in the Freedom NOW movement, the Steelworkers Union bureaucrats not only accept, they enforce contractually the discriminatory hiring practices of the giant steel corporations which neither in public nor in private oppose Wallace's terroristic excesses.

### MASS MOVEMENT PUSHES FORWARD

But because the Negro mass movement refuses to be silenced, a white opposition to Wallace is finally finding its first timid voice. Shocked into speech by the horror of the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing with its grim aftermath of death, Georgia Congressman Charles Longstreet Weltner rose in the House of Representatives to blame Southern moderates, himself included, for the Birmingham tragedy.

"It happened," he told the unresponsive Congressmen, "because those chosen to lead have failed to lead. Those whose task it is to speak have stood mute. And in so doing, we have permitted the voice of the South to preach defiance and disorder. We have stood by, leaving the field to reckless and violent men." One might, however, ask the Georgia Congressman what he is saying, let alone doing, about comparable atrocities in Albany, Ga., or in Americus, Ga.

From the bombings and murders, from the new wave of mass arrests, the message is finally forcing itself upon white America: There are no neutrals, there are no moderates today. You are either with Wallace and the assassins, or you stand forth with the Negroes for human rights. The silence must be broken. White America must NOW speak out for civilization and against barbarism.

The Robert Kennedys, who hide behind such empty words as "You can't lead people with bayonets," must be made to answer why the Administration is allowing the white statists to rule by bombings. If only the Negroes are to carry the burden of civilization, that indeed would be proof of the end of white civilization. As against the Administration, the white liberals and the labor bureaucrats, rank-and-file white labor must join with the Negroes who are not permitting the counter-revolution to go unchallenged.

Even as the bombings and arrests and intimidations increase in ferocity, the Negroes are meeting the challenge with increasing demonstrations on ever-expanding fronts. Already in these last few weeks, one thousand have been imprisoned in Selma, Ala., where demonstrations never were before. For each Freedom Fighter imprisoned, two new Fighters join the ranks. In High Point, N.C., another thousand have been imprisoned for demonstrations, and return to the line of struggle as soon as they are released. From the high point reached by last summer's massive demonstrations throughout the country, a new sense of destiny and determination has strengthened the struggle. The great Washington March of Aug. 28, must now be followed by a march on, and not just to, Washington.

## Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

### Ben Bella Challenged in Algeria

The events in Algeria approaching a near civil war have been building up ever since Ben Bella decided to rule singly and through maneuvers rather than with the socialist militants who had been the backbone of the struggle against French imperialism.

As background of the present events we reprint below part of the statement of CIDRA (Committee for the Defense of Algerian Revolutionaries), which had been translated by Ian Birchall and published in the *Labour Worker* in Scotland. The statement was issued after the arrest in Algiers of four revolutionary militants who Ben Bella claimed were "adventurers":

"These 'adventurers' are men who played leading roles in the F.L.N. during the War. They are ALOUACHE; BEN YOUNES; MOUSSA KEBAILI; SAOUT EL ARAB; MOHAMED BOUDIAF. These men, who had devoted themselves completely to the struggle for Algerian independence had before the cease-fire already recognized the need to pursue the Revolution, beyond national objectives, to satisfy the socialist aspirations of the disinherited masses and had already begun to work in this direction. The spectacle of the rush for power in the new independent Algerian State, and of the unleashing of ambitious appetites, could not leave them

indifferent, and they remained true to themselves by refusing to integrate themselves with a regime which seemed to them to make a mockery of the aim of the struggle . . .

"The case of Boudiaf is particularly clear . . . *Le Monde* (7/20/62) quoted him:

"The most valuable programme will be that which has the agreement of all the classes of our people, and above all of those who have most to fear from domination and exploitation. For what has been the real substance of our struggle? Is it not the fellahs, these wretched agricultural workers, and the illiterate unemployed youth of the countryside, and of the towns of tin-huts, whose contribution to the Army of National Liberation and the People's National Army, or just their work among the masses, has been the most important and the most total . . .

"Why these arrests? Hypotheses can be made on the basis of the present situation in Algeria. Since Spring, the BEN BELLA Government has taken a series of measures against the property of French settlers, and certain large Arab landlords. It has thus lost the support of a large number of those for whom the independence of Algeria meant only the continuation, in a scarcely modified form, of the old exploitation . . .

"The Government, unable to create a mass democracy, has no course but to manoeuvre perpetually between the existing forces, whether they be the National People's Army, the French bourgeois state, or the disinherited masses.

"The attitude of BEN BELLA towards FERHAT ABBAS is an excellent illustration of this policy. To maintain unity with ABBAS, who openly represents a Rightist tendency, reluctant to take measures of socialisation, BEN BELLA has made concessions on the essential, and has even agreed to take sanctions against organisations and papers which displease ABBAS. It is a striking paradox that Mohamed BOUDIAF, one of the founders of the Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action should be in prison, while FERHAT ABBAS, who knew nothing of the revolution but the quick corridors of diplomacy, should receive protestations of friendship from BEN BELLA.

"Nor can it be forgotten that from the very first days, BOUDIAF has been reproached for criticising 'The People's National Army, and its leader, Colonel Boumedienne,' BOUDIAF has in fact repeatedly declared: 'At present, the army is the principal force, and no strong popular party can be born in the shadow of machine-guns, unless it is a servile instrument'." (Interview in *Le Monde*—7/9/62).

### South African Underground

As Martin Luther King Jr. has pointed out, "Everything that Hitler did was legal, while everything the Hungarian Freedom Fighters did was illegal." Legality and justice are not often on the same side of the fence.

In South Africa the hatred of the white minority permits laws to exist where a person can be held for 90 days without trial, then released, permitted to walk a few yards and re-arrested for another 90 days. Such a victim was Arthur Goldreich, one of the white leaders in the struggle against South African segregation.

His recent escape from jail, along with three other prisoners, touched off a nationwide search, but Goldreich is safely outside the country.

Not so lucky is colored Doctor Kenneth Abrahams who fled to Bechuanaland, a British colony into which the South African police found it easy to penetrate and from which they kidnapped him. The British Government is yet seriously to complain about this illegal act on its territory.

But the South African underground is not relying on British law to help it. This underground, mainly African but joined also by a part of South Africa's Jewish population, is a great deal more active than the hated apartheid Verwoerd Government would openly admit. But it is the anti-fascist underground it fears.

### New Dominican Dictatorship

The civilian regime which succeeded dictator Trujillo

has been overthrown by a military clique in a pattern familiar to those acquainted with South American affairs. Despite \$41 million in "Alliance for Progress" aid from the U.S., the mere threat to re-organize the police state military apparatus left behind by the dictator was enough to overthrow the civilian government of elected President Juan Bosch.

In the dark of the night the colonels and generals arrested him, dismissed the Congress and said, "We have decided to intervene and put order to this chaos and to halt the deterioration to revolutionary Communism". They jailed over 500 people, and reinstated the same type of oligarchic-military dictatorship that ruled previously.

This was followed by another overthrow of the same type in Honduras. Indeed, as we look around throughout South America, we can see, from Argentina to Venezuela and from Brazil to Peru, that the only affect the Alliance for Progress has had is to restore or threaten restoration of the military regimes overthrown in the first post-war democratic revolutions—for there is no in-between; either independence from American imperialist rule as well as native military rule, or there is a return to the same old semi-feudal, semi-capitalist, totally corrupt and exploitative regimes. In this respect the Cuban Revolution was, at first, the one beacon light. Now that it has been reverted to a virtual satellite of Russian totalitarianism, the Latin American masses know that they can rely only on their own strength and that of the American working people

who oppose United States capitalism from within that bastion of reactionary rule.

### De Gaulle and France

The attitude of the French dictator De Gaulle toward the rest of the world can be best expressed in his own words, "I am France". Through the European Common Market, and his denial of access to it by Britain, he now proclaims in effect that HE is Europe too.

With France suffering the pangs of ever increased inflation, higher taxation, farmers and miners in revolt, he still intends to "go it alone" as a third force in the capitalist world, knowing that he will be dead and buried before France has to pay the bill for his independent atomic experiments.

Not content to rule France, he would like to bargain the entire economy of Europe, especially that of West Germany, off for the role of "Protector of Europe".

France, which lacked stability for so long, now has the stability of a man in chains.

While the French working people continue to struggle against De Gaulle's attacks on their living conditions, the only result of De Gaulle's nationalism thus far is the first big spy case in post-war France, that of Georges Paques.

Surely it fits in with the recently concluded spy case of ex-Nazis in the high command of West German intelligence who likewise spied for Russia, and likewise on the ground of anti-Americanism. These early fruits of the new neo-fascist Franco-German Treaty will, however, hardly give pause to the glory-seeking general.