

NEWS & LETTERS

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

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By CHARLES DENBY

WORKING WITHOUT A CONTRACT

On June 6th, five days after the union contract expired on June 1st, the production workers in the trim shop walked out against company-instituted speed-up. This department is the largest and has better solidarity among the production workers than any other in the plant. It has been the backbone and has taken the lead for years in the fight against speed-up.

The company has been playing a different role in this situation. They say there is no trouble between them and the workers; it is all between the company and the union officers, stewards and committee men.

Yet, the company began this speed-up to test not the stewards and committee men who had agreed to abide by the union decision to stay on the job, but the trim shop workers.

NEW SPEED-UPS

That Friday morning (June 6) we went into work at 6:30 A.M. At 7:00 A.M. the company instituted the new system of speed-up. At 8:00 A.M. the production workers in the trim shop walked out, shutting the plant down.

Monday morning the company had sent out telegrams calling back 60-100 laid off trim shop workers. They were told by the company, that they were expecting trouble on the production line. That if the workers walk off, the called back workers would take over the jobs. If they refused, they would be fired and unable to draw unemployment compensation in the future. The company was trying to use the unemployed as scabs to break the union and the solidarity that has been established in this department throughout years of working together.

The workers stayed on the job to protect not only their jobs but the called back workers who were laid off again at the end of the day.

WORKERS ASKING HOW WE GOT INTO MESS

Some years ago, when Emil Mazey was president of local 212, and a very good militant, the majority of the workers looked to him and respected him. I remember one of his speeches to the membership in which he said that the struggles of the CIO, the working class struggle, is an irreconcilable fight between the workers, on the one hand, and management, on the other. We are now moving forward and must continue. When we get to the point where we stop moving forward, he said, then we're going to be in a bad situation because we will start sliding back. When that happens it will spell the death knell of the trade union movement, and especially of the UAW-CIO. He said this over 12 to 15 years ago. Today he says the exact opposite.

IT BEGAN WITH REUTHER'S 5 YEAR CONTRACT

When the 5 year contract was signed, it was the stopping point so far as workers, stewards and committee men having anything to say on production and our daily lives in the plant.

Just before the 5 year contract was signed there was a fight in some UAW locals as to whether we should sign a document concerning the Taft-Hartley Law. The opposition was getting support from many workers because they opposed it and had some basic principles against the Law. Reuther himself had to come out and say that the sole purpose of the Taft-Hartley Law was to keep Communists, whose sole interest is Russia, from being allowed to take over our union. One opposition man said he would rather cut his own throat than sign such a thing. Today he is with Reuther.

During that period not only did the company feel bold enough to speed up production but committee men began being against workers fighting speed-up. They would yell "you guys are not working so hard, you should be at GM or Ford."

Today a worker in the shop said "I feel like I'm walking on very thin ice over 90 feet of water and the ice is liable to break any time." It is just that tense and very serious. Workers know that the company is out to break the union. Workers will organize themselves to hold the union but they are bitter about the committee men and stewards that have taken everything and turned it against the production worker.

Make sure to read:

RUSSIAN BARBARISM

—June 17, 1958

in "Our Life & Times" page 8

France at the Cross Roads

PARISIAN WORKERS DEMONSTRATE AND WAIT

250,000 demonstrated in Paris against De Gaulle's coming to power. The overwhelming majority of the French people are deathly sick of the bourgeois talking-shop, called the Parliament, which has brought them two world wars in a single lifetime. Yet in order to show their opposition to the dictator-general De Gaulle they demonstrated "for the Republic."

One New York Times reporter in Paris asked a cab driver why he was not in this mass demonstration. The cab driver answered that he doubts De Gaulle will do any

more than any other politician to get France out of its mess, but he wouldn't fight against him.

But, he added, "I'll tell you what I'll fight for: my per-

sonal liberties, food for my family; if they try to take that away from me. I'll fight."

See related Readers' Views articles on pages 6 & 7.

DE GAULLE AND BIG BUSINESS

"They" soon will move more sharply to take that away from him. That is why De Gaulle was pushed into power. He was pushed, not because he didn't want power, but because he wasn't strong enough to get there on his own. That is to say, he had no mass base.

His attempt at building a fascist movement collapsed, and by 1951, he himself had "retired" from politics, playing a watching and conspiratorial game with "the military." The big brass are the ones who now pushed De Gaulle into power, but they too couldn't have done so without the complicity of big capital.

De Gaulle is, first of all, the choice of heavy industry, which has undergone a re-tooling and has achieved a tremendous rate of growth in the past few years. Although they cannot yet match Great Britain or West Germany, much less Russia and America, they feel strong enough to get rid of the plague of the French economy — the small shopkeeper, the small landowner, the small grocer, the petty bourgeois in general who has kept France in the small leagues ever since the end of the first World War.

Big Capital would like to exploit labor too in a "new" way. They have learned from Russian state capitalism what advantages can accrue to them, if only they can make the trade unions into a part of the State apparatus. If a "strong man" could achieve for them what the labor bureaucracy has achieved under state capitalism — doing the disciplining of labor for capital — they would be willing to recognize "the rights of the workers" to such unions.

That is why they are not yet showing their hand to labor. They dream of shackling labor with as little effort as it took to get the eager cooperation of such "socialist" as Guy Mollet and Lacoste.

In this dream world of capital, they have forgotten only one thing: Mollet and Lacoste, no matter what label they pin on themselves, have as much influence on

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A. P. PHOTO

May 28—Part of the demonstration of 250,000 in Paris, against De Gaulle. Despite a government ban on mass meetings during current crisis in France, they held a demonstration in Place de la République after a march from Place de la Nation, another big square in the Eastern part of Paris.

What Happens After?

Detroit—This title is a chapter title in a book and if the author recognizes it I hope that I am forgiven for using it.

I am not writing this article in the same sense that the author explains this chapter in the book, but in relation to what is going to happen to the workers now and after working without a contract.

What is going to happen to the so-called leaders of labor? Are we going to continue to follow them down or up the path of destruction?

Will this be the spark that will bring all of the workers closer together? I hope so.

Are we going to have to give up some or all of the gains that we have struggled so hard for, some have died for: the union shop, representation, improved working conditions, etc. Some workers are broken and maimed for life.

Are the labor leaders causing a complete revers-

al of the policies that unionism has taken in the past 20 years or more or are we workers shy, afraid, or both, where we used to be bold and fearless?

In some past years, our problems were not so much wages as the conditions of work and I quote, "The burning problems in the shops today are centered not around wages," but around the working conditions and representation.

Today, we in some shops are working without contracts, and in others the contracts are so weak and the representation so poor that at times they do more harm than good, because the workers' hands are tied with the no-strike clause.

Where the workers used to settle their grievances at the point of production or shop level, they now have to go to the top leadership and ninety nine times out of a hundred, the verdict is not for the

(Continued on Page 2)

COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

At Some Mines Machines Run Men But Here Men Run The Machines

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—When I hear these guys at the other mines talk about the continuous miner, about how they're getting more and more continuous miners in, I just can't help thinking about the mine where I work. We have a continuous miner there, too; and I don't know if we'll get any more in or not, but I do know that there has never been a day when the mine has worked that the men on the continuous miner section have loaded more coal than the men on the conventional sections.

Now I'm not saying that it can't be done. All I can say is it hasn't been done. There are some guys who can't figure it out, but it's simple.

This one day, for example, things on the continuous miner section were going real good. And the first thing the men knew they had 86 cars loaded, with plenty of time left before the shift was over. They also knew that there was no conventional section that could possibly have loaded as much coal as they had. Suddenly the loading machine broke down. Not another pound of coal was loaded for the rest of the shift, and there was at least one conventional section that produced more coal during that shift.

THE BOSS ANSWERED HIMSELF

BARRACKSVILLE, W. Va.—The boss on this section was a rough character. Not only did he not give his men any breaks, he seemed to go out of his way to make things rough on them.

One morning the machinery on his section broke down, and the men were ordered to go to another section to work. It was about an hour before dinner time when the men got in the man-trip to go to the other section. The men got settled in the man-trip car and were about to leave when the boss said, "Now you guys know that it'll take us a little while to get to this other section. You know we haven't got much coal today so far, and we're losing all this time moving to the other section. So what do you guys say, do me a favor and eat your lunch on the way there, so that when we get there we'll be ready to go to work."

One of the men said, "What?" You want us to eat on our own time? We have an established dinner time. We'll eat when we get to the section." Not a man opened his bucket to eat, but the boss.

CAN'T EXPECT FAVORS

The men finally got on the section and took their dinner. During the time the men

It has been that way since that continuous miner was brought into the mine, and unless I am very much mistaken about the men on that crew, it's going to stay that way. Anybody can say what they like, but I know that the company brought that continuous miner in a couple of years ago and they haven't brought another one in since and we haven't had a man laid off.

WHAT KIND OF LABOR

Continuous Miner Machine Speeding-up The Speed-up

FAIRMONT, W. Va. — I had a young man working with me on the pin machine.

An opening came up for a pinner on the continuous miner. I had more seniority than my buddy, so the company came to me and said I was eligible for the job that was open. I wanted no part of that machine, and I told them so. They asked my buddy and he said he'd take it. He told me he'd like to stay with me, but that he was still young, and if he wanted to stay in the mines he'd better learn how to work on the continuous miner.

Now all he does is cry the blues. Under ordinary conditions the only pinning that's done at our mine on the continuous miner section is at the intersections. The

Only Job for Miner With Wife, 3 Children Pays \$31 Per Week

SCOTT'S RUN, VA.—I was talking with a miner who had worked with me at one of Consol's big mines in this area before we had our layoffs. He has a wife and three young children who are of school age. I hadn't seen him for several months and had assumed that he was drawing his unemployment compensation, as were the others who had been laid off at the same time. I asked him how he was making out on the \$30 a week "rocking chair" money. He looked at me and laughed.

"Maybe," he said, "some other guys are getting that \$30 a week, but I could only get \$17 a week. And nobody can make out on that."

"What do you mean?" I said. "Everybody's supposed to get that \$30 a week."

were working, the boss went up to one of the men and said, "Now you see, that's what I mean. It's stuff like that, that causes bad relations between the men and management. You can't expect to get any favors unless you give some."

The man replied, "Well, I think that you just answered yourself."

What burns me up about rock 'n roll is that the Negro people have always had it, even though they called it the blues. The whites just started hearing it. It seems like it has fired the whites up and sent them crazy and they blame rock 'n roll for what they do. Well, the colored have had it for years—and no matter what they say about how it is degrading, it hasn't degraded any of us!

Negro housewife
Pittsburgh

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

BIG LEADERS' TIME RUNNING OUT

A new worry for the whole world is: Who can stop this old time way to get away from the big leaders, who have controlled the whole world so long, and now prefer fascism? They will not let the working people continue with their union that helps them out with the hard fighting they go through, to earn a little money to pay a few of their bills, and to eat one good meal a week. Think how President Walter Reuther sold them out to the company. Because he didn't have anything else to offer the working people, he just let the union contract run out.

GOING OUT OF BUSINESS

Do you know the best news has never been said, and that is that the white man is running the whole world out of business and out of living at all. Just because the rich want everything for themselves. They forget what an old President said a long time ago. "Live and let the others live too."

If some white men see that they are heading towards being poor and would have to go to work, they will do anything to the next rich man, their mother or father, even if they have to kill them, and they themselves go to jail for life. I guess they prefer being poor and in jail than free, but with no one under them to boss and keep around.

The way I see things is that the white man's time is almost ended. They said sometime ago that American

automobile production was the greatest production in the world—automobile production right here in the United States. But the way I see it they can run that out of business too.

PRESIDENT SUPPORTS FASCISM

It looks like white America's time has run out. The President of the United States says he is for De Gaulle being in power over France, when he knows that means fascism for that country. He wants the workers to know he will never let them rule themselves. If one says what would have to be done, that is just it and that is all.

So that's the way it looks.

What is going to happen in the United States? Are all the big leaders of America for the fascists taking over France? The French workers did start to make a little trouble, but they soon cooled the workers down. I think De Gaulle is still in trouble. The other leaders over there aren't going to stand for one man ruling them when they have been one of the "big ones" themselves.

WORKING PEOPLES' TIME

This is what I think will happen in the United States too since all the big leaders are for fascism. They have let the workers' contract run out. Now who will they have to fight with? No one but themselves. The worst trouble is yet to come. But if the rich continue to fight the rich, then the working people can take over.

"I am a non-resistant, and I not only desire but have labored unremittingly to effect the peaceful abolition of slavery . . . yet, as a peace man—an 'ultra' peace man—I am prepared to say: 'Success to every slave insurrection at the South, and in every slave country . . . Rather than see men wearing their chains in a cowardly and servile spirit, I would, as an advocate of peace, much rather see them breaking the head of the tyrant with their chains. Give me, as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill, and Lexington and Concord, rather than the cowardice and servility of a Southern slave-plantation.'"

WILLIAM LLOUD GARRISON ON JOHN BROWN, 1859

What Happens After

(Continued from Page 1)

worker but against him.

What has happened to the union slogan, "One for all, All for one" and the song, "Solidarity Forever"? It seems as if the labor leaders are being transformed into the opposite and if so, some how, some way we must stop it. These labor leaders with their "lackadaisical" positions, we will have to get rid of them.

In the UAW, a strike fund was built up for the crisis they are in now, not thousands of dollars but millions of dollars. What has happened to it? The same thing is happening in other segments of labor, so I must say, **WORKERS BEWARE**, beware of these selfish opportunists in labor.

Autoworkers, steel workers, coal miners, gar-

ment workers, skilled, semi-skilled and non-skilled workers: I am asking you to think, think and think some more. Just like we banded together to have a union, we can band together to rid our union of these so-called leaders of labor who are selling us down the river.

Are we shy? Are we afraid? What is it? I can't conceive of such a small group of so-called labor leaders controlling us, the workers, as they are doing; we should be the controlling body, not them.

I hope what I have written will be a stimulant to our thoughts and action and the question of **What Happens After?** will be left entirely up to us, the workers.

A Steel Worker

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The Trend

Democrats Win at Polls — Lose In Plant Company Has Own "Right-to-Work" Laws

Los Angeles—On June 5, Chrysler gave the union grievance committee a one day disciplinary lay-off for not following the company-prescribed grievance procedure. The union allegedly took more than the allotted time for settling shop grievances and they were then escorted out by the foreman. Under the contract there was no time limit on settling the grievances, but now that the contract has expired, the company allows only two hours to settle grievances at each meeting.

ELECTION GAINS?

In California the unions and the Democrats are boasting about the probable victory over the infamous Right-to-Work Law. There are those who say that there won't be a Right-to-Work Law in California. Whether there will be or not is another thing. But for all practical purposes the company has its Right-to-Work Law.

Even though the Democrats and their supporters in the union won at the polls

Worker Says Reuther's Just "A Sweet Line of Talk"

DETROIT — I remember when the former president of local 212, and the vice-president, met with Chrysler officials to discuss how they could cut man-power and yet bring the work standards up to G.M. and Ford: throw our men out on to the streets and still run the same amount of production.

Reuther in his campaign against the first president of the East Side, said, never let the contracts run out at the same time; one should be used against the other in bargaining on contracts. The companies evidently worked on him and maneuvered the contracts around until they could have them all running out together.

The only way we can bring this trouble to a head is the production worker cleaning up this mess that they have made. The production worker is the only one that can do it.

The Reutherites can not lead us out of this with any gain for the production man. How can a capitalist man lead us out from under the capitalist bondage?

"IT ISN'T THE TIME"

He knew when the convention at Atlantic City was in the makings, that it was to discuss the '58 contract. But instead he gave a nice long brain washing and went to work on increasing dues and putting more men on the International staff. He said, this isn't the time to negotiate contract agreements. He set a time and brought it back to Detroit and held another smooth brain washing. This time he said, it isn't the time to fight for a shorter work week; instead, he dictated profit sharing.

He went on with his usual ways and tactics of getting all the money out of the production worker he can. He was not satisfied with the \$3 a month dues, he went and assessed each union member \$15.00. He wasn't pleased with that. He hit a local for \$200,000 and still wasn't pleased. He hit local 212 for \$150,000. I heard that at a meeting of the executive board, the financial secretary

on June 3, these same enthusiastic campaigners against the Right-to-Work Law were escorted from the plant by the company on June 5.

The day after these men were escorted out of the plant I went to the union hall (Local 230). It was dead as a morgue.

Fighting the Right-to-Work Law, when it's limited to the ballot box is like all the other union gimmicks that have been proposed in the last few months. It does nothing to change working conditions in the shop. Only the production workers within the plant can change those conditions.

—Unemployed Worker

Speed-Up

Since we've been working without a contract they introduced a new way of timing the job. Now the time study man is always around, checking and double checking. Before we had the job timed at the beginning of model change over and that was it. Not now.

They used to time by operation but now they call it cycle timing. The time study man starts his stop watch as the first man on the line turns around to pick up his stock, works on it, and as he starts passing it to the second man the time study man begins timing the second and so down the line. He then returns to the first man, watches every motion made, eliminates some and adds others and then eliminates a man completely. You end up by having 2 men do the work of 3 or 3 doing the work of 4.

Line worker Detroit

Working Without Union Representation

"We are now facing a more critical situation than we faced when we organized"

DETROIT—Our 1957 contract expired on June 1st. Not with just one of the automobile companies but all of the Big Three. The workers have gone back to work without any contract or any representation or help from the local level clear through to the International. That is the way (for the first time in 20 years) that we went to work on June 2nd. We had to yield our services to the manufacturers without any representation from our UAW-CIO.

STEWARDS LAID-OFF

Immediately the company went to work cutting down our union representatives in the shop. They started by not recognizing our union at all

got up and said they were going to give \$150,000 to the International without the members' approval. That he had checked and they didn't have to have the production workers' O.K.

NO BACKING FOR WORKERS

This is one of the reasons the production worker has to revive himself and stop Reuther and company from walking all over us. Reuther is not Moses leading the children out of Israel, he is more like Judas with the money bags.

Wake up, production workers, and look around you. See what Reuther has given away. Not one local but all of the Big Three production workers face the same conditions.

With almost 2/3 of the production workers out on the unemployment lines, the 1/3 that are in the shop are working without any representation. This is what Reuther has handed us in the short time he has been our president—a sweet line of talk and no backing for the workers.

—A Union Man

and immediately notified the chief stewards that 75% of them would be eliminated and laid-off. Our union officials who work in the shop are supposed to hold top seniority. The company has taken this away and laid off those who did not have enough natural seniority to hold a job. The chief stewards who were left have to work one hour at the beginning of the shift, one hour after lunch and the last hour of the day, and the company will not recognize them for but 10 hours per week on "legitimate agreements."

CRITICAL SITUATION

We called our local officers and asked them about it. This is the answer they gave us: "You have no contract and the company is in their rights to do that."

At 1 o'clock, June 3rd, the afternoon shift went to the local hall. They got their brains washed by the union officers who have given away our 21 years of gains.

We are now facing a more critical situation than we faced when we organized. I will explain why I say this:

We have now worked for a number of weeks without any union representatives at all in the shop. We have seen our so-called officers do things and say things against the production workers. They told us that the chief stewards will have to work the 3 hours the company demands. Now the company is trying to make them work 8 hours a day, committees and all.

WORKERS SHOULD CONTROL UNION

As you see, the Reutherites have worked themselves into such a position that they seem to be at their row's end. Now each and every one of us knows that you cannot operate a production workers' union, a democratic union, if you place all the

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

UNEMPLOYMENT

There are still over 5 million unemployed (and it's probably much higher.) Yet the big brass in Washington say it's leveling off, 5 million isn't so bad. I guess that means their friends in big business can shuffle workers around, pick and choose who they want and try to break up the union. Are they trying to make paupers of the working people?

DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

A friend of mine has been off 2 years. For months she has been going out to a big defense plant here only to be told they will call when they need her. Another girl we know went out there after her, got hired and put on the day shift. They finally sent my friend a telegram saying to report to the office. When she got there they said they only called her in to see if she would be willing to work the night shift that would be starting in a month or so. Could all this be because she is Negro and the other girl, white? This is what is happening in our great northern city.

HOSPITALS MONEY CRAZED TOO

This town is set up for big business of all kinds.

A woman on the unemployment line told me that a couple of weeks before she had been taken to the hospital in an emergency. She had had a miscarriage and was extremely weak from loss of blood. Because her husband had only \$13 in his pocket and not \$20 the ambulance driver refused to

take her until the doctor got there and paid him. Not only that but the company that laid her off found out about this and reported it to the compensation office before she could do it herself.

When they took out their insurance policy to see what they would get for the blood transfusions she needed they found in small print that it does not cover pregnancy even if such an emergency as a miscarriage should arise.

What kind of people are these? They personally consider themselves so much above others because of education, position, because they made "good," etc. When it comes to money they become the lowest of humans.

No body really seems to care much that there are so many unemployed. Are they hoping that when they open their eyes some morning all the unemployed workers will have disappeared?

It is funny, when the whole world is in such crisis their "kind" is really shown up for what they are. "Ike likes De Gaulle," and Russia makes overtures to De Gaulle too. All over the world civil wars, wars for colonial freedom are raging. Look to see who is trying to put the working people and farmers in those countries down. They would rather chance Fascism as they did with Hitler than see working people control their own lives in every way. They are shown up for what they are. It is now time for them to see what the working people are made of.

Unemployment Hits Negro Youths Hardest

ANN ARBOR—Two-thirds of all those unemployed at the time of the University of Michigan survey were blue collar workers. When compared to factory workers still on the job, the unemployed were more likely to be:

- * Younger
- * Southern born
- * Negro
- * Live in the city, rather than suburbs
- * Rent rather than own their home
- * Have substantially lower 1957 family incomes

In February and March, the DAS found unemployment was a problem for:

- * One in 33 white collar workers
- * One in 10 skilled workers or foremen
- * One in five semi-skilled, unskilled, or service workers

Looking just at factory workers, the employed were twice as likely to own their home as the unemployed. And the employed factory workers had 1957 family incomes typically \$1,600 higher than the unemployed.

brains in one man's head. The capitalist can then work on that one man and have secret meetings such as those between Reuther and The Big Three. Instead of having a democratic union you have a dictatorial union.

Look back to the time when the so-called International President made a great speech and told all the production workers that

automation was "progress," that we did not want to stand in the way of "progress."

Now what kind of progress do you call this automation? Is it progress to bring these machines in our shops and throw our production workers out on the unemployment lines. Is this Progress? It is not in my eyes, it's pure foolishness.

—Production Worker

EDITORIALS

TERMINATION OF UAW CONTRACT: MANAGEMENT LASHES OUT AGAINST UNION & WORKER

The capitalist offensive against the working people extends from France to the United States, and from the halls of Congress (the McClellan Committee) directly to the production line. Now that auto workers are working without a contract they are as seriously involved here as "over there."

Management wants to do some experimenting with open shopism. But we have to see how the labor bureaucracy has helped management bring us to this state. It is not from it that we will learn how to survive and keep our union.

ROLE OF THE LABOR BUREAUCRACY

The labor bureaucracy was the one to saddle us with a Five Year Contract in 1950, and with a Three Year one in 1953, although it was clear the rank and file wanted one on a yearly basis. Again Reuther was deaf to the workers' demands for a shorter workweek and against the extra speedup that came with Automation. Now that he sat through months of negotiations on his and the company terms in total disregard of what the production workers wanted, the companies slap him down anyway, and terminate the contracts.

The labor bureaucracy, instead of hitting back at the company, copies many words from it in lashing out at the workers. The first leaflet distributed by the union in the shops when contracts were terminated asked the workers: "Tighten your belts. Roll up your sleeves. Do not let the company provoke you into strike action."

How many leaflets have we seen in the last years coming out of the UAW that said that wildcat strikes will "wreck" the union, "take milk out of babies mouths," and now that management is trying to break the union altogether and millions of us are unemployed Reuther asks us to tighten up our belts and roll up our sleeves. What does he think we have been doing all through his wonderful contracts but that? He lacks any sensitivity to the production workers' hostility to him.

UNION DUES

Not so management. The company is using the hostility of the workers towards the union officials to hide behind. They know union officials have often been sharper than the company in kicking workers out of jobs. In the last four or five years it has been spelled out in the contract that the company has all the rights to hire and fire, to set and adjust and control production completely. The labor bureaucrats are the ones that enforce the union contract.

Workers feel that the union officials have put the union in the position it finds itself today. The company passed out a leaflet saying that union dues will not be collected in the shop. One worker said he wouldn't pay his dues: "Reuther takes \$15 from us when we are drawing something like \$18 and says \$5 is for the strike fund. Then he says there isn't going to be a strike. He got \$15 of my money in his pocket already."

Another worker said: "The company knows how you guys feel and is playing on it. I will pay my dues because I want my representation." "But," he added, "I do want different representatives."

PRODUCTION WORKERS' STRIKES

The press and radio are in with the company in playing up or playing down actions by the workers. As long as it is the stewards and committeemen who are walking off, the company comes out into the open. But when the production worker fights speedup and intimidation, it is another story. Then it is either not written up or dismissed as a "local situation."

But the workers know that a "local situation" expresses what he feels, what he is fighting against, expresses what everyone knows is the situation everywhere—the conditions of labor which never come to the negotiation table. First these grievances get all piled up till "contract time." Then they get into all the big talk, and these are referred back "to be settled locally." They never are and that is what produces the "local situation" and the wildcats at which the labor bureaucrats pair up with the company and fight the workers.

The company remembers well that production workers built the CIO. It is this they are now out to break. But they have not counted with the rank and file who will never let openshopism reappear. The struggle against the labor bureaucracy, to fight to get the union back into their own hands, to get conditions in the shop changed, will continue. All they have to do to see it is to watch "the local situations."

-C. D.

Readers'

UAW-CIO

Last year with overtime I made over \$5,000, more money than I ever made in my life. I got into bigger debt than I ever will get into in my life. This year if I make, from regular and irregular time put in, \$2,000, I'll be very fortunate. Every worker in the shop last year made 5, 6, and some 7 thousand dollars. They owe for their houses, cars and many other things. People are in debt up to their necks and they don't even have an unemployment check coming. The company knows all this and is taking advantage of it. Workers are saying what will happen if we walk out on strike supporting these stewards?

Chrysler worker Detroit

* * *

Workers are so hot against committee men and don't seem to give a darn whether the company puts them to work or not because they feel these men will do anything to keep from working. They come into work looking more like bishops going to church, than a man going to work.

Local 212 Detroit

* * *

I was one of the first stewards at Ford's, shortly after the union was organized. They had in the contract then that the stewards and committee men had to work 4 hours a day. Old man Ford worked out a scheme to break us up. He made (and was the first to propose it) an agreement on a committee room, a regular office. Instead of the committee man working 4 hours a day, he wouldn't work at all and the stewards were eliminated. He broke up the plant into districts. This, and not having any stewards, meant that sometimes we didn't see a committee man for a week. If we had kept the stewards on the old basis we would have had someone to report the grievances to when they happened.

Old timer Detroit

* * *

I haven't heard one worker yet say that we've got anything great out of the contract in the last 5 years. A holler used to go throughout the shop when we got a contract and everybody would talk about it. Since the 5 year contract was put into effect the only thing the workers say in the shop is "Well, we got a contract so we go back to work. We got a dime, so what? When we get a raise one week the next week some-

thing or other goes up and it is taken away from us."

Production worker Los Angeles

* * *

As bad as Reuther is I still wonder how wise it is not give him some support at this time. I just mean in the sense of all the workers sticking together and keeping the union and not letting the company bust it up.

I am sure the company is very much aware of the sentiment against Reuther, for they are the ones that made the dealings with him, and will use this hostility to its fullest.

Reuther for sure will be ready to make another kind of deal with the company but I feel we can't let the company get away with anything either because they are dealing with our very lives.

Laid-off woman worker Detroit

* * *

They've walked out a couple of times in the trim shop where I work. They went down to the local hall and there they were told to go back to work and not walk out.

If the company puts too much pressure we're not to walk off but send it along the grape vine that there is to be a meeting at the local hall after work.

What good will that do? They'll just tell us again, "go back to work."

Disgusted union man Detroit

* * *

I don't think the fact that all the contracts ran out together amounts to a bag of beans. If they were a couple of months apart it would still end up the way it is now. There's a depression going on and nobody really gives a darn about the poor working people that have been out for months. The ones in Washington and the money bags won't worry much until the stock market drops or something like that.

The company has helped push Reuther along the road of giving up the fight by twisting everything we wanted into one of his hair brain schemes. Tell me, what good is the escalator clause, the GAW, or the fancy profit sharing plan, now? None.

The company will take full advantage to try and beat down the little they try to pass off that "they" gave the working people. They have another guess coming.

Union Girl Detroit

* * *

I wonder why people are so puzzled about the political situation in France. All the worker has to do is go to his own union and try to get a

grievance, involving speedup, against the company settled. Then he knows what the French worker feels about parliamentarianism.

Auto worker Los Angeles

* * *

Years ago Reuther was opposed to all UAW contracts terminating at the same time. The opposition to him then was for working out agreements of combining all contracts to be accepted at the same time.

They said that if all the workers in the UAW shut down all plants at the same time we would be guaranteed a quicker settlement. So many workers in the street at the same time would upset the whole country.

But Reuther was for one plant to shut down at a time and those still working to support the strikers by giving a token \$1 a week. I don't know of one that ever got it.

Reuther was afraid of the opposition's proposal because he didn't have his machine built yet but afterwards he was the first one to urge the contract termination dates be the same or as close as possible.

Local 600 Detroit

* * *

A friend gave me one of your papers, (April 30) and after reading it, I am wondering just what your program is. It is one thing to criticize the leadership of organized labor (constructive criticism is long overdue) but one must also put forward some remedies for the ills criticized.

Like many others, I am fully aware of the role played by Walter Reuther; and in fact was much opposed to his coming to leadership... Now like a million others, I feel rather impotent and powerless to change our UAW into the militant union it once was.

You say News & Letters is in "opposition to both capitalism and Communism" but, what are you for?... A paper that is only against something does not have a future. What do you propose in place of these two alternatives?

One of the obvious shortcomings of the Reuther leadership, is that it has not, and cannot give the UAW an ultimate goal. Something to strive for. It accepts the status quo of capitalism as a finality, beyond which there is nothing. The human race according to Saint Walter, has reached its economic zenith and the only direction from here on is down.

This is one of the more

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Charles Denby Editor I. Rogers Managing Editor

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Views

glaring reasons why this once militant union has become just a huge potentially powerful but flabby giant, unable to give its membership any real leadership in the present crisis. About all the present leadership of the AFL-CIO can do, is to sit along the side lines, wring its hands and deplore the present situation. This is true, because while we have labor unions in America, we do not have a labor movement. There is no sense of solidarity. The old slogans that once were powerful, such as "an Injury to One is the Concern of All" are now regarded as "subversive."

Unemployed worker
Los Angeles

* * *

FRANCE

One friend of mine has no confidence in any of the existing parties; no confidence that anything can be done with them; what she believes entirely possible (though she has no idea when) is workers' councils, which would eventually federate on the national level and take power; these would be small groups, of which the leaders would be elected by the workers and replaceable at any time and would have no chance to become detached from the masses. . . She and a group thought the republic as it was wasn't worth trying to save, but that instead, this was the time for students and workers to try to organize into councils and for the working people of France to take power directly, by-passing both the "republicans" and the Gaullists. This turned out impos-

sible (and they didn't really think it had much chance of success at the moment — the workers were too demoralized.) They felt that in any case, Pflimlin and De Gaulle were 6 of one and half a dozen of the other.

A Corsican student friend of mine is sure neither the F. L. N. nor the youth (and they are in the vast majority) of Algeria will accept De Gaulle's "offer"; he thinks De Gaulle will go gently and slowly at first, but that eventually there will be dictatorship and total war here.

A carpenter friend is more optimistic about it but fears repression from De Gaulle. . .

A writer I know is the most optimistic about the left chances of reorganizing, of uniting against the threat of fascist dictatorship.

Many non-communist leftists put their hope in a popular front, a collaboration of Socialists with Communists on those issues on which they should be in agreement, and that such parliamentary collaboration, if extended to all the leftist parties, would by no means mean a Communist dictatorship, not if the others were careful and active enough, but it would mean the possibility of a more liberal policy than France has known for decades. There is no question but that the parties, all the leftist parties, need to undergo a complete and radical overhauling and to regain contact with the masses. Plenty of Frenchmen know this and are fighting for it.

An American in
Paris

No news appears here on the French workers, but the "Manchester Guardian" mentioned last week that only 5,000 of 35,000 workers in the State-owned Renault factory in Paris are still in a union, while CGT membership is down from 6 million to 2 million. Remember: fascism cannot come to power unless workers' industrial (trade unions, etc.) organizations are disintegrated. This has not happened. It may be tried and the situation will clarify. In Britain, no mood exists for fascism. British workers have not suffered the big strike defeats of '49 and '51 that Moch & Co. dealt the C.G.T. In France apathy exists, but I feel that outright attacks on living standards (which fascism would need to mount) will call forth big defensive actions by rank and file and local leaderships.

New reader
England

* * *

I think the fact that the C. P. was only able to have a successful strike among the school teachers in France and relatively little success with the transportation workers strike shows what sections of the population are attracted to the C. P. in France.

Production worker
Los Angeles

* * *

I read the lead article on France in proof and wondered whether the French cab driver really represented the thinking of the French working class when he said that he would fight De Gaulle only when his own personal liberties were taken away.

Surely most French workers know that if they wait till then, De Gaulle may have so much power that their opposition will be crushed. As in all struggles between labor and capital, the grievances of a few become the cause for general action. If every worker waited until his personal liberties were taken away, the working class would have been completely destroyed long ago. I don't know why the French workers have not yet acted against De Gaulle, but I'm sure they recognize that he threatens far more than personal liberties. Perhaps they are waiting for his regime to break up from internal conflicts, like the Fourth Republic. I'm sure their thinking is more complex than the cab driver's words suggest. I wish that somehow we knew what other French workers are saying.

Teacher,
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

WHITHER PARIS?

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

History, wrote Marx in his analysis of the coup of Napoleon III a century ago, repeats itself: once as tragedy, the next time as farce. Today, two weeks after the coup of De Gaulle, this applies both to General de Gaulle and to the French Communist Party. The General deludes himself that he can become the heroic Maid of Orleans merely by substituting the "I, De Gaulle" for Petain's capitulation to Nazi Germany. The French Communist Party thinks it can delude the workers because it is saying all the correct things against De Gaulle, although it did nothing to stop him.

There is no greater obstacle in the path of the workers striving for a totally new way of life than that the Communists should gain control of their movement and once again thwart their aspirations, as they have done ever since the end of World War II when they used their prestige as Resistance fighters to establish bourgeois parliamentarianism that brought De Gaulle to power in 1945, and again in 1958.

THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communists had been officers in the French Resistance under De Gaulle. At the end of the war they outdid him in their chauvinistic attitude to Germany. In both cases it was because they followed the Moscow line. So long as they thought they could keep him from attaching himself to the other pole of world capital—America—they didn't find much to criticize in the General.

Meanwhile, a million Frenchmen had joined the Communist Party. Other millions—workers in trade unions—let the Communists gain control of their union. These workers, however, were not playing parliamentary politics. They had hoped thus to have "the form of organization" with which to establish an entirely new society free from capitalist exploitation.

The Communist Party, however, had no intention of reaching for power—not when there was no Russian Army at hand to control the workers. Instead, it began to expand its "cultural" activities while engaging in politicking at its worst. For example, it voted emergency powers to Pflimlin that forbade workers' demonstrations and was part of the parliamentary farce which completed the downfall of the Fourth French Republic. There is no doubt that the social composition of the Communist Party in France has changed radically during this decade as it moved away from proletarian action. The only successful Communist call for strike action in 1958 was from the Teachers Federation. Nevertheless the Communists hope now to regain the workingclass support that the socialists have had.

EXISTENTIALIST INTELLECTUALS HELP TIGHTEN THE COMMUNIST STRANGLEHOLD

A key role in this will be played by the French intellectuals. The most infamous of these are the Existentialists who have been willing victims of the Communists who leave them free "to engage" or "disengage" from any activity in the mass movement by taking over all "responsibilities of leadership."

1948 witnessed the first breakaway of a part of the French proletariat from the stranglehold of the Communist Party. Existentialists offered to lead it—and led it right back to Communism. The most prominent Existentialist apologist for Communism, Jean-Paul Sartre, did break away during the brutal Communist suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, but he is now back in some "popular front against fascism."

Why?

It is not out of any confusion between Marxism and Communism. Nor is it necessarily for lack of bravery. No. The brainwashing these intellectuals have undergone is due to the simple fact that intellectuals, far removed from the discipline of the factory and the class struggle, are afflicted with an incurable malady: the concept that workers are "backward," must be "taught," must be "led." They are totally blind to the fact that the greatest obstacle in the way of the workers' establishing a totally new society, new human relations, is precisely the established self-styled Marxist parties like the Communist, Socialists and Labor Party.

TASK OF THE INTELLECTUAL

Where Marx removed theory from a dispute among intellectuals and made it into a weapon in the class struggle, the modern intellectual reduces theory to a word game reserved for intellectuals. Where the Existentialist intellectual thwarted the proletarian attempt to break away from Communism, the Marxist intellectual let it suffocate for lack of any comprehensive revolutionary theory with which to combat Communism. Where they did not thirst to lead, to sit in the seat of the capitalists and plan "for" the workers, they nevertheless did nothing to face their intellectual responsibility, to put an end to the intellectual sloth that has accumulated in the Marxist movement. Despite all protestations to the contrary, small theoretical groupings who did see Communism for the state capitalist tyranny it is, did nothing to re-establish Marxism in its original form of a new Humanism. It is high time for a serious reappraisal.

The Crime of War!

COST OF WORLD WAR II—IN LIVES:

- 21 million young men killed in battle.
- 15 million women, children and old people killed in air raids.
- 29½ million wounded, mutilated or incapacitated for work.
- 21,245,000 people lost their homes and belongings through air raids.
- 45 million homes were reduced to ashes.
- 150 million people were left without shelter, prey to famine and disease.

—IN SOCIAL AMENITIES:

Up to 1946, the Second World War cost three times as much as the first. This money could have provided:

- \$33,600 home, \$11,200 worth of furniture, and a \$56,000 cash present to every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, the Soviet Union and Belgium. In addition, each town of over 200,000 population could have been given a cash donation of:
- \$70,000,000 for libraries, \$70,000,000 for schools, \$70,000,000 for hospitals.

The above figures are taken from International Review of Diplomatic and Political Science, Geneva. The above figures do not include over 2 million lives and over \$150 billion, cost of Korean "police State" war.

W. D.
Iowa

YOUTH

Thinking It Out

A LETTER FROM FRANCE

In place of the usual column in this corner we are printing a letter received from a French Student.—Robert Ellery

PARIS, May 31—I'm almost nineteen years old, I study at the university, and I like records and jazz. There are four in our family; my father Jacques, my mother Jeanette (we lack variety in names,) my sister Therese. My parents are in business and sell leather articles. My sister, who is almost fifteen, goes to the lycee (high school).

I play Rugby and Judo, but I don't practice enough.

My two ends in life are to make the revolution and to become an electrical engineer. Cybernetics fascinates me. It alone will permit the unleashing of the humanity of those 20th century slaves that they call "workers." I am very pleased to hear that you are interested in Marxist "Humanism" and I am unhappily in agreement with you on the subject of Russia, although it seems to me that you confuse certain notions. Thus you speak of Russian Communism: you reproach Russia, and one can reproach them in certain cases; this is not Russian "Communism" but rather the lack of real Communism . . . But let's leave that in order to speak a little of France.

I would love to initiate you to the beauties of our good old Europe, which you

Americans see so little of in your organized visits. I must say, that our thoughts are far from the Eiffel Tower or other tourist spots.

In several hours we will be living under a dictatorship. The republic is dying amid general indifference. Yesterday there was a last try at bringing out two hundred thousand people in a demonstration for the defense of the republic, but in vain. All this political agitation, which makes us completely forget our examinations, permits one of my humorous friends to say that the examinations will be a grand defeat for the militants of the left this year.

But life goes on, people go about their business and since one cannot stop living, I went this week to see an American film "Twelve Angry Men"—I consider it one of the best post-war American films.

I am very interested in American life, especially of the youth. All that we know about it is what is given us by James Dean in "Rebel Without a Cause" and Glenn Ford in "Blackboard Jungle." I am sure that this image is false or at least incomplete.

Your response will set me straight no doubt.

Marcel

Democracy?

A few weeks ago in school there was a discussion on Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries. The teacher kept saying that the United States is not an Imperialist country, and that all its possessions were free to go at anytime.

But what he "forgot" to say and what a student reminded him of was that since Puerto Rico produces basically only one crop, and that the United States bought most of this crop. What would happen to Puerto Rico if they decided not to be a territory of the U.S. and the U.S. didn't buy its crop? The teacher was quite stuck for an answer.

Teenager
Los Angeles

Foolishnes?

Recently in school we were discussing the situation in France. The teacher compared the revolutionary youth in France and other European countries with those of America. "In France," he said, "the youth are interested in politics while in the U. S. the youth have panty raids." He added that as soon as they grow up these youth will outgrow "this foolishness." How can he compare the two?

High School Student
Los Angeles

American History Not in Text Books

Los Angeles—During her recent tour of West Coast Universities, I heard Raya Dunayevskaya, author of "Marxism and Freedom" speak. The lecture I attended dealt with the "American Roots of Marxism."

I was impressed with the comparison she made of the Abolitionists during the Civil War to the Marxists (the First International) of that era, and the fact that one of the incidents leading to the forming of the First International was the English textile workers who protested against intervening in the Civil War on the side of the South, even though they were starving as a result of the North's blockade on Southern cotton.

As a student of history I was interested to learn also that the paths of the Abolitionists and Marx and the First International crossed several times, although they were completely independent movements.

TODAY'S FAULKNER AND YESTERDAY'S PHILLIPS

She also compared that "liberal" Faulkner's statements on the fact that if necessary to preserve "the Southern way of life," he would spill Negro blood, to a speech made by Wendell Phillips, one of the leaders of the Abolitionists during the Civil War.

I would like to quote part of it here: "And by the South I mean likewise a principle, and not a locality,—I mean the aristocracy of the skin, which considers the Declaration of Independence a sham and democracy a snare—

which believes that one third of the race is born booted and spurred, and the other two thirds saddled for that third to ride. I mean the intellectual, social aristocratic South—the thing that manifests itself by barbarism and the bowie-knife, by bullying and lynch-law, by ignorance and idleness—The totality of my common sense—or whatever you may call it—is this, all summed

"RANK & FILE WORKED HARD FOR UNION"

For the first time in the history of the UAW we are working without a contract. One of the basic principles of the union is "no contract, no work." Workers are asking how did we get into this mess.

I remember a Negro worker getting up at a meeting and comparing the picture "Frankenstein" to the Reuther machine. He said that Frankenstein built a monster to kill all that opposed him. When he got through the monster turned on all that supported him and his thirst for killing was so great that it finally turned and killed Frankenstein. He said that is what is happening to us. "This machine that is being built, supposedly to destroy the opposition—when it gets through with the opposition, it is going to destroy many of us rank and file workers that worked hard to build this union. When it gets through with us it will destroy those that built it."

I can remember some leaders that the workers respected. Sometimes they would come in and say this is the time to walk out and the workers would say "Yes, you are right," but not walk out. The next day something would happen on the line and you would turn around and every one was getting their hats and walking out. Then some said workers were dumb because they didn't walk out when told. Today some are saying workers are defeated because they are working without a contract. But you hear reports of strikes by production workers throughout the UAW shops. They are played down by the press and radio but they are there and no one knows yet what will happen.

up in one word: This country will never know peace nor union until the South (using the word in the sense I have described) is annihilated, and the North is spread over it—Our struggle therefore is between barbarism and civilization."

At the end of the lecture a white Southern girl said to her friends that she had never heard anything so terrible before in her entire life.

Personally, I was not surprised to hear that response from her. It just proves how true those words of Phillips are today, so many years after the Civil War.

Parisian Writer Views France

PARIS, June 1 — The pressing tone of your letters shows tellingly the extent to which people outside France are concerned and even excited about the current events in this country, while people within France — at least for the time being — literally don't give a damn.

The lesson one would be unforgivable not to draw from the present situation, is the total absence of the working class on the political scene. Surely, there are millions of them, but as an economic category; as a body capable to voice their own aims in a fighting spirit, they simply do not exist. Not now, at any rate. Today, Sunday, the sky being bright, they went fishing in masse; and this very evening, in masse, they'll go to the movies. Of the three workers' unions of this country, the Socialist led F.O. has no other moving power except its distrust and hatred towards the Communists, a deeply rooted bitter antagonism fed by memories of the brutal repressive anti-labor policy of the Commies at the time they were commissars in De Gaulle's government, and the more recent memories of the purely pro-Russian equally labor-breaking political strikes engineered by the same Commies once they were out of government; the Catholic C. F. P. C., whose bosses and to a lesser degree the rank and file are more "left-minded" than the F.O. outfit, but not really enough to make love with the Communists (by the way, it is a remarkable thing that Catholic workers and intellectuals are morally, if not politically, more courageous and more honest than the traditional "left"); and the thoroughly Communist infiltrated C.G.T., the biggest union of them all—but none the less entirely isolated from the other formations. What that isolation really means is shown by the C.G.T.'s ap-

peal for a local (it concerned only Paris) general strike for one single afternoon (May 19;) it was meant, in fact, to get a feeling of the workers' response, a feeling of their readiness to stand up and fight — if necessary. Well, the most inflated figures don't go beyond a 15% answer to the call . . .

France's political institutions have not really changed since the birth of the third Republic, in 1870. Though amended, the Constitution of the Fourth Republic has failed to adjust itself to the new prevailing capitalist relations. The bulk of French juridical and political institutions is still today tuned into resonance with property relations as they exist under competitive Capitalism. This is due to many factors, of which the most important and, in the last analysis, the decisive one, was the parcelling of land during the French Revolution and, if I may say so, the atomisation of property over the whole compass of the country. Even now, while there is a tremendous accumulation of wealth and capital, France still is a place of small owners, small shopkeepers, small middlemen. For instance, there is one shop for every 40 inhabitants; though there are trading enterprises that employ hundreds and even thousands of clerks, the average of salaried employees per business (i.e. trade) is 1.1/4, which means that from 70 to 80% of shops are exploited on a family basis.

The whole history of the 19th century bourgeois revolutions depicts the difficult bloody transformations of capital from manufacture to competition, from competition to monopoly. But the times of bourgeois revolutions are over. The only revolutions we witness are those of feudal economies jumping headlong into state capitalism, by-passing the intermediary states of liberal capitalism. —J. M.

SPECIAL OFFER

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Views On The French Situation...

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from a leaflet from France and an article from Italy that have been sent to us. They reflect the activity of some small anti-Communist (or anti-Stalinist as the Europeans would phrase it) workers' groups that has not been reported on in the daily press.

FRANCE

PARIS, May 19, 1958 — Four years ago, **Workers' Tribune** regrouped comrades of different opinions but who were agreed on this fundamental idea: That the working class will be able to lighten and modify its condition only by its own struggle, in spontaneous self organizations.

Today, events pose grave problems for all workers. For 2 years, the Algerian war has caused a deterioration in workers' living standards; but what is happening today in Algeria and in Paris will have repercussions infinitely more grave for us.

In the face of this situation, the comrades of **Workers' Tribune** and others who do not normally participate with it have reunited to clarify their ideas on the situation, and the ways by which the workers can struggle against the lowering of their standard of living. These are the ideas on which we agree.

NEITHER PFLIMLIN NOR DE GAULLE

The "workingclass" parties, Socialist and Communist, associated themselves with this maneuver:—The Socialists participate in the new government; the Communists held themselves back at the time of Pflimlin's becoming Premier and then voted for the law on "the state of

urgency." The unions went along with them. All that under the pretext of "defending the Republic." Under this pretext, Socialists and Communists escaped these two problems completely:

- the immediate necessity of putting an end to the Algerian war by recognizing the independence of the Algerian people.
- the necessity of defending the standard of living of the workingclass, which will deteriorate as long as the war continues. . . .

The only effective policy against war and against dictatorship is not parliamentary talks, nor alliances with bourgeois parties: it is the class struggle. The workers can organize this struggle themselves by establishing in each shop, in each department, committees for peace in Algeria and for the defence of wages and of workingclass rights. If these committees establish themselves in each industry and in each region, the working class will know its own force and will determine, democratically, the objectives for which it wants to struggle and the methods it wants to use. . . .

FOR WORKERS POWER!
From **Tribune Ouvriere**, published by a group of workers in the Renault factory.

... AS SEEN BY ITALY

MILAN, MAY 1958 — The mutineers of Algeria, the colonials, the army loaded more with nationalistic arrogance than with military glory, have imposed De Gaulle on the parliamentary democracy which has prostituted itself in order to "save" republican institutions. As if it were a matter of an out of date suit on the squared shoulders of unflinching militarists in the manner of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Do not believe in that democracy which knows how to fail at the opportune moment and always in the interest of those who administer it.

Do not believe in the anti-Gaullism as yesterday's anti-fascism was believed in; the bankruptcy of one produces the bankruptcy of the other and to aid and support it would be to give a hand to French capitalism in its crisis.

No popular front. On the soil of France this popular front maneuver is customary and obvious: with one foot the Socialists are in the government and sweeten the bitter pill of the dictatorship which wants to appear as "constitutional." With the other foot they are among the potential forces of the anti-Gaullist popular front;

the **Communists** are the great voice of the constitutional opposition and maneuver with non-violent public demonstrations in defense of the republican institutions, which is as much as saying, in defense of those institutions which have made possible the "legal" advent of De Gaulle.

Whatever be the forms of fascism, the perspective in France is a growing bitterness about the colonial war, a progressive economic bleeding of the state, which will be followed by agitations, restriction of the liberties of unions, anti-striking legislation, and a sure worsening of the conditions of the workers' life.

The objective (must be) working class power.

Workers' committees, even if there was a network of these committees throughout France, are not, cannot be, nor can they substitute for the workingclass party. It must be added however that the revolutionary party will fall short of its historical task if it does not know how to work as the vanguard of these committees surging from the bosom of the masses in a movement which contains the irreplaceable human potential for the socialist revolution.

From **Battaglia Comunista**

From England H-BOMB PROTESTS

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has announced from London that there will be a March on London on June 21 and 22; a meeting for women only at Church House on June 27; an international Congress of European intellectuals at Basle on July 5 and 6; and a mass meeting at Harringay Arena on September 23 which will be addressed by Dr. Linus Pauling of America.

DOCK STRIKE

15,000 dockers and stevedores were out on strike against the use of unregistered labor. There have been continued stoppages for weeks. These have been temporarily settled with the exception of the bus strike. The continuous strikes throughout Britain for the past months show the continuous unrest and points once again to the fact that the days of the MacMillan Tory rule are nearing an end.

Student Looks at France

In my World Affairs class, we have been studying the situation in France. It has been merely a confused study of political parties, French leaders, immediate incidents, and why De Gaulle hates Ike.

They would have us believe that this thing "just happened," and that De Gaulle and the French parliament will solve the problem and set France right, but France will never be "set right" by anyone but the French people themselves, not by De Gaulle, Soustelle, Coty, or Pflimlin.

High School Student
Los Angeles

LAOS

The so-called anti-Communist section of Indo-China, Laos, has now fallen into Communist hands "legally." The Communist Patriotic Front won 21 out of 59 seats in the National Assembly and elected Prince Souphanouvong as President. He will administer 43 million dollars in U. S. aid and have his troops trained by a French military mission.

So little do the bourgeois opponents understand the nature of Russian Communism that they constantly are deceived by their own lies about it and, not understanding it, are unable to defeat it anywhere.

GHANA

Prime Minister Nkrumah is planning a meeting of the countries in the African Bloc for November. All of the nationalist independence movements in Africa and the Middle East are expected to attend. Unfortunately, the fact that Nkrumah is also planning to visit Nasser and the United States before the conference, does not speak too hopefully for its independence.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

THE NEED TO BE WHOLE MEN

For a nation whose foundations were laid by outcasts, misfits, dissatisfied and above all non-conformists, some of us here have become too smug. I occasionally see this false superiority among the professionals with whom I associate.

In one hospital where I visit, I overheard a well established physician shoot questions at a refugee Hungarian doctor — a new arrival coming to work as an intern. This whole purpose of the inquisition, it seemed to me, was to make the foreign doctor feel inferior and inadequate — one who because of his background and training could never gain the knowledge and skill to become our equal. The super-patriot almost indicated that the refugee had made a mistake in being born.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO AMERICAN FREEDOM?

Many Americans — especially middle class — look with suspicion on the word international. The word brotherhood is tolerated from the minister in his Sunday sermon, or in the empty rituals of the "fraternal" organizations. Is it not strange that in our national public life today only the voice of the individual scientist, shocked by the destruction potential of atomic energy, is heard in protest?

What made America uniquely different from the rest of the world, in our early formative years, was the striving for freedom. As a nation two contradictions within us have been negating this freedom: the degradation of the Negro people, and the tremendous accumulation of property into the hands of a few. The first was only partly overcome by a civil war which only changed the form of oppression. The second—the power of material possessions—the dead labor of many men to influence, control and pressure the living—has grown enormously. The attitude of some physicians to the Hungarian refugee doctors is concretely related to these things — strange as it may seem.

I personally was deeply enthused by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Perhaps most of the people that escaped over the border were middle class and professional. Though it is certain that the answer to the troubles of the Hungarian people does not lie in mass exodus, I cannot condemn these refugees

for wanting to come here. The resistance of the Hungarian workers in spite of the Russian military might indicates the great pressure under which they live.

BRITISH INTELLECTUALS DISSATISFIED ALSO

In a recent issue of *Life Magazine* there is a description of a number of English writers and artists grouped under the name "The Angry Young Men."

These intellectuals, men and woman, largely of working class origin, are rebelling at present day life in England with its mediocrity, hardships, and lack of stimulus and goals. They are not seeking the old way of life and the regaining of the benefits of British colonialism. They appear finished with all of that; but the "Socialism" of the British Labor Party is to them a lifeless philosophy and practice.

It is well to be suspicious of words. Just as Russian Communism, which began as a philosophy for human betterment, turned into slavery through equating human wellbeing with collectivization, so Socialism, British or any other variety, when seen primarily as government ownership of the means of production or as a more equal distribution of products, cannot but be another blind alley. Union leaders and bureaucrats who in this day seek merely higher wages and more work benefits are not listening to the people they pretend to lead.

WORKERS' FIGHT ONLY SOLUTION

The warnings of scientists to politicians, the words of the "Angry Young Men," and the criticisms of doctors about the contradictions of their work are all pointed in the wrong direction. Those who today control our economics and politics — our "leaders" — view the world as "substance"—a dead thing —instead of activity—a "living force." These "leaders" are therefore impotent.

Only the millions of ordinary people who in their daily labor must continually oppose and fight the limitation and restrictions which prevent their own full development and their growth in life have the necessity and the drive for a complete change. Theirs is the need to unite manual and mental activity and to make the human being whole and thus truly alive.

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France at the Cross Roads

(Continued from Page 1)

labor as capital itself: none. It is not what has unfolded in France thus far, but what will unfold in the next stage, that will be decisive for France.

Meanwhile, big business feels if it now, once and for all, gets rid of all the many petty bourgeois representatives in parliament, it could once again become a Big Power.

In a word, Big Business now has no use whatsoever for the bourgeois parliament as at present constituted. It wants, instead, a "Strong Man" to create the conditions for it to rule, and to bring back its past imperial glory. Because this is what it wants, it conspired with the military to bring De Gaulle to power.

There are those who are eager to condemn the French workers for their "passivity" at the fall of the republic. Yet these critics themselves played a passive role in the four years since the Algerian masses were carrying on their heroic struggles for independence.

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN ALGERIA

The French military junta in Algeria plotted this coup with the large French landowners who have kept Algeria in subjection for over a century.

Their "civilizing mission" consisted in putting down ruthlessly every revolt for freedom of the native Algerians; in not industrializing the land although they have had a century in which to do it; in living in wanton luxury on their huge plantations, while they keep the pay of an agricultural worker down to a miserable 80c a day. The average family this worker must support with this "pay" is 7 to 8 people.

It is against this type of economic exploitation, as well as political disfranchisement, that the native Algerian population—they number 9 million while the French colonists number only 1 million—have been in continuous revolt throughout the 19th century as well as in the 20th century. Four years ago the Algerian's revolt took a new and organized shape in their demands for national liberation from French imperial rule.

So elemental has been the struggle of these native Algerian revolutionaries, and so just their demands, that even the American Administration—which has supported French imperial rule all the way from Indo-China to Africa—finally put a condition on its "Generosity." The French government was to negotiate some sort of limited freedom for the Algerian population.

The French government—Gaillard was Premier then—was about to enter into such negotiations when the counter-revolutionaries decided to turn their guns against the motherland. They are the ones who brought about the fall of the Fourth French Republic. Now that the Republic lies prostrate, they

are suddenly filled with love for "France."

Whatever irony there is in De Gaulle's proposal that these counter-revolutionaries give the native Algerians "political equality," the truth is that the overwhelming majority of the Algerians want, not union with France, but independence from France. Shortly after De Gaulle delivered his speech in Algiers, a group of Algerian youth drove through the square, shouting, "Frenchmen, to the gallows!" The unceasing fight for independence goes on.

AMERICA AND RUSSIA AGAINST THE FRENCH WORKERS

Whether De Gaulle will long remain in power, or whether he is only the middleman for the fascistic paratroopers and their "civilian" allies—the landowners who are armed to the teeth—is not the decisive question. The decisive question is: What will the French proletariat do?

Fear of what the French workers will do impelled America and Russia to make a 180° turn in their policies.

The first to do so was the American Administration. Without bothering to cover their tracks, Ike immediately announced that he is one of those who "likes De Gaulle." So cheap are the principles of the Administration that the most quickly forgotten man is Murphy, Ike's special representative who had made a mild attempt to compel France to grant Algeria a measure of independence.

Instead, everyone suddenly found that though De Gaulle demanded and got dictatorial powers, he is "really" a democrat. Not only a democrat in general, but one who wants to mold the French Constitution on the American model and "stop" (!) the civil war. Never mind that he has instigated a civil war—so long as it was against workers' power.

Not far behind in wooing De Gaulle is Russia. Each, U.S. and Russia, is trying to get his ear and enlist him in the "greater" struggle for world power. That is what De Gaulle is aiming at when he speaks of the "grandeur" of France. He aims to become the balance of power between these two great giants for world domination.

THE HUMAN SOLUTION

There is no doubt that the rise of De Gaulle means the French workers have lost the first round. Nor is there doubt that when their "personal liberties and food" are encroached upon—as must happen when De Gaulle moves to consolidate power—the workers will fight. And they will fight, not only defensively, but for a totally new way of life free from all exploitation at home and abroad.

The one element that the French crisis correctly focused on is this: in the final analysis it is the human element that will decide the course of history. Neither

RUSSIAN BARBARISM —June 17, 1958

The Russian puppet regime in Hungary has just announced that it executed Imre Nagy for "treason." It was all done in secret, no one knows where or when. This brutal, secret slaying of Imre Nagy who was Premier of Hungary for a few brief weeks when it tried to free itself of Russian overlordship, focuses attention more on Russia than on Hungary, although there is no doubt that the latter has its own reasons for making public this fact on June 17, 1958, the anniversary of the East German Revolution. It is clear that the Hungarian Revolution has not been totally suppressed; it has been only driven underground; and that the counter-revolutionary regime of Kadar fears that the Hungarian underground may use this revolutionary occasion for new actions against this puppet regime. It is therefore making the announcement in the hope that the shocking execution of so prominent a man with a world wide reputation would still the hand of the revolutionaries.

There is no doubt, however, that Russia is the planner, plotter and executioner here. It is this which is prompting me to quote now a report I received a few months back on a most fantastic conference held in Russia—that of the MVD, or its secret police. This conference was the first open conference of the Russian Secret police in the 25 years of its existence and the periodical, SOVIET JUSTICE, actually published an account of it, entitled MVD CONFERENCE ON CORRECTIVE LABOR (No. 8 1957)

This outdoes Orwell's 1984 in its nightmarish quality. Here are a group of intellectuals—no less than 400—in the year 1957 in an industrially advanced civilization discussing forced labor as if it were the most natural of institutions, discussing it as if it were some sort of intellectual parlor game.

the launching of satellites into outer space, nor the hurtling of missiles across continents can solve the problems of this earth.

The revolution of the Algerian masses for national independence showed the only way out. The counter-revolution is trying to stop the clock of history with unspeakable tortures for the Algerian population and with arms that it uses equally against the Algerians and "the motherland, France." The French workers have not yet had their last say; that will decide the true course of history.

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

N. P. Dudorov, the Minister of "Internal Affairs"—that is to say, Secret Police—entitled his report, "The Decisions of the 20th Party Congress on Strengthening of Socialist (whew!) Legality and the Tasks of Soviet Corrective Labor Institute." A professor—B. S. Utevsy—does him one better and entitles his talk, "Problem of the Theory (!) of Soviet Corrective Labor Law and its Application in Practice." And of course a lawyer had to add his bit: "The Content of Soviet Corrective Labor Law and Some Problems of Its Codification." It should be a surprise to no one that in a country where forced labor is called "corrective labor" and prison sentences "re-education" the predominant theme was further "punishment" for those who refused to be "re-educated" into pliant tools of state capitalist barbarism.

Needless to say liberation for the 10 million in forced labor camps was never mentioned by a soul, and not a soul of those 10 million in forced labor camps was "represented."

THE DE GAULLE PLOT

The most fully documented plot to seize power in recent years has been revealed with De Gaulle in power. It is impossible to believe that such an event could have taken place without the open knowledge and connivance of the police and of the government that was about to be overthrown.

For 5 years Delbecque has been organizing this coup with De Gaulle, Robert Lacoste, the "Socialist" Governor of Algeria, Chaban-Delmas, a former Defence Minister and others. Army officers and the Colons, the big landowners of Algeria, arose and formed the Committees of Public Safety when they received a mass of telegraphic orders direct from Paris. The telegrams were filed in bunches and duly delivered to the conspirators in Algiers.

Delbecque was financed

in his fascist activities by M. Nouvion, a rich member of the pro-fascist Croix de Feu. The chief Army elements were old Petainists and Gaullists.

In France the plotters had the close collaboration of those who were "trying to save the Republic" like Pflimlin and Gaillard, the Premiers who paved the way for De Gaulle.

Once De Gaulle was in power, the details of the "plot" were known everywhere and books would be required to fill in the details. These are not half as important as the fact that the Communists were not unaware of all this while they played the parliamentary game, voted with the Rightists often enough to bring down many governments, only to end by capitulating to Pflimlin. They had already been praised by Pflimlin for confining their efforts to a few token strikes and for not leading and organizing anti-De Gaulle demonstrations. Indeed they paved the road just as surely as they paved the road for Hitler to take over Germany.

The Communists will never take power in their own name unless the country is occupied by the Russian Army, so strong is their fear of the working-class.

NIXON'S TOUR

Communism was not the basic issue behind the reception Nixon got in South America. It was the poverty and misery of the people and the role played by U. S. Capital in South American affairs.

The per capita income of the people ranges from \$50 per year in Bolivia to \$850 per year in Venezuela. Copper, oil and coffee are the chief exports and the U. S. "recession" has brought a great drop in their normal business. American high tariffs hurt these people and they resent Nixon's "good will tour" which does nothing to help them either economically or politically. Their dictatorships are all American supported.

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