

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

JIM CROW IN THE UAW

The run-off election for recording secretary, between Green Slater Marshall Paggett and Independent Whitey Kay, showed that now with the Negro workers hit the hardest by unemployment, Jim Crow is as strong as ever in Local 212, UAW.

With the elections over the Reuther bureaucrats, with the exception of Paggett, are back in control of the local leadership. The production workers know they didn't put them back in. They were voted back in by the skilled workers, the office workers, the retired workers and by the bureaucrats themselves; the big ones and the secondary bureaucrats.

The product workers supported the Rank and File, the opposition slate, who won the election committee several weeks before elections.

What has amazed all the Negro workers is that Paggett, the Negro Recording Secretary, running on the winning ticket, was defeated by Kay who ran independently. Throughout the past twenty years there has not been but one person who ran independently of the Green Slate, against Reuther's boys, and won. He won after he ran after the workers telling them why the Reutherites had thrown him out and the workers supported him.

Kay came close to winning as an independent at the elections two years ago. He had a run-off election for the same post with the same Green Slater, Paggett. Paggett won then with a very small margin. This year Kay carried top votes as an Independent and a run-off election against Paggett was held once more. This time Kay got 1,749 to Paggett's 1,601.

"WHAT'S GOING ON?"

Many white workers and just about every Negro worker that is left began to ask "what's going on here? Is it possible for one man to beat a machine so well organized as the Green Slate. To beat the only post held by a Negro?" No opposition running independently has been able to shake the slate for years.

One of the Green slaters told us that this holler grew so loud before the run-off that Emil Mazey, now UAW Financial Secretary called a hurried caucus meeting and bawled everyone out. This worker said that Mazey said this was nothing but a racial election between this Negro man and this white man, that every worker in the shop knew it and that it was a must to elect Marshall back. He went on to ask that if Whitey was not getting help from the Green Slate, where was he getting it from?

This worker said that after Mazey left, the local president, Bruce, got up and said that

people should vote the way they want and the hell with what Mazey said.

"IT'S IN OUR LOCAL"

The Negro workers are once more questioning just how active is the white citizens and the KKK in this plant? In the lunch room on the table that is used by many Negro workers, someone carved a KKK sign. The called the only Negro shop committeeman left and showed him. He scratched it out and said, "They have nerve enough to sit out in the open and do this. That's what's wrong down South."

A worker said, "That's what's going on right in our local union." He went on to say that he heard that when the white citizens council's union members, in Birmingham, Alabama, threaten to pull out of the union because some union funds were going for civil rights, their chairman decided to stay in and said they could fight against the Negroes, from within, and at the union expense. "It seems to me that is what happened here.

What makes the Negro workers even angrier than the KKKers or white citizens are the Negro Reutherites that for years let the Green Slate kick them around, never saying anything, always defending the slate, always hoping to get back into their good graces. Negroes began losing their position on the Green Slate two years ago, when nobody could believe that Monrow Jones who has always carried the largest number of votes over everybody was defeated.

Some workers were talking about Ted Brown, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept. who was fired by Meany at the end of April, and not a word can they get out of him. They said the Negro leaders in the South are raising more Cain about this than the union leaders here.

"I haven't heard a word from the Negroes that are on the UAW staff. These Reutherites have been yelling for years 'vote the Green and keep it clean,' now it is clean, clean of every black face that was ever on it. The whites just outnumber the Negroes and they will keep it clean."

"What makes me sick is to see how the Negroes and the students are fighting down South and here these unionists go with their hats in their hands begging to make some deal for themselves and to sell the rest of us out."

In Search Of War Allies

What K & K Did Not Talk About

The two points that Kennedy and Khrushchev did not discuss are the decisive ones: (1) each one's secret search for war allies; and (2) the class struggle that each is waging in his home country against the working people. The wily Khrushchev met his match in the cold and calculating Kennedy.



The World at Stake

EDITORIAL

RIDERS FOR FREEDOM

With one swift stroke the Freedom Riders took the world headlines away from the summit meetings in Paris and Vienna. Since May 14, the first day that news of the vicious attacks on Negro and white Freedom Riders hit the papers in America, the shock was felt around the world, and the world was watching.

"WE PREFER FREEDOM NOW"

Hollow talks of peace and freedom, whether at a summit in Vienna or the halls of Congress in Washington, D.C. remain just that—hollow talk. By sharp contrast, the Freedom Riders have made unmistakably clear their determination to have complete desegregation and full civil rights NOW in the Deep South itself. While the Freedom buses continued to roll into Jackson, Mississippi, President Kennedy, on the eve of his flight to Europe, was feted with a birthday party at the armory in Boston. Seven Baptist ministers from Boston University and 2 students from the School of African Studies marched outside with signs reading: "Before you stand up to Khrushchev, stand up to Patterson," and "We prefer Freedom now to the presidency in 40 years."

The Negro Freedom Fight has reached a new height. The Ride-ins of 1961 have the advantage of organization, whether it be the Congress Of Racial Equality which sent the first 2 busloads south, or student campus organizations. They have the accumulated spontaneous struggles of the Negro people over the past full five years to draw upon. Beginning with Rosa Parks' simple refusal to move to the rear of a bus, the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956 lasted a full 9 months until it was won, and involved almost complete self-organization of transportation by the entire Negro population of that city. Four years later the lunch-counter sit-ins of 1960, were

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The winning of DeGaulle to the long-range war, and the re-establishment of secret diplomacy (the "private" talks with Macmillan) are the elements that turned the confrontation with Khrushchev into "a highly successful failure." Any one who is so dazzled by the glare of publicity on the ceremonial aspects that he cannot see that once again "secret convenants secretly arrived at" dominated the "before" and "after" the talk with Khrushchev will, of course, miss the lesson Kennedy drew in his TV report of his meetings with DeGaulle and Macmillan: "We all agree that there is work to be done in the West, and from our conversations have come agreed steps to get on with the work."

EUROPE AS THE KEY

Contrary to the press reports which pictured Kennedy as coming to Vienna with no cards in his hands, the President came brandishing the old NATO big stick that this time had been hammered into a nuclear war-head that would be in the hands of the whole West. It is true that this was achieved by Kennedy as President forgetting what Kennedy as Senator had said about the myth of French "glory" (read: empire). It is true that this meant not only approval of DeGaulle's rule over Algeria and his greater role in Europe but also in world affairs, "including Latin America."

It is even more true, however, that so long as the United States' battle for Africa is lost, day in and day out, on the streets, in the legislatures, and in the courts of the Deep South, the young ruler learned quickly to lean on old, experienced imperialist shoulders abroad. Moreover, the lesson Kennedy had drawn from the Cuban fiasco was that "hemispheric solidarity" was deadlier even than the French dream of empire. The diplomacy which made Kennedy bow down low before the superior air of DeGaulle treating America as "the daughter of Europe" had as its aim the re-establishment of capitalistic Europe as the key to the world situation.

The proof that he succeeded in that is the "politeness" with which Khrushchev treated Kennedy. Since Kennedy's return, the press has finally caught up with him and once again has begun speaking of how rich, how productive, how well armed "the West" is, "still the mightiest coalition on earth." (James Reston, N. Y. Times, June 7). The two conclusions we are supposed to draw from this are: (1) if only "the West" regained its "faith," it still could win the world, and (2) that President Kennedy is not only a bright young man, but the right young man who has come to lead "the world." This has for its pre-supposition that the people would be so dazzled by the glowing words about "peace and freedom" that they would blind

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By Harry McShane

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JUST OFF THE PRESS BRITISH EDITION

NATIONALISM, COMMUNISM, MARXIST-HUMANISM

and the

A FRO-ASIA REVOLUTIONS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

With a NEW INTRODUCTION by the Author

Preface by PETER CADAGON

Published by THE LEFT GROUP

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Workers Join Jobless In Overtime Protest

Detroit — In the last four weeks we have been working six days a week on the frame job at the Chrysler Mack Plant. It is miserable work to say the least, physically and mentally. The company has said that about half the welders in the department will be permanently laid off after July 1. By forcing us to work six days, we are working ourself right out of a job.

Reuther gave the company all rights to set and schedule production. Because of this, no one can refuse to work overtime. The company used to ask a worker whether he or she wanted to work overtime. Now they just tell you: "You are scheduled to work overtime."

All during the fall and winter we worked two, three and four

Inhumanity In the Plant

LOS ANGELES — The things that are happening in American factories today are something to present to the world as being on the same plane as inhuman acts against humanity.

I was told about a man who had lost a leg years ago in the coal mines and has worked since the '30's for Chrysler, but now they tell him that there isn't a job there for a man with one leg.

He's laid off on a form 031 which means he can't keep up with the job. There are several people in this 031 category. The janitors' department now refuses to take any more 031's; if you can't work on the line, they say you're no good as a janitor.

WOMEN HIT HARD

Next model is going to be worse. New techniques will eliminate even more men. It doesn't look like any of the 800 men now out on the streets will ever be called back and it even looks like many of the 1200 now on the inside will be gone. Whole departments will be eliminated.

There's a campaign on to get rid of the few women left in the plant by next model changeover. I understand there won't be a job fit for a woman to do left in the plant.

The production manager has a very simple way of working: he gives his orders and then retires to his office—where he removes the doorknobs so that none of his supervisors can come in and bother him. I suppose that these supervisors can make the same plea as Eichmann, they're only "following orders," in attempting to work people to death.

PUT POLITICIANS ON LINE

Working conditions will be the big thing in the contract this year. That should be the only thing in it. The union is fighting in the state legislature to pass a law outlawing mandatory overtime. When the union members are only working every other week is not the best time to be fighting about overtime.

They ought to bring the congressmen down and let them work on the line and then fight about what constitutes a legal work day and how hard does a man have to work.

All I can say is that it's very rough to be working in a Chrysler plant today, and I'm quite sure that the toughest boss in totalitarian Russia could never get more work out of his slave laborers than a Chrysler "doorknob remover" gets.

days a week. As soon as the weather got hot were were put on a six-day week.

IT'S BRUTAL

All the workers say that working six days is unfair, with so many welders unemployed, many of whom aren't even able to draw compensation checks anymore. Yet the union goes along with the company in their refusal to call these men back to work.

Working six days when the temperature goes up to 85 and 90, and you have to stand over hot metal running it together, is brutal.

UNEMPLOYED

GIVE WARNING

We held the local union election after we had already worked one Saturday. Before the election, many unemployed workers went to the union hall to tell the officers that they would certainly not get the unemployed vote if they went along with working the men six days, while there were so many laid off.

The officers of the union arranged with the company not to have Saturday work scheduled in the week the elections were held. As soon as the election was over, the six-day week was resumed.

When it was reported that Castro told Reuther, who wanted to visit Cuba, to stay home, one of the workers said that if the working people had told him that when we were organizing the union, we'd be better off today.

ON AUTOMATION

Plant Stirred By Pamphlet

LOS ANGELES.—The Ford plant is fairly well covered (with "Workers Battle Automation" pamphlet), except for the 'frame-slide' area. Evidently Labor Relations got hold of one of the pamphlets, and of course the calls coming in to management from various foremen caused Plant Protection to go into action—"cops"!

All this did was cause more attention and created greater interest. The whole plant knows about the pamphlet, and it's moving around among the workers. It'll also get into widespread neighborhood situations. It's blown the lid off. There's 1660 in the plant.

The job now is to get some circulation into Chevy and G.M. Chrysler is in such bad shape, anything worse than conditions in sales now existing will break their back.

The Ford Council is in session now, our union prelims for bargaining with Ford Co. Our new local president is anti-Reuther, and the guy we just got out is strictly a 'book man.' In short, whatever Reuther gave from G.M. and Ford, that was it!

Order Your Copy Now

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WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION

By Charles Denby

Hurry Up—Then Out You Go

Homestead, Penna. — In our department in the steel mill, we have maybe 12 bricklayers and five or six helpers trying to keep them going and stay ahead of them—which in some cases is entirely impossible.

We can't get the material in fast enough for them, and they just stand around. The company is doing this so they can find out just exactly how much labor is needed to keep a certain number of men going. They know we can't keep up with it. Even the superintendent knows, but it doesn't make any difference. They're doing time-studies on us hoping to eliminate even more men.

Just like they had 40 new scaffolds to put up. They have five carpenters and four helpers and it took them about four hours to erect a substantial scaffold. Now they have a new scaffold device that works hydraulically and electrically, and moves up and down depending on the height you are working at. The result is the elimination of the carpenters and the helpers.

MORE MACHINES . . .

There's another job that's very important out there—the checker blower—a steady daylight job. They used to have an 80 pound pipe through which they would blow steam to clear out the checkers so the furnace would draw air better. They have a new machine with smaller pipes through which they'll force plain water under 300 pounds of pressure to clean the checkers.

Out of some 10 checker blowers, mostly young men, four or five will be eliminated. When they're laid off, they'll just be out on the street since they don't have the seniority to bump back.

. . . AND GADGETS

Out of about 20 heat testers there are about five left. These men would go to the furnaces and find out how hot the steel baths were. Now they have a new gadget that the first helper can work. It is light enough for one man to handle.

The heat testers knew three months ago it was coming. One young worker was telling me he wanted to get a new car, buy his wife a stove. He was holding off until he found out what they were going to do. Sure enough, he got laid off.

It's really something—you're here today and gone tomorrow. You never know who's going to be the next one to get laid off.

Just Get to Work

West Virginia—I was at a clinic for a check-up on an injury I had suffered while working in the mine when I met a friend of mine who was still working there.

I saw his hand was all bandaged up and asked what had happened to him. He said he had been operating a motor and the trolley pole had jumped the power line. In putting the pole back on the line, his bare left hand made contact with the metal part of the pole while his right hand was on the power controller on the motor. The electric charge went through his body and concentrated on his hand on the controller, which acted the same as a ground for the electricity. The hand was ripped open by the force of the charge.

"This was bad enough," he said, "but to top it off, the company didn't want me to take even a day off. They don't want any lost time accidents at all. I'll bet they'd have had an ambulance at my home next day to take me to work if I hadn't shown up."

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

"Electronics" In Detroit

That working in a factory is especially hard for women, when they have families and homes to take care of can also be seen in the fact that many women go through menopause at a very early age. Most of the women where I work start this phase of life in their late thirties and early forties. One woman was as young as 31 when she began. I realize this might be an exceptional case but I am sure that the fact that she had worked for many years under the tensions of factory production was no small contributing factor.

* * *

Lately we have been working overtime. Since some of the women are the sole support of families, with husbands laid off, it is difficult to refuse the work. The company frowns on such "independence" but you yourself feel that you need the "extra" money very badly. This is when the physical fatigue really shows through. There is not one woman who is not tired when we start in the morning to when we leave at night.

There are always jokes about "tired blood," etc., and some have even tried the tired blood elixirs but have not gotten any help. You can't get "rest" out of a bottle of medicine. Quite a few of the girls have developed ulcers and other illnesses. The strain is tremendous, with everyone constantly reminding themselves that they are pretty lucky to have jobs these days, plus the fact that we are re-

minded daily of the machines that are putting people out of work. Each new development increases the number of workers the machines replace.

When the company sent around a letter the other day telling us how great their machines are, one girl said that they're letting us know that we are going to have to (1) work harder, (2) work overtime when they ask us, and work hard so that in the fall thousands elsewhere can be laid off with the installation of these machines.

One of the most horrible features of electrical shops in Detroit is the stated or un-stated agreement between the company and the workers to keep the shops lily-white.

In some cases this agreement is between the union and the company. Some of the larger companies such as Burrough's and Chrysler Guided Missiles have a token number of Negro workers, so that you cannot accuse them of discrimination.

That these whites can continue to think this way—at a time when unemployment is so high and even the daily papers are forced to admit that the Negro workers are hit twice as hard was shown the other day when one of the girls was telling with glee that her husband has finally been called back to Drewry's Brewery after being off all winter. She went on to say that "they don't hire any colored there. It's an agreement the union has with the company."

Equal Housing

Pickets Win Fight

Mass.—A victory against housing discrimination was won in Springfield by a group of Negroes who believe in direct action picketing. A dozen people demonstrated in front of a furniture store owned by Kuzon, a landlord whose apartment manager asked "Are you white?" when anyone called in reply to a newspaper advertisement for apartments on Spring street.

Pickets carried signs reading "Don't patronize this store—the owner won't rent to Negroes" and "Equal housing for all races." As soon as the group arrived at the store, Mr. Kuzon agreed to negotiate, although he had refused to do so two days before. He insisted that pickets be removed at first, but the group kept walking while their spokesman talked with the press and with Mr. Kuzon.

After an hour of argument, the landlord agreed to rent to all on an equal basis, to instruct the apartment house manager to refrain from asking the race of applicants, and to display the fair housing sign required by law and by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination.

The case came to light when a Negro woman called the apartment house after reading an ad in the newspaper. Upon being asked "Are you white?" she replied that she was Spanish (she is Creole) and the manager said that they do not rent to any "dark-skinned people."

The woman then went to Mr. Kuzon's furniture store, which is also his real estate office, and confronted him with her experience. The store is located in a Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhood. He denied that he discriminated, but asked her for a lengthy list of credit references, personal references, job references, etc.

White friends who called for the same apartment were asked

their color also, but when they said they were white, were offered the apartments right away. The only assurance they had to give was that they were employed. One white woman, a reporter for the daily paper, then said that she was married to a Negro man, and at that point was told she could not live there.

Pictures of the picketing were filmed for television, and a sympathetic front page story appeared in the Sunday paper. The story included a statement from the spokesman for the picketers criticizing the N.A.A.C.P. for "dragging its feet" in housing discrimination cases. The author of the statement is himself a member of the N.A.A.C.P. Executive Board.

A special called meeting of the Executive Board was held for the purpose of removing this man.

A legalistic device was found by which the picketers were removed from the Executive Board, but not before they were able to state their case. Some support was gained within the Executive Board, and much sympathy is found within the branch at large.

The picketers feel that the incident accomplished its purposes by: (1) calling attention to the terrible situation that exists in Springfield in regard to housing discrimination and (2) warning landlords all over the city that they can expect similar direct action if they continue to discriminate.

BRITISH LABOUR NEWS

WRITTEN AND EDITED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEES

Auto Industry Statement Tries to Brainwash Workers

ESSEX—The new statement of 19th April on "Industrial Relations in the Motor Industry," means that the unions and management, having failed to crush the shop stewards' movement forcibly, are now trying different tactics.

Brainwashing seems to be the method. This will also be applied to the workers undergoing Time and Motion Study: by giving it the new label "Work Study," they hope to pull a fast one.

[The statement was produced after meetings between the bosses of Rootes Group, B.M.C. Dunlop, Ford, Jaguar, Leyland, Pressed Steel, Standard-Triumph, Vauxhall, and Rover with Union leaders Matthews, Caron, Berridge, Foulkes, McGarvey, Tallon, and others. The signed document includes the paragraph:

"Modern techniques are essential to maintain efficiency and the competitiveness of the industry, and we shall give further consideration to actions which can be taken by both sides to reduce the apprehensions that may arise from the

introduction and particular applications of work study on the shop floor."

[A promise "to release shop stewards with appropriate pay to take approved training courses" at technical colleges and extra-mural departments of universities is included.]

That the once-hated stewards can now be offered such privileges indicates both the currently passive role of the movement generally as well as the desire of the capitalist class to render it permanently harmless.

The most disturbing feature of the sordid deal is that the unions and management can quite openly connive to neutralize the shop steward movement unnoticed by their intended victims.

Some workers fail to realise what's implied by this deal. Fifteen years ago, such proposals would have had to be agreed to in secret, behind closed doors.

—Ford Worker

Ship at Holy Loch

The Case for Industrial Action

By Harry McShane, Glasgow

The struggle against the use of Holy Loch as a Polaris base is having a disturbing effect on the British government. The admission by Captain Laning that the demonstrations are affecting the morale of his crew has added to the government's discomfort.

Lord Home fears the effect of the demonstrations on American public opinion. Dr. Charles Hill, the government's public relations chief, is asking for suggestions on how to counter the effects of the demonstrations.

There are many weaknesses in the campaign, but, despite the weaknesses, it has had very good effects. The Scottish Labour Movement will require to decide on its next steps very soon. The Scottish Council for Nuclear Disarmament is considering some form of activity to take place on the 6th August, the anniversary of Hiroshima.

OPPORTUNISM RISES

The recent activities have brought to the surface the opportunist streak that characterises so many of the younger Labour MPs. Parliament has been brought further into disrepute at a time when the Communist Party is trying to direct the workers along constitutional lines.

Mr. George Brown, a member of the Labour Shadow Cabinet is against the base at Holy Loch, and suggests that it be moved to another Scottish loch. There are other M.P.s who think it should be moved to England. These are all supporters of the Gaitskell policy.

Two of the large trade unions have swung over to the multi-lateralist position. They opposed the Polaris base.

STRESS FUNDAMENTALS

This shows the effectiveness of the campaign on the Polaris weapon, but it brings home the need to make a stronger fight on the wider issues connected with the drive to war.

It is notable that the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers went multi-lateralist but opposed the Polaris ship being at Holy Loch. The Scottish T.U.C. is against the Polaris ship but supports N.A.T.O.

Because of the reversal of policy on the part of these two trade unions it now seems certain that the next Labour Party conference will endorse the policy of Gaitskell. The block vote, which some "Lefts" thought was a good thing last year, when it went against nuclear warfare, will now ensure victory for the multi-lateralists.

This shows clearly that too much importance is attached to the Labour Party conference. Gaitskell flouted it last year,

and it now seems that he knew what he was doing. The problem will not be solved by Labour Party conferences.

What is wanted is industrial action. Industrial action is unofficial. If we had the resources we could get it independent of anyone. The case for industrial action is not being put to the workers because none of the bodies concerned wants it. We will raise the question at the Trades Council but we will be told that the Trades Council does not have the authority to call for it.

RANK & FILE APPEAL

Only the rank-and-file workers can deal effectively with the problem. Some of the Trades Councils, particularly in Scotland, realize this but they are not empowered to call for industrial action. There is no unofficial movement in the industrial establishments that could make such a call.

This does not mean to say that the workers will not act in the future. If the case against war preparations is clearly put, and industrial action is mooted at all meetings, we will meet with a surprising response.

The demonstrations against the Polaris-carrying ship will continue, but they must be connected more closely with the wider issues. The entry of the Joint Executive of Glasgow Trades Council, The Glasgow City Labour Party, and the Glasgow and District Cooperative Association in the struggle was a step forward, but the Labour Movement must play a bigger part.

There is a further danger that by concentrating on Holy Loch the real purpose of the fight may be lost sight of, and the struggle against war be confined to one against this American ship. It suits the Communist Party for the struggle to seem thus to be directed against America by making no reference to the role of Russia. The C.P. is therefore trying to gain control of the demonstrations.

Coal Board Plans to Scrap Another 10,000 in Scotland

GLASGOW—The labour force in the Scottish coal mines will be reduced by another 10,000 men in the next ten years. This has been announced by Mr. Humphrey Browne, the deputy chairman of the National Coal Board. "We must pay our way," says the Board.

The labour force has been reduced by 17,000 in the last three years because of the drive to streamline the mines.

The new drive follows on a deficit of £21,300,000 in Scotland alone. There would have been a substantial profit had it not been for interest rates

charged for loans and compensation to previous owners.

In order that these payments continue, the new drive calls for greatly increased production at the coal face at the same time as thousands of workers are to be thrown on the scrap heap.

Despite this, the Communist Party is demanding that the shipyards be nationalised so that Britain can compete with the rest of the world. Unemployment in the shipyards is increasing, but it should be clear from what has happened in the coal-mining industry that nationalisation is no remedy.

Hills at Home

GLASGOW — Mr. Ted Hill, General Secretary of the Boiler-makers' Society and his wife have been to Russia.

Ted tells us that Khrushchev "is a great guy." His wife tells about the food she ate while there.

If we took our impressions of Russia from the Hills there would be mass emigration tomorrow. Fortunately, the average worker doesn't look to Mr. and Mrs. Hill for guidance.

Mr. Hill's solution to the problems of Britain is always increased production.

Readers' Views

DISTORTED FACTS?

I am a little angry at the distortions in your article, last February, on the Rank & File Conference. (1) [The article said, "The leaflet printed by the Syndicalists was adopted as a policy statement . . ."] This was the common statement of aims endorsed by all the bodies represented on the Liaison Committee, including the News & Letters group. It was originally stencilled . . . [but], the Liaison Committee agreed that it should be printed. [It was printed on the Syndicalist Workers' Federation press by voluntary labor because that was the least expensive.]

(2) There were in fact 93 delegates. [The article said 90 or so people were present.]

(3) There were considerably more than five members of the I.L.P. [present].

(4) I should be interested to know where F. W. gets his claim that "Worker's Voice" equated Marxism with Communism.

L. O.
Argyle

WONDERFUL LINK

I feel that this paper is a wonderful link between the

working class of the U.S.A. and our country, and will endeavour to get it more widely read. I have a personal interest in a paper of this nature published in the U.S.A. In 1946 I was on strike in a British ship in America, and the seamen's union backed our strike. This was my introduction to the American working class.

Militant Engineer
East London

CROSSROADS

Capitalism depraves and corrupts all human relationships in some way. One way is the frustration of creativity in work and in play. Also, a thousand half-conscious fears and deprivations drive people of all ages to use sex as an escape or end in itself. (I think this happened, inter alia, in the Roman Empire to produce goal-less hedonism and sadism. This in turn led to fear of sex and of "sin," and the frightful asceticism of Pauline Christianity. It would not surprise me if—assuming no fatal war—the next generation of children, of all classes under capitalism, started a "purity" mania.

South Coast Veteran

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'Sputnik Communists'

ESSEX—One of a party of Russian women visiting Britain is staying in Essex. She is a delegate to the Supreme Soviet, and boss of a collective farm. She claims to be quite uninterested in politics. When asked for her autograph by local children, she pulled pin-up

photos of Yuri Gagarin from her handbag and signed those.

The Foundry Workers Union has made Gagarin its first Honorary Member.

When Gagarin's feat was announced, TRIBUNE ran a front-page headline: "Public Ownership 'Does It Again!'" A week after News & Letters got a long reply to this nonsense published, TRIBUNE ruefully amended it to "A Triumph for Centralized Planning."

In letters to the lively weekly, RAILWAY REVIEW, C. P. members have had a field day eulogising Russian achievements. Railman Les Forster put the record straight when he stated (R.R., 2.6.61): "We learn that Mr. Gagarin, with a wife and two children, occupied a 2-roomed house. Apparently he found it easier to get into orbit than into a good house. Russia's housing problem still remains unsolved."

The Communists and fellow-travellers are blurring class issues and by becoming "Sputnik Communists."

JUST OFF THE PRESS BRITISH EDITION OF

NATIONALISM, COMMUNISM, MARXIST-HUMANISM

and the

AFRO-ASIA REVOLUTIONS

By RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

With a NEW INTRODUCTION by the Author

FOREWORD By PETER CADOGAN

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Editorial

RIDERS FOR FREEDOM

(Continued from Page 1)

started by Negro Students in South Carolina, and spread North and South embracing Negro and white students in every part of America.

There have been some whites at every stage of the struggle who have stood up to be counted, not only in the lunch-counter sit-ins, but in the school integration struggles as well, such as those which rocked New Orleans this winter. It is the consistency with which whites have participated, which has reached a new high with the Freedom Riders.

At the same time, white barbarism has reached new depths. The Northern press, the Deep South and the Department of Justice have joined forces in pretending that the responsibility for the events belongs to a so-called "lunatic fringe"—the Ku Klux Klan. Time magazine thus wrote, "In the vacuum of Alabama leadership, riot ruled." "Bull" Conner, brutal police commissioner of Birmingham, and Governor Patterson, who said at the outbreak, "I cannot guarantee protection for this bunch of rabble-rousers" are in no vacuum. Riot rules precisely because it is backed up 100% by this white-supremacist leadership—most of whom have been elected by a vote of 5% of the population. This is Democracy in South U.S.A.

THE BATTLE FOR AFRICA

The day after 630 Federal marshals had to be called in to beat off with tear gas a mob of 3000 howling whites who were threatening the lives of some 1500 Negroes meeting at the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, three officials of the new government of Sierra Leone, on Africa's west coast, lunched with a group of U.S. senators. The Africans refused to speak of anything except the events in Alabama. Meanwhile, Africans with some whites in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia moved to break down segregation in restaurants and transportation.

On the eve of the summit talks that were designed to solve nothing, the eyes of Africa, as well as the eyes of Latin America and Southeast Asia had been turned with even greater speed than the epic fights of Major Yuri Gagarin and Lieutenant Alan Shepard to the epic rides of the Freedom Riders. The battle for Africa was lost in the streets of Montgomery and Jackson.

THE FREEDOM RIDERS VS. PATTERSON, BOB KENNEDY, EASTLAND

The Freedom Riders' determination for freedom now, is matched only by the determination of the Africans themselves. In resounding tones the Freedom Riders have rejected any effort of the Attorney General to stem their tide with a "cooling-off period." While KKK-supported Governor Patterson greeted that proposal by stating, "It's the first common sense the Federal government has displayed in many days," the Freedom Riders wired back, "Had there not been a cooling-off period following the Civil War, the Negro would be free today." Since then, white and Negro riders-for-freedom have been filling up the Jackson jails. To date some 131 have accepted jail sentences.

Under this tense pressure Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP has instigated law suits challenging the constitutionality of the state laws of both Alabama and Mississippi, neither of which state had yet had one single case pending on so much as defiance of school integration rulings. At the same time the blatant spokesman for the Deep South, Senator Eastland of Mississippi has revealed the democratic process in its true colors when he announced bluntly: "We'll tie them up in a century of litigation."

THE PRETENSE OF DEMOCRACY

In the seven years since the Supreme Court decision against segregation in the schools, so little has been done to put the law of the land into effect that it is useful to remember the year, 1954, for one reason only. It proves that the Southern Way of Life is the established way of life of the United States of America, and gives the lie to the pretense of democracy. The few battles that have been won have in each case involved, first and foremost, the people battling for their rights, secondly a drawback from this battle in the streets into the litigation in the courts, and finally a realization that no LAW gives you freedom.

It is this realization and therefore attempt to combine both spontaneous action and organization that makes this stage in the battle for democratic rights of the Negro the most important stage to date.

Moreover, this fight is exposing not just the South, but the Federal government as well. Interstate transportation is not a local matter. Should a hint of so-called "subversion" enter the national scene, every agency from Interstate Commerce to the FBI, from the CIA to the Army, and from the Attorney General's office to the President's, would be in on it. But when the freedom of 1/10th of the population was being subverted it didn't get more than token protection. How token that protection was is evident from the fact that the personal representative of the Attorney General himself ended up with a brain concussion on the streets of Alabama.

UNTIL FREEDOM IS WON

That is why the Freedom Riders rightly answered the proposal for a "cooling-off" period with a telegram saying, "Isn't 90 years enough of a cooling off period?" It is for this reason, too, that the struggle will go on until it is won, with or without the aid of supposedly law enforcement agencies which have done nothing but condone violence on the part of illegally-elected and illegally-conducted state Governments or those who commit the violence by virtue of the suffrage of both the state and the Federal government.

Until this problem is solved here, no amount of dash and sparkle in either Jack or Jackie Kennedy is going to make anyone in Europe or Africa consider this a serious democracy.

News & Letters

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Readers'

CASTRO'S CUBA

We had an interesting visitor to Glasgow Trades Council last night. When I arrived I found that the newly appointed Cuban consul was sitting on the platform. I hoped to have a go at him but it seems that he spoke a few harmless sentences before I arrived. There were no questions. He remained right throughout the meeting and heard me attack the Communist Party for singling out West Germany for their usual hate campaign. It seems he was brought to the meeting by the Daily Worker representative with whom he is living. He is a young man of about 25.

I mention this because I agree entirely with the Editorial in News and Letters. I am puzzled about the attitude of the Trotskyists. The Canadian Trotskyists send me their paper and I have not found one word of criticism in it. It brims over with enthusiasm for Castro. It seems clear that Castro is in the hands of the Communist Party. If they feel strong enough to do it with safety to themselves, they will ditch him in the course of time.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

* * *

I am very much puzzled by your anti-Castro position. Especially because you call yourselves humanist Marxists. I read a number of journals of the left and they all seem to refute your contentions. I guess you belong in the same class with the Libertarians who are screaming Communism in Cuba... I know this, that if a government came to power in America and cut rents in half, it would constitute a revolution. If it outlawed racial discrimination, this would be revolution. If it went about building tens of thousands of homes for the poor, this would be revolution.

I doubt that the ruling classes would attack Castro so desperately if he were not bringing about a genuine social revolution. Castro gave the masses guns and if he were not doing right by them it would be a simple matter to dump him.

Your paper should be supporting the revolution in Cuba, even if critically.

Reader
Philadelphia

* * *

(Editor's Note: The above letter was received just as the May issue with an editorial analysis of "The Kennedy Administration and Castro's Cuba" came off the press, which our Philadelphia Reader thus had not yet had a chance to read. We print the letter for its interest, however, and reprint here one relevant paragraph from our December 1960 issue: "As for Castro's attitude to the industrial workers, his bossist, administrative mentality stuck out from the very first day of victorious entry into Havana when he demanded that the revolutionary students and workers there put down their arms." Our May editorial dealt further with "The latest

embrace of Communism—not just in Russia or far-off China, but in Cuba—the introduction of the Five Year Plan and the ordering of workers to obey those targets and get over their 'lack of revolutionary conscience and enthusiasm in their work,' plus the admonition not to fear America because Russia has now 'perfected its atomic weapons'—all these point to the strangulation of the Cuban Revolution internally even as Kennedy girds for the final struggle against it externally." Any reader who missed this Editorial, or would like an extra copy may obtain it by writing to our office, 8751 Grand River, Detroit.)

* * *

NEW FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS

Congratulations on your editorial on Cuba. It was excellent. I read the official anarchist statement on Cuba in "Views and Comments" and it was terrible. It supported a coalition between Libertarians, Social-Democrats, liberals and democratic conservatives. In other words, an anti-Stalinist popular front with every drawback a popular front has ever had. The Socialist Party, surprisingly, had a good statement on Cuba, but News and Letters was the only revolutionary one I've been able to find.

Subscriber
New York

* * *

It is what happens after a revolution that is the important thing. Many workers in my shop raise the question every time they talk of some leader who has got into a power-position—in the sense that they just assume that in time he will turn out to be like all the rest, no matter what he was like in the beginning. That is how they see Castro and Cuba. We don't like the invasion, but we don't want to see Russia taking over, either.

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

I have been arguing with many of my friends about the Cuban mess for a long time, but when Castro's "tractors for prisoners" deal came out I was still shocked. I didn't know about the similar kind of swap Eichmann had offered during World War II until I read it later in the papers, but I just felt that anybody who would swap a machine for a human being should be sentenced to work on that machine for the rest of his life.

Student
Detroit

* * *

The girls I work with are very pro-Kennedy. They talked about the Cuban invasion a lot until it came out that the CIA had planned it with Kennedy's approval. Then nobody would talk about it anymore. It was as if they were ashamed of what had been done.

Woman Worker
Detroit

The world is moving so fast now, and people know that they can't keep up with a pace somebody else is setting for them. I believe that people are taking stock of themselves as they never have done before. Before, people were making money and didn't care much about each other. Now they do.

At work I find that my friends will talk with me, and listen to what I tell them about News & Letters, and yet I won't get a response from them for weeks sometimes. Then it turns out that they have wanted to talk, but didn't know how to express themselves.

But you can get a hot discussion on Cuba anytime. The younger fellows say right out that if there's a war, they don't want to go. They don't feel they'd have anything to accomplish. They feel that they can't protect their own job right here, and can't see why they should be expected to go over there to protect somebody else's interest.

Steelworker
Pittsburgh

* * *

Your editorial on "The Kennedy Administration and Castro's Cuba" should be must reading for all radicals. It just made me sick to see the way all sorts of socialists fell into the Commie trap of "choosing" sides. Never once was the Cuban worker mentioned as the proof of any socialism. They were all just quite ready to be anti-Yankee and pro-Cuba, and pro-Cuba always turned out to mean pro-Russia. When will they wake up to an independent working class line? I wish it could be translated into Spanish and smuggled into Cuba.

Old Reader
Chicago

* * *

THE FREEDOM RIDERS

It was wonderful to hear Archie Moore ask that \$1,000 of his winnings after his last fight go to the Freedom Riders. It made me feel good to know that he was on national TV and that it was going all over the country. I don't remember ever hearing anything like that being done before. It was a sign to me how deep the thing is now.

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

CORE had a public meeting here and about 150 people turned out, with hardly any publicity at all. About 40% were Negro and the rest white, and many of them students.

Their scheduled speaker was held up in the South in the church meeting in Birmingham that was closed until the U. S. Marshals arrived, so they sent a Freedom Rider who had been on the first bus, a white fellow from Arizona. He gave a factual report of their Freedom Bus, but what struck me most was the tremendous organization of Rev. Shuttleworth. This group landed in the hospital and after getting doctored up the question was how to get into some safe neighborhood or house. With one phone call to Rev. Shuttleworth, 10 cars, with 2 guards in each car, appeared at the hospital to transport the Freedom Riders to the safety of the

Views

Negro community by putting them on the floor of the car on the ride through the streets of Birmingham.

In the question and answer period that followed his talk, the whole temper was what can we do here locally to help. The meeting decided to have a demonstration at the Federal Building the next Saturday, and 100 people showed up.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

* * *

It is significant to note that many of the initial white Freedom Riders were those who have been attending the Negro colleges. It was the Negro colleges who thus effected integration by inviting white students to join them, and produced a new dimension of white in the process.

Interested
Detroit

* * *

I think that the NBC program about the Freedom Riders being attacked in Birmingham was all slanted to put the riders in a bad light. The next day Robert Kennedy asked that there be a "slowing down and a cooling off period."

They can spend 30 minutes showing a camera which was kicked in and talk about a couple of reporters and technicians who were kicked and beaten, but they never went into what happened to the Freedom Riders. They didn't mention the atrocities committed on those young people. They didn't say that one white mother held up her little boy so that he could beat on a Negro. They didn't say that 15 people stomped on another Negro boy. They didn't say that some poured kerosene on another Negro boy and then set him on fire. I think they didn't say all these things deliberately, in preparation for asking for a "waiting period."

Young Negro
Los Angeles

* * *

I read that when reporters asked what the reaction was in the new countries of Africa to the treatment the Freedom Riders received in the Deep South, one government official said bluntly, "It could not be worse." I must say it is the first time I have been able to agree with any official so completely for a long time.

Reader
Chicago

* * *

I think the Freedom Riders learned something from the workers' struggles in this country. The way they rejected any effort to stop their drive with a "cooling off period," summit-meeting or no summit-meeting, reminded me very much of the way the coal miners in the midst of the war in 1943 refused to swallow the "no strike pledge" the government had foisted on the labor movement and instead just went out on strike and stayed out until they won. During that same period the Negro movement under A. Phillip Randolph threatened a march on Washington for FEPC and also won.

Supporter
West Virginia

When the administration asked for a "cooling off period" for the Freedom Riders, I got several calls from Negroes who expressed the fear in their hearts that the Negro leadership might go along with the administration's request. It was a real lack of confidence in the Negro leadership. But the 11 o'clock news that night carried the answer that 99 years was a long enough "cooling off period."

Old Politico
Los Angeles

* * *

I was talking to a relative of mine in Montgomery on the phone, long-distance, but she wouldn't say anything about what was happening concerning the Freedom Riders because she said the local authorities there were supposed to be tapping phones and people were afraid to say too much. She said she'd write me. I wondered when they'd start censoring the mails too.

Disgusted
Detroit

* * *

I believe the law of the land is deliberately vague on the question of "state's rights." Otherwise how can you possibly explain how long it takes to fight case after case after case in order to "test" whether or not the Supreme Court's decisions are being violated? Especially when the decision is saying no more than the Constitution has supposedly guaranteed all along?

Tired of Waiting
Chicago

* * *

I think that the CBS program "Who Speaks for Birmingham" should go on the Voice of America broadcasts instead of Robert Kennedy's statement that a Negro will be President 30 to 40 years from now.

That program would show that 1) Negroes mean to have their freedom now not 30 years from now, and 2) it'll show the Second America, that Kennedy doesn't represent, but that Reverend Shuttleworth does.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

* * *

LEADERS AND RANKS

When the government granted the extension of unemployment compensation, Chrysler Corporation announced to the press that those Chrysler workers drawing compensation through the extension would also be eligible for Supplemental Unemployment Benefits as well. Now, with nothing said in the papers, they've sent out a mailing to their laid-off employees telling them that when they go on the TEC extension they will no longer be eligible for SUB.

They tell laid-off workers that when they've run out of their regular unemployment compensation, they won't be eligible for SUB again until they've worked a full year.

A bunch of us went to the union hall, but they just told us it was too bad, but it's all in the contract. A lot of us were depending on that SUB check to make ends meet.

The contract, pension plan,

and hospitalization plans have gotten so complicated that the average worker doesn't even try to understand them anymore. It would take up all his or her time. You can tell that most of the local union officers don't understand either. That's how the company and the union take advantage of the worker.

Chrysler Woman Worker
Detroit

* * *

We had an example at the mill recently to show which side the Union is on. It started when the men tried to find a way to keep outside contractors from taking away jobs in the mill. The union-men threw up a picket line and announced that they were going to check the union cards of everybody going in for three days. The company sent two guards and a photographer to the gate right away, to let the men know that if anybody "molested" a non-union member who tried to get in, the company would have evidence against the union men to make them look like agitators. That didn't bother anybody; we expected that much from the company. But what we didn't expect was for the International to call the pickets off. And to think we're paying our dues to keep those guys going!

Steelworker
Pittsburgh

* * *

AFRICAN AND AMERICAN WORKERS

It is now a very long time since I wrote to you. As you can see, I am now back in Africa and the preparation to get here has been one of the reasons for the long delay in replying to your letter.

I have been receiving your papers and on last Saturday I received the latest bundle of the April issue which I intend to distribute to interested people. This will take time to do, particularly in a place like this with all kinds of regulations.

All being well, I hope to make a serious effort to bring about a link between Africa and the U.S.A. Best wishes.

African Friend
West Africa

* * *

I found it hard at first to get the African students I have met to commit themselves on what they think. But all have been quick to agree that they are neither pro-Russian nor pro-Western. They do say that they need American aid—but the kind of aid they are talking about is technical training. I find that in the subjects they are taking they have really gone overboard on medicine, political science, government history, social science, psychology, nutrition and home-making.

It seems to me that they know just exactly what they mean by "American aid" and that above all else what Africa wants is to be able to come into its own an independent nation, and not as another type of colony once more.

Negro Reader
Detroit

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of
MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Intellectuals in The Age of State Capitalism

We live in an age of state capitalism which, at one end, Russia, persists in calling itself "Communist," and at the other end, America, still designates itself as "free enterprise." Not only are the conditions of production hardly distinguishable from each other, however, but so is the administrative mentality of the intellectuals at both poles of world capital. As befits one who chooses to defend the American side, a Daniel Bell will speak of "The End of Ideology" to mark the alleged end of a "proletarian cause." As befits one who chooses to whitewash the other power, an Isaac Deutscher will proclaim the near-identity of interests of the proletariat and the Russian state.

In each case the scholarship of the writer gets sucked into the veritable conspiracy between the two nuclear titans to force an identity between those two opposites, Marxism and Communism, although Marxism is a theory of liberation from capitalism while Communism is the practice of state capitalist enslavement. While, in origin, the administrative mentality dates back to the 1929 world crash that signalled the end of rationality of capitalist production relations, it is only with the nuclear age that the administrative mentality became the all-pervasive phenomenon it is now.

Take the Hegelian-Marxist philosopher, Herbert Marcuse. In the 1940's he produced the profound study, "Reason and Revolution," which established a continuity of analysis by the young and mature Marx which went beyond the economics of production to the human relations. In the 1950's, however, he was impelled to the fantastic notion of establishing a "continuity" between Marxism and Stalinism.

HERBERT MARCUSE'S "SOVIET MARXISM"

Prof. Marcuse begins reaching for this feat with the very title of his book. While "Soviet" stands for councils of workers and peasants that achieved the Russian Revolution, and now exists in name only, the use of the word allows the author to cover Stalin with the same mantle as Lenin. At the same time the loose use of the word, Marxism, for the entire post-Marxist period makes it possible for Prof. Marcuse to straddle the historic fence.

We feel impelled to review the book now since it has just been published in a new paperback edition which, quite obviously, aims at a popular audience. Without explanation, this new addition leaves out the original introduction which explained his method of analysis as an "immanent critique." That stated "The critique thus employs the conceptual instrument of its object, namely, Marxism, in order to clarify the actual function of Marxism in Soviet society and its historical direction." (p. 1)

Furthermore, "the immanent critique," we were assured, can give us the "cue" not only to the causes of the "theoretical deficiencies," but also the "objective trends and tendencies which are operative in history and which make up the inherent rationality . . ." (p. 1) At least these are Prof. Marcuse's assumptions.

There is no end to the magical qualities of that instrument, "the immanent critique": "For what is irrational if measured from without the system is rational within the system." (p. 86) This writer cannot guarantee that the irrational can appear rational anywhere outside of a madhouse, but Prof. Marcuse has not only undertaken that feat, but also its opposite, that of endowing the rational with irrational features.

"THE NEW RATIONALITY"

Although Prof. Marcuse admits that "Neither the rise of the Soviet intelligentsia as a new ruling group, nor its composition and its privileges are any long disputed facts . . ." (p. 107) he nevertheless dubs the totalitarian, state-capitalist society of Russia as "The New Rationality."

The reader must restrain his interest in motivation, and judge the author only by what he holds to be "the truth": (1) Marx's concept of the revolutionary nature of the proletariat is supposed to have "exploded" (p. 13) at the point of transition from capitalism to socialism, that is to say, the October Revolution. On the other hand, Soviet Marxism's hypostatization of that tenet into a ritual is judged to be nothing short of "an instrument for rescuing the truth." (p. 88)

The resulting play on words beggars rational description: "it (Soviet Marxism) is not 'false consciousness' but rather consciousness of falsehood, a falsehood which is 'corrected' in the context of the 'higher truth' represented by objective historical interest." (p. 91) And, of course, when all else fails, an intellectual can always blame "the backward population." "The new form of Marxian theory corresponds to its new historical agent—a backward population which is to become what it 'really' is: a revolutionary force which changes the world." (p. 89)

(2) Lenin's attempt to confront the post-Marxist phenomenon of imperialism by "redefining" capitalism, and attempting "to draw the peasantry into the orbit of Marxian theory and strategy" is alleged to have suffered from "The refusal to draw theoretical consequences from the new situation." This, Prof. Marcuse concludes, "characterizes the entire development of Leninism and is one of the chief reasons for the gap between theory and practice in Soviet Marxism." (p. 30)

Not only is the unbridgeable gulf between Marxism and present-day Russian Communism blamed on the "theoretical deficiencies" of Lenin, the latter is made the author of the one original contribution of Stalin—the theory of "socialism in one country." Prof. Marcuse does not even bother to tell us that that is what he is doing; he merely quotes the one or two isolated statements as if these had never been called into question and that Stalin built on that. There is not a single reference to the voluminous writings of Leon Trotsky precisely on that one point over which so much blood flowed between Stalinism and Trotskyism over the meaning of Leninism.

Quotations out of context from Vol. IX of Lenin's "Selected Works" are used "to prove" that Lenin was for industrialization "without liberation." Nothing is said about Lenin actually inventing words to describe how "mortally sick" he was of "Communist lies." (Communist lies.) Yet this is in that same profound Vol. IX (p. 346.) As Lenin warned there: "History proceeds in devious ways . . . (Soviet state) has taken the road that will lead to the ordinary bourgeois state."

(*) 1961 edition, Vintage Russian Library, Random House, New York, \$1.25; 1958 edition, Columbia University Press, N.Y., \$6. Page references in this review are to the original edition.

(to be concluded next issue)

YOUTH

Yalemen Support Negro Freedom Fight

NEW HAVEN, CONN., June 1, 1961—An exciting week, in which the heroic Freedom-struggle of the Negro in the South has inspired both deep thought and action in this Northern city, was climaxed by a meeting of the "George Orwell Forum" Friday night, where Conrad Lynn, a spokesman for the militant views of Negro leader Robert F. Williams, addressed a crowd of about 200 Negroes and whites in a Yale University auditorium.

"FREEDOM RIDERS"
Earlier in the week, when news of the heroic actions of the Alabama "Freedom Riders" reached this city, a rally to express support for this struggle was organized within 12 hours by Yale students and faculty memberseem cm cmccc faculty. This "Freedom Rally," attended by over 200 people on the New Haven "Green" and reported by the national press and T.V., was highlighted by statements made by a foreign student from Ghana and the University chaplin, Rev. William S. Coffin.

Nathan Opoku, a divinity student from Ghana, related the "Freedom Rides" to the African Freedom-struggles and to the U.S.-Soviet struggle for

world domination. He showed how racial inequality here gave the lie to the American government's pretention of being for "Freedom" in Africa. "It is one thing to have principles," he said, "but what we want to see is facts." "The very existence of segregation in the United States is the greatest contribution to the success of Communism possible," he added.

The straight-talking minister, Rev. Coffin, first hit out at the hypocrisy of so-called Christians in the South. "What's the matter with these Southern ministers?" he asked. "They're trying to make an improvement on Jesus Christ, and that's very bad theology." Coffin then took a cut at Northern "liberals" and their treatment of Negroes in New Haven. Pointing to the banks and shiny office-buildings on the other side of the "Green" he said "How is it no Negroes are employed there, when they will hire anyone as long as he's white?" He asked his New Haven audience to look into their conscience next time they go into an establishment where there are no Negroes. "This is no accident," he said.

Mr. Coffin proved that he was no such Northern hypocrite by going right down to join the "Freedom Riders" in Montgomery, Alabama, where he ended up in jail. Before his

are not only a teacher, but a scholar: you are supposed to "advance the cause of learning." This means you have to write a book every three or four years. Since nobody reads these books but other professors, only a few publishers will take them and they are usually published at the author's expense.

On the lecture platform, teachers seem very dignified. But in private, among themselves, the competition and backbiting is terrific. Every "learned colleague" is out for your job. At the same time, I have never been among people who squawk more about their wages and working conditions. But do they do anything about it?

COMPANY UNION

Last week I asked one of my teachers if he belonged to a union. "Sure," he said, the A.A.U.P." (American Association of University Professors). He didn't even know that by "union," I meant the AFL-CIO American Federation of Teachers. The AAUP, sponsored by the university corporations, isn't even an excuse for a union. Its "leaders" are the College administrators themselves. This "union" has never sponsored a wage demand: such "vulgarity" is below these gentlemen. "We are professional men," he said, "and this is a professional organization." Naturally, these \$80-a-week aristocrats would never dream of joining anything so "vulgar" as the AFT.

These "men of learning" have never learned what any worker could teach them: that you never get anywhere by being more of an A.K. or brown noser than the man next to you, but by sticking together. Like "company-men" on any job, these gentlemen prefer the illusion of "status" that identification with the boss gives them to facing the reality of their own job-situation. This is what is meant by the phrase, "professional dignity."

The great educators tell you that the great rewards of teaching are not material, but spiritual. This is another mystification. The love of thinking can no more survive for the scholar under capitalism than the love of work for the worker can. After the first thrills of having

talk ended, however, he hit out at the responsibility of what he called "Uncle Toms" among the Negroes and their leadership for the oppression of the Negro. "The time for moderation may be coming to an end," he concluded.

CHALLENGE TAKEN

The challenge dropped by Coffin was picked up by Conrad Lynn, a Negro civil-liberties lawyer, who spoke before the "George Orwell Forum," a democratic socialist organization at Yale. They had originally advertised Williams, himself, as the speaker. However, when a gang of whites attacked a Negro college near his home in Monroe, N.C., Williams sent a wire saying that the "gravity of the situation" would keep him in the South. Mr. Lynn, a longtime friend, spoke for him.

Lynn, a passionate orator, kept his audience on the edge of their chairs when he described how, under the pressure of the Klu-Klux-Klan, Williams and the Negro poor had organized a "Rifle Club" to defend themselves from lynching. At the end of his talk, the audience stood up and applauded Lynn for five minutes.

In the discussion period which followed the talk, Lynn explained to a pacifist in the audience that he did not "favor" violence as a method, but that in this struggle the Negroes must use every means at their disposal and that Williams himself had also participated in sit-ins. He said that the white oppressors will always use violence to crush or intimidate the Negroes, that the right to self-defense was guaranteed by the Constitution, and that only when the Negro masses are conscious and ready to fight will they ever win freedom.

After Lynn sat down, the moderator of the "Orwell Forum," a Marxist-Humanist, added a remark about racial equality in New Haven. "All of us can't afford to fly down to Montgomery, like Bill Coffin," he said. "Neither do we live in Cuba, where Mr. Lynn tells us there is no discrimination. But we do have a fight on our hands right here in New Haven." He told of segregated housing, of unfair practices on jobs and in local unions, of the "unwritten segregation which is, in fact, the reality of our pattern of life."

Since the meeting, a committee has been formed to aid the "Freedom Riders" and a petition has been circulated at Yale, criticizing the Attorney General for his idea of a "cooling off period" for Negroes in their freedom struggle. As Conrad Lynn said, "We Negroes have been 'cooling off' for 100 years."

a "captive audience" wear off, the teacher is usually as bored as his pupil. According to a recent report, the Ad-men are the only ones in America who drink more than the professors. "THE EDUCATED MEN"

You would think that these intellectuals could understand what is meant by the word "alienation," but the one philosopher you will never catch them reading is Karl Marx. Their thinking is so alienated that they could never apply an idea to their own lives. "Theory" and "Practice" are two different things for them. If capitalism continues to mystify and exploit them, they have only themselves to blame. They are the "educated" men.

The only solution is for the workers to organize a "Peace Corps" to help these underdeveloped human beings.

June Graduate

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

Judd Arnett's Willful Ignorance

I have been reading a columnist in the *Detroit Free Press* by the name of Judd Arnett. He has been reporting from the South what he thinks are the feelings and thoughts of white Southerners and Southern Negroes. He seems to be reporting mostly from three states, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

NEVER AGAIN

The first column he wrote in this series sounded interesting. He was writing mainly on Governor Patterson and President Kennedy. I felt however, that he leaned towards the white South. When he next wrote on the Negroes in Mississippi I was sure he was in full support of all the mean and dirty things that the white man in the South does to the Negroes, and after reading his column from Louisiana, I will never again read another of his articles.

Arnett accuses Northern Negroes of going South to start trouble, and leaving the Southern Negroes there to face all the hardships and problems that they and a few "rabble rousing" whites start. He said that the white South wants to tell the Federal government its story. He wishes the Negroes in the South could vote on integration, because he doesn't feel that the Negroes in the South want it.

NEW NEGRO-WHITE MOVEMENT

It is not integration period, they want. As human beings, Negroes want to be free and have the same rights and privileges as much as anyone else. It is not the Northern Negroes and white "rabble rousers" that give them this feeling.

Northern Negroes and whites who support the Negroes' struggle were nowhere around when the Montgomery Bus Boycott began, and they were not there at the end. They were not the ones that started the student sit-ins at the lunch counters throughout the South, but my heart does flip with joy when I see this new Negro-white, Freedom Riders Movement in action, and I feel sure that many Negroes in the deep South feel the same way.

When the Attorney General tried to halt this movement by calling for a "cooling off" period," a Negro preacher from Montgomery wrote and asked him if he didn't think a hundred years was long enough to cool off?

Yet Arnett says the Negroes in the South aren't talking. That they don't talk to him

does not mean they are not talking. They do not trust him. Why should they?

"THE BOSS FARMER"

He boasts of a white plantation owner who keeps six Negro families on his farm, gives them a few acres to work and advances them what they want until gathering time. Arnett says this plantation owner gives these people supplies and there are no questions asked and no records kept, just a verbal agreement. This sounds very silly to someone that knows the South. The white farmer has all the records and the Negro share-cropper has none. At harvesting time the boss farmer can say they owe him all their earnings and they will have to pay it.

THE ILLEGAL SOUTH

Arnett says he would change his thinking, if the majority of Negroes in the South voted for integration. But the great majority of Negroes in the states he visited, cannot vote in city, state or national elections. In Macon County, Alabama, where Tuskegee Institute is located, Governor Patterson re-zoned the county to prohibit those Negroes there, who proved to the world that they were super-qualified to vote, from exercising their democratic right in that county.

I have a cousin who lives in Montgomery, Alabama who got hurt while on his job working for the railroad. He said that since the Freedom Riders were there, his unemployment check has been stopped and his insurance has been cancelled. This sort of thing is happening to many Negroes there and this is what Judd Arnett is not writing about in order to get more Northern white support for the white South.

THE STORY HE DOESN'T TELL

He tells of white youth, with the backing of older people organizing to fight integration, and never mentions their criminal acts. When white youth in Montgomery recently shot a Negro preacher, they were arrested the next day, and then turned over to their parents. I have known Negro youth to be electrocuted for far less, sometimes just on the strength of a false accusation.

This is the story the white South does not want to be told and discussed. But it is no longer a question of what the white South wants. History is being written by the Negroes struggling for their rights and full freedom.

40,000 Hear Rev. King Speak

On June 18, 40,000 people packed into the Los Angeles Sports Arena in support of the Freedom Riders.

Rev. Martin Luther King was the main speaker, with celeb-

reties like Mahalia Jackson, Sammy Davis Jr., who were present taking a back seat, to the integration leader. Gov. Pat Brown also was there.

WE RECOMMEND:

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Prof. Should Learn a Thing Or Two

Since I am graduating college this year and going off to be a teacher myself, I want to tell people about the working conditions of "professors" and how these "wise men" allow themselves to be cheated and deluded under capitalism.

To begin with, it takes at least eight years of training after High School to become a college teacher. For many, this means part-time jobs (when you can get them), studying nights, and putting off marriage and family until you are 27 or 28. When you get a "Phd." you may get the magnificent salary of \$80-\$90 a week as an Instructor.

JOB SECURITY?

Instructors are given a 2 or 3-year contract, renewable twice. They always hire around four of them for every possible post as Assistant Prof. It's "up or out!" After six or nine or twelve years as Instructor, you become an Assistant. Again you are on a "trial" basis. They always hire more than they are going to keep, and they can let you go without cause every time the contract comes up.

You must always do whatever they ask, because you are competing for your job. The shortest possible time in which you can get tenure is twelve years. With eight years of training, that means twenty years before you can call your job your own. Obviously, if you are a teacher with radical ideas or any ideas you may never get a permanent job.

"PUBLISH OR DIE"

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The Eichmann Trial Is a Ghastly Record of the State Capitalist Era

By V. L. J. GRANGER

Adolf Eichmann's courtroom defense began on June 20, 10 weeks after his trial opened in Jerusalem. He is charged with directing the diabolical annihilation of six million European Jews during Hitler's reign of terror. His defense is that he was but following orders, and, in any case, he is no more guilty than any other war leader.

In short, he has no defense against humanity's indictment because his gruesome crimes are also the crimes of the state capitalist era which spawned him.

At the start of Eichmann's trial, on April 11, Western observers questioned Israel's wisdom in recalling the bloodlust of World War II. They feared such "unhealthy developments" as the condemnation of the United States and its allies for not having done more to prevent the Nazi holocaust.

While pretending to ignore the trial, the Russians chose its opening to launch a massive propaganda attack against Israel, interlarded with anti-Semitic innuendoes. The Communist puppets in East Berlin followed up with a German translation of a not-too-recent Russian book denouncing "international Jewry" for conspiring with the West.

Whatever else Israel may have intended, the Eichmann trial is performing an essential service in forcing today's world to remember yesterday's ghastly record. That chapter of the death agony of our age has now been detailed by survivors in a way neither achieved nor intended during the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946.

The awful facts of modern anti-Semitism, it is true, were revealed at Nuremberg: the caravans to doom; the bottomless sadism of Nazi torture; the anguished children and tormented parents; the violated girls

and brutally-used boys; the defiling of the living and the plundering of the dead; the gas chambers; the roaring ovens; the mass graves; the cordwood stacks of wasted bodies.

Having coined the word "genocide" to sum up all the horrors of extermination, the Allies proclaimed themselves innocent at Nuremberg by finding the Nazis solely guilty. A handful were hanged. A few more were imprisoned. Then the black book of crimes was closed, the wartime alliance ended, and the cold war begun. Thousands of "rehabilitated" Nazis were restored to police and administrative posts in Eastern and Western zones.

With Eichmann's trial, however, there is renewed insistence that the roots of anti-Semitism be exposed, and the spread of genocide halted. Whereupon a panel of commentators on a recent TV program perversely concluded that there is genocide because there is "a little bit of Eichmann in each of us." So anxious were they to evade the class answer that they dismissed India's dead by attributing the Jewish dead to a psychological flaw in human nature.

The full horror of this "natural" genocide of capitalism is measured in the state-directed destruction of millions as specified at the Eichmann trial. That technology which gave rise to gas chambers and ovens also gave rise to America's missile expert Werner Von Braun. The statistical science incorporated in electronic computers also figured in Eichmann's carefully kept census of death.

The stubborn fact remains that in all the centuries of recorded anti-Semitism it never attained the massive reaches of terror which governmental policy gave it in our own era of state capitalism. The stages of this development are revealed

in the Nazis' terrible timetable of events which, at every critical moment, was aided by the democratic powers as accessories before and after the fact.

TIMETABLE OF DEATH

As testimony against Eichmann outlines it, there were three distinct periods of anti-Semitic activity. The first began in 1937 with the establishment of a separate Jewish Section in the Hitlerian central intelligence agency. Lasting until 1940, this period concentrated on excluding German Jews from economic, political and social activity, and forcing as many as possible to flee.

The second period began in 1940, after the conquest of Poland, and lasted through 1941. It was marked by the herding of Polish and Eastern Jews into Ghettos and concentration camps. The third period, from the beginning of 1942 until mid-1945, saw the evacuation of Jews from all German controlled territories to concentration camps and their "biological annihilation."

In 1933 there were about half-a-million Jews in Germany, approximately one-tenth of the nation. By mid-1945, 10 million people had perished in Nazi death camps, six million were Jews. The overwhelming majority met their doom in the latter periods when anti-Semitism most clearly revealed its anti-working class roots.

The greatest number of East European Jews were workers with strong trade union and socialist traditions. Two facts underline this: 1) the Warsaw Ghetto was in a major factory district of that city; 2) at least 80 per cent of the Greek Jews driven into extermination camps were "workers, laborers, craftsmen, or longshoremen."

REVOLT AGAINST ODDS

A few weeks ago the question was asked: Why didn't the Jews revolt? American journalists went so far as to write of the "sheeplike procession" of Jews to Nazi furnaces. They jest at scars who never felt the wounds. They slander the memory of the dead who imply that the victims were responsible for their own destruction.

The Jews did revolt, repeatedly and against fantastic odds. On April 19, 1943, 18 years, almost to the day, before Eichmann went on trial, the Warsaw Ghetto rose up.

One of the few survivors, Mrs. Zivia Lubotkin, told Eichmann's judges how the Warsaw Jews, with home-made bombs, few arms, and very little ammunition, for weeks stood off thousands of highly trained and equipped SS-troops.

"A spirit of uprising developed," she said, when the Jewish youth learned that the Nazis intended to annihilate every Jew. They organized to meet the threat. "It was quite clear to us," she said, "that we had no prospect of winning in the military sense. But we knew that despite their strength we would be the winners ultimately because we believed in a regime of justice to man."

Again, in August of that year, the Jewish underground inside and outside the Treblinka death camp organized an uprising and escape. As late as September, 1944, Jewish youth distinguished themselves in the partisans' revolt in Slovakia.

So long as state capitalism prevails the toll continues until it threatens all mankind with the genocide of nuclear war. The answer to this barbarism reverberates across the years from the Warsaw Ghetto. It is amplified by the unyielding efforts of today's Freedom Fighters.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M.D.

The Spread of Hepatitis

In Camden, New Jersey an Osteopathic physician has recently been indicted for manslaughter in the death of fifteen people from hepatitis. They were among forty-one of his patients who became jaundiced after receiving hypodermic injections.

The New Jersey state health department has just banned the taking of shell fish from two bays and two rivers in New Jersey. Of 186 hepatitis patients who had eaten raw clams in certain restaurants, 85 were known to have eaten clams that came from Raritan Bay, which also borders on New York. There are presently 1,700 new cases of hepatitis per week over the nation.

THE VIRUS INVADER

We are entering a time of heightened awareness of the widespread existence of animal and plant diseases in which the virus is an important agent. From the common cold and influenza to chicken pox and cancer we find the activity of these smallest of all living particles whose existence represents the point of transition from lifeless complex chemical molecules to living forms.

The virus is difficult to recognize because of its extremely small size, its growth habits which require living tissue for food and because of the obscure defense response on the part of the body to these invaders.

Some species of virus seem to live in our body at all times; others invade for shorter or longer periods. Some have a special affinity for certain tissues and certain regions of the body. The remarkable thing is that this minute particle has such a characteristic makeup that the body invaded by it produces specific antibodies to neutralize the particular invader.

Recent studies have revealed that the virus is made up of complex molecules of a nucleic acid whose specific structure can be duplicated in the laboratory. Surrounding this substance is a coat of protein material. When a virus penetrates a tissue cell it sheds the protein coat. It is this protein material that appears to be specific for each type of virus and it is this same protein material which stimulates the body to produce immune agents.

Once inside the host cell, the virus particle multiplies greatly and takes over control of the cell. Sometimes they destroy it.

This is the situation in most of the virus infectious diseases of which hepatitis is one. In certain animals they appear to stimulate the wild multiplication of cells to form tumors both benign and malignant. HEPATITIS "A" AND "B"

At least two specific virus can be implicated in epidemic hepatitis differentiated primarily in terms of incubation, or length of time for the disease to appear after contact with the virus, and modes of transmission. Hepatitis A generally called infectious hepatitis has an incubation period of 15-50 days and is most often spread by the intestinal or oral route. Hepatitis B commonly termed serum hepatitis or homologous serum jaundice has a longer incubation period, 60-160 days, is transmitted only by introduction of infectious agent through injection with a syringe and needle. This type may develop from the transfusion of infected blood or plasma.

The A type of virus has appeared in individuals who have eaten raw clams from certain waters or who have bathed or drank water from certain streams or lakes. Such bodies became contaminated through human sewage.

SYMPTOMS AND PREVENTION

The onset of hepatitis is often very insidious with vague symptoms—lack of appetite, weakness, perhaps nausea and vomiting, slight or no fever. Jaundice frequently develops, but not always. There is general tenderness over the liver. A person is often ill for several months with extreme fatigue and weight loss. It is a disease very difficult to diagnose until yellowness staining the whites of the eyes indicate the coming of jaundice.

There is at present no specific treatment for the disease. Injections of gamma-globulin, a protein from blood of those who have had the disease, seems to modify the course of the infection favorably. A report has recently appeared of an effective vaccine prepared from human blood by giving the disease to volunteers who are prisoners at the Illinois State Penitentiary of Joliet.

At present prevention is our best hope. Care in the eating of raw shell fish, no swimming in waters which are likely to be contaminated, careful hygiene in regard to body excretions of those ill with the disease and anyone in contact with them.

Henrique Galvao's

Message to the Portuguese People

"The capture of the Santa Maria was not a romantic gesture. Still less was it the result of a plan merely intended to attract world attention to the dramatic situation of Portugal. The capture of a large and magnificent vessel, which lasted for eleven days, and the voyage across the Atlantic pursued by planes and ships of several nations, have a meaning for all of you.

We wanted to prove that the dictator Salazar was not invulnerable—and we succeeded. We struck at him, and at his navy, and we made them ridiculous in the eyes of the whole free, Christian world.

Tomorrow, wherever and whenever we meet him face to face once more, we shall strike at him again. We would not be what we are, nor would we be your spokesmen, were we to limit ourselves merely to the domain of military action. We are in fact at war with the Portuguese and Spanish dictatorships. We are not interested in simply overthrowing Salazar by itself. We pursue a revolutionary aim: the reconstruction of Portuguese society on new bases. Owing to various circumstances there has never before been held out to the Portuguese people a hope and a future corresponding to their aspirations. We intend to take that step, which is decisive for all of us.

We know that no one fights for vague promises and and beautiful words. Talk about liberty, equality and fraternity solves nothing. For this reason we do not intend to fall into the same error as that made by those who reiterate principles and are fearful of irritating the dictator, and who take refuge behind vague formulas. We want a revolution, profound, authentic, total and humane.

It will have as its starting point the destruction of an iniquitous social order, and it will be based on agrarian reform and urban reform. Our watchword will be: land for those who till it and houses for those who dwell in them. We shall eliminate the great landed estates and speculation in building. We shall implacably destroy the privileges of the Portuguese plutocracy which divides men from birth into rich and poor.

We are taken away from Lisbon and the dictator, but all of us are acting with the unshakable conviction that we shall enter the city as Victors and implant there the Portuguese revolution of the twentieth century, the revolution which will also open the doors of the overseas colonies to freedom, progress and independence.

These are the words I have to say to you at this moment when the first military action taken by the forces under my command has come to glorious conclusion. We are the nucleus of the future liberation army of Portugal and Spain.

February 2, 1961

from the Portuguese & Colonial Bulletin.

Dissenting Views

(Re 5-4 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on the Smith and McCarran Acts, which Justice Black considered unconstitutional and a violation of the First Amendment).

Justice Hugo L. Black: "The first banning of an association because it advocates hated ideas—whether that association be called a political party or not—marks a fatal moment in the history of a free country."

Justice William O. Douglas: "What we lose by majority vote today may be reclaimed at a future time when the fear of advocacy, dissent and non-conformity no longer cast a shadow over us."

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IN SEARCH OF WAR ALLIES

(Continued from Page 1)

themselves to the possibility of a nuclear holocaust.

THE KHRUSHCHEV-KENNEDY MEASURE

No one, however, can afford to underestimate Kennedy. And Khrushchev did not underestimate him. Khrushchev had long since lost the illusion he had when DeGaulle first came to power and he thought that he could use DeGaulle's criticism of NATO to undermine it. No one knows better than Khrushchev that DeGaulle's winged phrase about the basic community interests of Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals" means, to DeGaulle, the subordination of "the Urals" to France. After all, Khrushchev's ultimatum, made two and one-half years ago, that, within six months, he would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany only created a new axis: Paris-Berlin!

Again, long before the U-2 incident, Khrushchev knew that "the spirit of Camp David"—the possibility of a very substantial long-term loan for Russia, and a compromise on Berlin—was a still-birth. If Laos, or even Cuba, could have substituted for those great losses, Khrushchev would not have bothered to come to Vienna. Khrushchev would unleash a nuclear holocaust for a world to dominate, but not for the protection of those countries. Khrushchev would prefer a lull, at least until after the 22nd Russian Communist Party Congress. It was necessary, therefore, to take the measure of the man now occupying the White House who turned the Cuban fiasco into an ultimatum for the rest of Latin America, and who had followed this up with a visit to DeGaulle whose illusions of grandeur Kennedy was ready to back up for a price. Timing, rather than "miscalculation," would be the decisive factor.

POLITICS, SCIENCE PRODUCTIVITY

The preparations for the 22nd Russian Communist Party Congress, which will meet on October 17th, began in January. The extraordinary nature of the Congress can be gauged also from the fact that Khrushchev will stake his claim to history by replacing the Program of 1919. In view of the fact that the old Leninist program based itself on the fact that there was one way, and only one way, of achieving socialist relations for millions of working people and that was "gradually to draw the whole toiling population to a man in the work of running the state," nothing short of a Biblical miracle could possibly compress the bureaucratic monstrosity that is the Russian state into that framework as the legitimate heir to the Leninist conception. Yet Khrushchev must find words to make it appear that the Khrushchevised Stalinist state is in a straight "continuous line with Leninist principles." He means to have nothing interfere with this feat. As the Stalinist Constitution of 1936 legitimized his master's rule, Khrushchev means to have the New Program legitimize his. **IN STALIN'S FOOTSTEPS**

Khrushchev may not have been Stalin's personal choice for heir, but he has followed faithfully in Stalin's state capitalist footsteps. Whomever Khrushchev's 1956 spectacular de-Stalinization speech may have fooled, it did not fool either the chosen few in Russia who heard it, or the vast majority who had not heard it, or have heard of it only in the muted tones of an "end of the personality cult." The Russian working people know well that whatever relaxation of internal terror and war fever had been achieved with the "non-inevitability of war" thesis, the con-

tinued State Plans are based on ever higher labor productivity, that is to say, their sweat. It is this they are resisting.

It is true there was some improvement in wages, in availability of consumer goods in post-Stalinist Russia. The minimum monthly wage of \$140 as something to be reached by 1965, is, however, hardly "communism." And they have seen precious little of the boasted Khrushchev claim that by 1960 "or 1961" Russia would not only "catch up with but overtake the U.S. in the production of meat and milk." To have produced that much meat per capita would have meant a production of 20 million tons. The actual figures for 1960 are 8,700,000 tons. Where Kennedy sees the "continuing crisis" to be in the underdeveloped economies, the Russian people see it in their agriculture.

Sputnik No. 1 made the outside world forget everything except science and war, and, suddenly up there, truly first, was Russia. Just when the United States panicked and tried to copy some of the elements of "the educational system" that produced the scientific feat, Khrushchev himself set about to reorganize his educational system in order to introduce labor into the school system, beginning in grammar school.

THE CRISIS IS AT HOME

The Achilles heel of the Russian economy continues to be the continuous revolt of the Russian people against the norms set by the State Plans. Agriculture, virgin fields or no virgin fields, moves from crisis to crisis. The "delinquency" of youth who continue to resist monolithism, whether it be in music or in being ordered to those virgin fields in far-off Siberia, has not diminished, no matter what laws they pass against "idlers." Capital punishment has just been extended, and the scientific institutions "reorganized." Because scientific achievement and production technology remain poles apart a decree on April 12, 1961 has been instituted in order that "it (science) be drawn closer to production." If only those working millions could be as disciplined as the satellite sent aloft.

The only consolation Khrushchev has is that Kennedy has as many problems with the American working people. Where Khrushchev's Russia suffers from a shortage of labor and low labor productivity, Kennedy's America suffers from an army of unemployed, and such high labor productivity that the unemployed army has become a permanent feature of the national economy. Both share the same problem with rebellious youth. Where Khrushchev, via "volunteering," sends millions off to plow virgin fields in Siberia, Kennedy is trying, via the "Peace Corps," to send them off to Asia, Latin America, Africa—anywhere where they would not confront him either as the new jobless or the Freedom Riders who expose the hollowness of American democracy.

FINALLY, the deprivation of civil rights is not limited to South U.S.A. where state courts will not follow U.S. Supreme Court rulings. The greatest invasion of civil rights of all Americans has just been achieved by the Supreme Court itself. Ever since the Cuban invasion, such has been the atmosphere created by the President's insistence that the greatest danger was from "subversion" that the Supreme Court has, under the guise of fighting "Communism," nullified the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

WAR PREPARATION

It is this state of crisis, both in the United States and in

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

Korea

In a typical fascist type coup, the government of Korea has been ousted and a military junta has taken over. These military men were not trained in Germany, Italy, Spain or Portugal, but in the United States. The entire career of Lt. General Chang Do Young, the new dictator, has been spent under U. S. Army direction.

In the first few days of the "revolution" the new fascist dictators arrested over 4,200 teachers, union leaders, newspapermen, social workers, members of opposition parties and "others suspected of being communists." Typical of these fascist groups, the Korean masses had nothing to do with the affair. All trade unions were banned, all social and political organizations outlawed and all opponents of dictatorship were jailed.

Over 10,000 have been arrested for breaking the curfew, and the new Home Minister has promised to send them to "labor camps." The dictatorship has closed over 100 newspapers and shut down 290 news agencies.

The United States has spent 3 billion dollars in Korea since the end of the war, very little of which ever reached the people. Syngman Rhee escaped with over 60

million dollars he looted during his administration and his aids and the military brass can account for countless millions more. For this looting the U.S. military made it possible for him to escape the wrath of the people, and live in luxury in Hawaii.

Khrushchev on Good Behavior

At Vienna, Khrushchev was on good behavior in comparison with his performance at the U.N., where his table thumping was supposed to impress the new African delegates. The talks with Kennedy were not supposed to lead to any treaties and hence became a process of the two men laying it on the line for each other.

Khrushchev laid out his claims to the world by claiming one third is already under communist domination and the underdeveloped countries constitute another one third rapidly heading in his direction. He even boasts that the final third including the United States will "inevitably wind up in his camp once the others are firmly behind him.

The chief element missing in these calculations is the 200 million Russians who don't want him and the East Europeans who in 1953 and in 1956 showed that they would rather die than suffer

under totalitarianism. Not a single African country has gone Communist.

At best, a count of the elements supporting Khrushchev would include the totalitarian bureaucracy in Russia and in Eastern Europe, 5% of the population, plus of course Castro's top bureaucracy.

This is a far cry from 2/3 of the world, unless he continues to count all of those in the world who cannot vote, in which case he might be counting on a number of American southern states.

South Africa

The success of the planned three day general strike on the occasion of the Union of South Africa leaving the British Commonwealth, was marred by the oppressive measures of the police. Before the scheduled start of the strike, the police rounded up thousands of African leaders and kept them in jail. 5,000 armed troops patrolled the streets of Johannesburg and helicopters were used to detect gatherings of people.

Yet despite threats, intimidation and armored cars roving the streets, one third of the working force stayed home forcing the white minority to do their own work. "South Africa is now the pole cat of the world" according to the pro-government paper Die Burger.

FREEDOM RIDERS

When a bus carrying Freedom Riders to the South to test interstate illegal segregation was set on fire by a white mob in Anniston, Alabama, the world press had been confronted with the most shocking incident to date of the lack of democracy in the U.S. The attempt of the Northern press to act shocked at the fact that it wasn't merely the K.K.K. but the state and local politicians was just so much studied hypocrisy. The Negroes of Alabama have lived for years under that type of conspiracy between so-called officers of the law like "Bull" Connors passes out in Alabama and now they were confronted Kennedy's Federal marshals that buckled to him as well. The courageous and continuous fight of the Freedom Riders is dealt with elsewhere. (See Editorial, p. 4.) Here we wish to throw

one more reminder of the impotence and hypocrisy of Federal law enforcement agencies on other than interstate transportation facilities.

It was on May 17, 1954 that the Supreme Court declared separate school systems were unconstitutional and again on May 31, 1955 called for full compliance with the ruling. Yet 7 years later only 779 Negro pupils are integrated in the Deep South while 1,599,220 remain segregated. In other southern states 188,000 attend integrated classes while 2,908,000 are still segregated. Where it exists, integration is a joke, it means one or two pupils in a white school as token compliance. Where is Robert Kennedy in the enforcement of the Supreme Court rulings?

Where are Walter Reuther and Sec. of Labor, Arthur

Goldberg on the question of discrimination in the unions and in job opportunities? 65% of Negroes in the South are in the unskilled category while only 3% are classified as skilled. Only 12% of Negroes are in white collar and professional categories while 52% of whites hold these jobs. Many unions do not permit Negroes to study their trade or become members, the Electrical Workers, A.F. of L., Steamfitters, Pipefitters, Carpenters and many other unions continue discrimination. (See "The Working Day" page 2).

There has been a 100 year "cooling off period" since the civil war, time enough to ask the Federal government when they will finally get around to enforcing the and establishing human rights and to do something other than call for further "cooling off."

Russia, which has sent Kennedy and Khrushchev to face each other in neutral Vienna. In order better to prepare for war abroad they will impose class "peace" at home. To lull us to the dangers of nuclear war, they will cool off the heated-up cold war for the time being. The "highly successful" part of the "highly successful failure" has, after all, only been the meeting of the minds of the rulers of the world. But Macmillan and DeGaulle know as well as Kennedy and Khrushchev that an England isn't peacefully consenting to die when in that country hundreds of thousands oppose nuclear warfare in organized fashion, while millions strike in France despite DeGaulle's dictatorial powers and the prosecution of the Algerian war.

failure in the "highly successful failure" is not limited to the fact that Kennedy and Khrushchev would not compromise. Rather it stems from the dissatisfaction of millions with their conditions of labor and other millions with the state of unemployment and both with the constant crises and perennial wars.

ONE LESSON the peoples of the world have learned from the Kennedy - Khrushchev confrontation and that is that present-day peace is war by other means. Without waiting for the nuclear holocaust it is the working people of the world who will continue to oppose.

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