

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

EDITOR'S NOTE: It is with pleasure that I turn my column over this issue to an Italian worker who writes of the struggles of Italian workers in their efforts to achieve a better life for themselves—CHARLES DENBY.)

Italian Workers Rock Industries in Strike

Turin, Italy—First of all, I had better say that the situation in Turin is rather different from that in other parts of Italy. Turin is the Italian city with the highest industrial concentration, and, what's more, it is the only city with a factory as big as Fiat's, employing about 70,000 workers.

Next, Turin is practically dominated by Fiat's owners and directors, both directly—Fiat owns many other industries and also a good portion of the land in and around the city—and indirectly—for example, through its newspaper La Stampa, which is the most read in Turin.

Finally, I believe Fiat is technologically the most advanced factory in the country (although I must say that Automation is still far behind the point reached in USA), and so the workers' struggles, when there are any, are at a higher level than elsewhere. Struggle Begins

The present struggle of the Italian metallurgic (steel) workers for a new national contract began in June, but it is directly connected with the struggles of these past three years. One must remember that the Italian working class has been practically dead during the fifties, especially here in Turin, and only came to life again in 1959-60, except at Fiat's. You might remember the July 1960 movement which brought the present "centre-left" government.

More recently, there have been important struggles also here in Turin: at the beginning of this year Michelin (a tire factory) and Lancia (a car factory, partly owned by Fiat) both went on strike. At the latter shop, the movement was completely autonomous, at least for the first few days, after which the CGIL (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro—the social-communist union) was able to control the situation.

The strike went on for about a month and finished with a half failure, but it helped to show the workers that they can have no more faith in the traditional left wing parties and unions.

IN STEEL

The steel workers started their struggle with a one-day

strike on June 13. But already the union leaders show what they mean with "class unity": on June 12 they call off the strike in the nationalized industries, because the managements have accepted negotiations through the minister of labor (one must remember the "centre-left" government).

The talks go on until July, keeping more than 100,000 workers out of the movement. And they finish with the "engagement" of the workers in the nationalized industries. On June 13, the Fiat men all go to work, while elsewhere the strike is a complete success.

IN AUTO

A new national strike is announced for June 19; this time, after 10 years of inaction, 7,000 workers stay out at the Fiat shops, and from this moment the whole fight assumes new proportions.

The minister of labor calls the unions and the private owners to Rome, to start negotiations on June 25. But a new strike on June 23 sees more than 60,000 Fiat men on this side of the gates, while another strike on June 23 sees more practically all the Fiat workers out of the shops.

In the meantime, the Fiat management does all it can to create confusion and break the unity of the workers. On the other hand, the union leaders of the social-democratic union, UIL (Unione Italiana del Lavoro), accept to sign a separate contract with the great car industry. The CGIL and the CISL (Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori, the Catholic union), on their part, are already afraid that the workers, who organized the picketing by themselves, might "get out of control," and so they keep on stopping all initiative.

STREET BATTLES

The movement's peak is reached with the strike of July (Continued on Page 3)

Mississippian Speaks Out For Human Rights

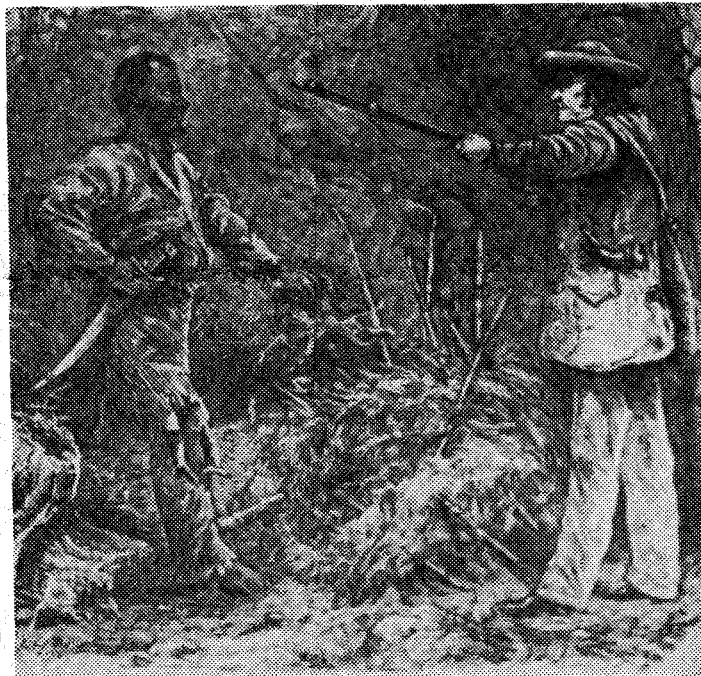
By Charles Butts

Editor, Mississippi Free Press

(News & Letters proudly gives up this space to Mr. Charles Butts, who had been smeared and pictured in the August 31 Jackson (Miss.) Daily News under the headline "Commie Active Over State." As a result of being recognized from that segregationist daily's photograph, Mr. Butts was beaten while covering a story in the Delta region of Mississippi. It is high time the voice of the Mississippi Negro was heard speaking out on all questions affecting the state of Mississippi.

Judging by the latest dispatches, Governor Ross Barnett intends further to flaunt the Court's decisions, and keep at fever pitch white supremacy's uncivilized hold on Mississippi. There is a second Mississippi and it is that civilized voice we are printing below. Our own analysis is published alongside of this lead article in our Editorial, "Either Freedom Here and Now, or Magnolia Jungle Lawlessness."—Editorial Board.

How Much Has The South Changed?



Old Engraving Depicts Discovery of Negro Slave Revolt Leader Nat Turner in 1831.

Editorial

Either Freedom Here and Now—or the Magnolia Jungle

The bloody night of September 30th, which enshrouded two innocents murdered, scores wounded and injured, cannot be washed clean by the belated appearance of Federal troops which finally brought "law and order" into Oxford, Miss., only by segregating the armed forces during their stay in the magnolia jungle.

In sharp contrast to the determination and courage of James Meredith, the man of indecision who occupies the White House—John Fitzgerald Kennedy—delivered a mealy-mouthed talk about not having had to use force "thus far."

This was said at the very moment, 8 p.m., Mississippi time, September 30th, when the unruly, seedy specimens of white supremacy, numbering by then 2,500, unloosed, from the darkness of night and the safety of the campus environs, jagged hunks of concrete from smashed-up campus benches, Molotov cocktails, shotguns, and a bulldozer headed directly for the Lyceum building of the University of Mississippi at Oxford where Federal Marshals held fort.

THE TRAGEDY AND THE FARCE

Were it not for the overwhelming tragedy which unloosed the very joints of time, so that we were witnessing the films of life unroll backwards a full century, the genteel dialogue between President Kennedy and that leading member of the White Citizens Councils (the KKK in white shirts instead of white hoods), who occupies the gubernatorial chair—Ross Barnett—would have taken on all the elements of a farce.

Here was the Chief Executive of the biggest single power in the world, who is forever ready to challenge the other nuclear titan, Russia, for mastery over the whole world, begging a sawdust Caesar of one out of 50 states of his own country, a state 80 per cent of whose economy depends on Federal contracts, for an answer to his telegram, "this evening." The telegram was sent the Governor despite the fact that from his mansion of power and policed safety he was inciting the barbarian hordes against so

(Continued on Page 4)

JACKSON, Miss.—Mississippi is a poor state. Its Negro population is incredibly poor. Most of that population is rural with an average annual income of less than \$1,000. The hope of that income increasing lies with the youth of the present generation. We may have seen the turning point.

There seemed to be some real question whether this generation, which has done more sparing with the situation than any preceding one, would actually sign up for the big bout. In Meredith's successful entry into the University of Mississippi we may have seen an event which will be a deciding factor in the minds of many Southern Negro young people.

To Stay or To Leave

In the past, the intelligence and the leadership of Mississippi, particularly within the Negro community, has become frustrated with their growth potential in the state and has moved North. In addition, those Negroes who wished educational training beyond a Bachelor's Degree had to leave the state, in most cases never to return.

Because there has been a definite stirring in the South in the years since 1954, there were many in this state who contemplated the challenge of staying with Mississippi and fighting it out. But attempts at voter registration, and direct action in order to begin mobilization of the Negro community have been so frustrating that many who were contemplating taking up the fight were losing confidence.

A great deal, it seems, began to revolve around the success of James Meredith. It was not

More on Mississippi See Pages 3, 4, 6 & 7

uncommon to hear or feel the opinion, "If they keep him out, I'm going some place where I won't be kept out of everything." The underlying feelings, however, were saying, "If he makes it; if he makes it . . ."

The Battle Will Be Long

He did make it and more can and will follow. More will file applications for admission to Ole Miss, but even more significant, more will stay for the (Continued on Page 8)

On the Inside

The Automation Battlefield

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Who is Lucius Q. C. Lamar — P. 7

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## Then And Now

By the Old Timer

(Editor's Note: Old Timer has been in every class struggle since the Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike in 1929. He starts a new column this issue, which will subsequently develop his own personal experiences in many of these articles.)

### Madness of Success

He who ascends to mountain tops, shall find  
The loftiest peaks most wrapt  
in clouds and snow;  
He who surpasses or subdues  
mankind,  
Must look down on the hate of  
those below.  
Though high above the sun of  
glory glow,  
And far beneath the earth and  
ocean spread,  
Round him are icy rocks, and  
loudly blow  
Contending tempests on his  
naked head,  
And thus reward the toils which  
to those summits led.

This excerpt from Lord Byron's poem "Childe Harold," written by a revolutionist at about the turn of the nineteenth century, vividly describes the defender of class society often titled the "climber" or the "go-getter." Of course, they have been named otherwise too. "The Robber Barons" for example.

In the earlier days of industrialism, union smashing, strike-breaking, and, in the courts, litigations over the infamous conspiracy laws, were the tools of the "go-getter's" trade.

Perhaps the most talented and ablest of these capitalist de-

fenders was Franklin B. Gowen, dubbed the "King of the Reading Valley". He was a lawyer who became president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad as well as president of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co. His fertile imagination, together with his use of the Pinkerton Detective agency, infiltrated the organization known as the Molly McGuire's, through the labor spy James McParlan. In several coal mining towns he legally and extralegally framed-up and hanged a total of 19 innocent coal miners.

In his pleas to the jury in the framing up of one man who he had accused of having been a Molly, Gowen stated:

"When first I took this venturesome quest

I swore upon the road,  
Neither to turn to right nor left.  
For evil or for good . . .

Foreward lies faith and knightly fame

Behind are perjury and shame;  
In life or death I keep my word."

However, in 1889 he had gotten more than enough of the bright prospects at the cost of murderous and other inhuman deeds and ended it all for himself by committing suicide. Success itself had brought about the revolting development of genius turning into madness.

**The Working Day**, by Angela Terrano, could not be published this issue because of space limitations. The column, which deals with the problems of the farmer, will appear next issue.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

### Last Stand of the Old South

It looks to me as though the old South is about to learn that it is at its last stand insofar as running over the black folk—killing, beating and shooting them down for nothing. The only reason I can see they treat us this way is because we are black.

So many of the older colored people are saying today, "What do these white Southerners think we are?" And some of the white Northerners think the same way the Southerners do. They think that because the Negro is black, he is the lowest class. I can't see where the old whites' forefathers got such crazy ideas of teaching their children to hate, when the Good Book tells us that all human beings were made from the same dust of the earth.

The Southern white people should know by this time that the Federal Government rules the whole United States—and Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina had better get the crazy idea out of their heads that they are still going to have segregated schools. When Little Rock was brought down from its big talk about how they weren't going to have any Negroes going to their white schools, Mississippi and all the other Southern states should have seen that their time is running out.

The Negroes in the North are talking about how they would like to go down to Ole Miss and start teaching those ignorant white people who have caused the deaths of so many of our forefathers and foremothers. It is just the beginning. Negroes here know how

bad some white used to be to them when they were in the South, and all the colored people that I talk with are ready to help do something to help our people who are still being so mistreated in Mississippi.

One day last week a white man came to my neighbor's door to sell her something. She asked him why they come to the Negro people to sell their goods when we know how much the whites hate us, only because we are black. She said, "Don't you see how the Mississippians carry on just because one Negro wants to go to school in his own state. They are about to go to war overnight, and still they say this is the land of the free."

He said, "I am from the South and I was taught that Negroes are ignorant and criminal people, and won't pay their debts. But I have learned better now. I see there are plenty of poor white people who don't pay their debts because they don't have the money and I can see just where my own people taught me wrong."

My neighbor then asked him where he lived and he told her. She said, "Would you care if a Negro lived next door to you?" He said, "No, but I live in a white neighborhood and I would have to go along with the others because it would make a disturbance and I am for keeping the peace." My neighbor told him to pack up his things and take them back to sell to his neighbors, because she was most certainly not going to buy his goods in order to help him keep that kind of peace.

## Divisions Hurt Unity; Fascism Opposed

Glasgow, Scotland — A few days ago an ordinary working man died in a single-room house in Bridgeton, Glasgow. A thousand mourners led by a group of three flute bands marched behind his coffin. The press gave a big splash to the funeral.

Who was it that died, a solid working class champion who fought for their emancipation? No, he was a former leader of one of the infamous Glasgow gangs of 30 years ago, the "Brighton Billy Boys," an Orange gang. After this gang was broken up in the thirties, he became a fascist body guard in his search for action.

### HATE DEMONSTRATION

A short time before his funeral, about 50,000 people from all over the west of Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Liverpool area marched through Glasgow. But this militant demonstration was not against nuclear weapons, or for more jobs for Scotland, but a demonstration of hatred for those who want a united Ireland and to celebrate King William III's victory over the Irish at Aghrim in 1690 — the Battle of the Boyne. This was the Orange Walk.

It is relevant at the present time to examine these actions which divide the working class and to me seem to provide a breeding ground for fascism.

Why can a demonstration against other members of the working class provide more people than a demonstration against a manifestation of capitalism? It shows, of course, that capitalism is using organizations like the Orange Order as a means to divide the working class and to prevent it from attaining any degree of unity. In certain areas, a person with dissident religious views has no chance of being elected as councillor or Member of Parliament because of this hostility, no matter what his politics are.

### UGLY HEAD OF FASCISM

One of the daily newspapers, in its description of the funeral, said that the gangs began because the Depression had enforced idleness on the working class. This seems to me to contradict the idea some socialists have, that an idle proletariat are automatically revolutionary. Instead of fighting the system they fight each other, spurred on by irrelevant religious hatreds (Northern Ireland where this trouble emanates, is a notable example). From hating people of different religious views, it soon becomes a matter of hating people of different race, and so provides the fascist groups with ready-made recruits.

And there is at the moment a resurgence of fascism over here. Organizations like the National Socialist Party and Sir Oswald Mosley's Union Movement, although they have very few members, are causing a bit of a disturbance in the London area, where there are quite a number of West Indians and Pakistanis.

The ordinary people are sometimes taken in by the fascist scare stories of all the whites being deprived of their jobs and homes by the colored immigrants. The Tory Government has helped these lies by an Act of Parliament which was designed to control immigration from the Commonwealth countries. This in fact only controlled coloured immigra-

tion and was powerless to stop Irish or other white immigration.

### TORY LIES

What those who are deluded by the fascist and Tory lies don't seem to realize is that no person in their senses would leave a country with a marvelous climate like the West Indies to come to a cold, damp country like Britain if there was any way to support himself at home.

British imperialism has bled these countries white, and all their natural resources are controlled by British capitalism. Unemployment is very heavy and it is practically impossible to work a whole year through. These are the reasons for immigration.

**BUT, in spite of the increase in coloured immigration over the past ten years or so, the population does not rise correspondingly, because more people leave Britain for the Commonwealth than arrive here—but this is conveniently forgotten.**

### FASCISTS ROUTED

Recently at the fascist open-air meetings in London and Manchester, crowds of up to 10,000 have broken up the meetings, using physical violence. Mosley, the fascist leader, has been punched, and tomatoes, eggs and coins were thrown at the members of his organization. Despite 400 police who formed a cordon round the fascist group, they were hounded from Trafalgar Square.

—J. Fyfe

### Glasgow Report

## From Black Friday — to Piebald Wednesday

Away back in 1921, we had what became known as Black Friday. It was the day when the leaders called off the strike of the Triple Alliance. Wednesday, 3rd October, 1962, will be remembered as the day on which the British railwaymen went on strike to a man against the closure of railway workshops, while the "Lefts" attending the annual conference of the Labour Party made an hysterical demonstration of support for Mr. Gaitskell, the most Tory-minded leader the Labour Party has ever had.

Mr. Sidney Greene, the Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, pleased the delegates to the Labour Party conference when he said that his members were fighting against the Tory Government. They forgot, for the time being, that their leaders have often declared that they were against industrial action for political purposes. Mr. Cousins, the darling of the "Lefts," pledged his support to the railwaymen but said that because of a request by Mr. Greene, the bus workers had not been called out by his union. They were all agreed that all problems would be solved by the return of a Labour Government. The fact many transport workers are organised in the union represented by Cousins, and that there are three unions on the railways, received no mention.

### GAITSKELL'S ACHIEVEMENT

One of the surprises at the conference was the intimation by Cousins that his union would meet the cost of one million printed copies of Gaitskell's speech. Cousins, until a few months ago, was regarded as Gaitskell's chief opponent. The speech, of course, marked Gaitskell's "finest hour," when for the first time he won the overwhelming support of the delegates. For months, the "Lefts" had been attacking Gaitskell because he did not come against the Common Market. They made it an issue of the Left against the Right. Gaitskell was known to favour Britain's entry into Europe.

Gaitskell in his well-prepared speech demanded better conditions for the Commonwealth and put the emphasis on the points against going into the Common Market. He endeavoured to show that it would not be disastrous if Britain stayed out. He referred to the part played by the Commonwealth in the first world war. The "Lefts" went hysterical with delight. Only a few brave souls stuck to their guns and put the case against going in on any consideration.

The issue, of course, is a

false one. Britain will join the Common Market, if only for economic reasons, even if Labour wins power. It has not yet dawned on the "Lefts" that we should try to strengthen our ties with the workers on the continent, and fight against the common enemy, which is capitalism.

### THE UNEMPLOYED

Unemployment is spreading rapidly in Scotland. The Scottish T.U.C. is running a campaign to bring jobs to Scotland. Nothing is being said about the position of those already without jobs. In the last trade depression, the unemployed fought the battle alone. Some of us have tried to get the issue raised in order to avoid that happening again.

We are faced with the fact that the problem is seen by many as a means by which votes can be won for the Labour Party. It makes good election propaganda. They do not want action on the issue. On this, as on everything else, activity is directed into parliamentary channels.

The Communist Party is in this up to the neck. I heard the Scottish Secretary of the Communist Party shout through a loud speaker, "Fight for your country; fight for its future." He is the prospective parliamentary candidate for govern. This party is grabbing every position it can get.

Here in Scotland, the shop stewards, led by the Communist Party, are demanding subsidies to shipbuilders to enable Britain to compete with the foreigners. They are demanding that Britain do not enter the Common Market because there is the danger, so they say, that foreign workers will come to Britain and steal our jobs. They demand capital expansion and greater efficiency in industry. Their ignorance of Socialist principles is deplorable.

There is no doubt about the analysis made by Marxist-Humanism. We have a job in front of us—but it must be done.

—H. McShane

JFK

# Slow in Miss., Fast on Longshorem

I feel that it is significant to compare the action of President Kennedy in Oxford, Miss., and his action in the East and Gulf Coast longshorem's strike.

In Mississippi the President and the attorney general were kept on a string for almost a week in their dealings with Governor Barnett. That demagogue in the state capital was able to hold off the power of the Federal Government.

### DELAY IN MISSISSIPPI

However, part of the reason for this ability to hold off the Federal Government lies within

the Federal Government and the President. So interested was the President in preserving the peace and in not alienating Southern feeling that he almost forgot to preserve the law of the land.

After days of negotiating with Barnett and days of Meredith's being turned away from the university, Kennedy was finally forced to act. Even after sending in the troops, his first words were not on the right of Negroes to have equal educational opportunities with whites, but instead a plea for Southerners to accept the law even if they did not agree with it.

The President's action in ending the longshorem's strike was a horse of a different color. There was no stumbling, stalling, or indecision. The very day the strikers went out he declared that continuation of the strike would imperil the national health and safety. He then issued an Executive Order putting the Taft-Hartley Act into effect.

I am not saying that issuing an Executive Order putting the Taft-Hartley Act into effect is the same as sending in Federal troops. But I do say that Kennedy's swift action in the longshorem's strike is not an isolated one but is an indication of the Administration's attitude toward labor.

# Hearing on Stokes Murder Scores L. A. Discrimination

Los Angeles—The June-July issue of News and Letters carried the report of the mass meeting in Los Angeles on police brutality triggered by the Ronald Stokes (a Muslim) killing in front of the Muslim headquarters. As a result of this activity, the California Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights had a two day hearing in Los Angeles.

The first information of the hearing came from Mayor Yorty, who complained on television that this committee was meeting under pressure from Communists. The Committee at its opening session refuted these charges and said that the hearing was called because they had received many calls since April to have a hearing.

### POLICE VERSION

Chief of Police Parker was one of the first witnesses. He showed a leaflet put out by a citizen's committee against police brutality and said it was this committee which brought the hearing to Los Angeles. He said that these people were just a few malcontents, and spoke of the good relations between Negroes and the police.

In contrast to him and his representatives (the city attorney, president of the board of police commissioners, the district attorney, and the sheriff), all of whom spoke of the good relations between the police and the Negroes, were the representatives from the Negro community.

Two witnesses, one a school teacher, the other a retired postal worker, told of incidents where the police had mishandled them. The teacher, a Negro mother with a one-year-old child, had been grabbed off the street by two plain clothes police. So terrified was she, when they grabbed and mistreated her, that she screamed for the police because she could not believe the two men who grabbed her were really police. She thought they were going to drag her off and attack her.

### DISCRIMINATION ON FORCE

Representatives from the N.A.A.C.P. and the Mexican community also spoke. One of the most important reports was one by Wendell Green, representing the Citizen's Committee Against Police Brutality. His report dealt with obvious discrimination within the police department itself: When there were 60,000 Negroes in Los Angeles there were 100 Negro police; now there are over 300,000 Negroes and only 150 Negro officers. He spoke of individual cases of Negro policemen who had quit the force because there was no chance for advancement. His report showed that there is discrimination within the force which is bound to come out in relations with the Negro community.

# Italian Strikes

(Continued from Page 1)

7, 8 and 9, which coincides with two street battles in the center of Turin, between an increasing number of policemen and little more than 1,000 workers on the nights of Saturday, the 8th, and Sunday, the 9th.

From now on, the movement slowly comes to a standstill, although numerically it increases, as is shown by the strike of July 30, when hardly a worker enters the Fiat shops. But the pickets have practically disappeared.

Now the Fiat's director, Valletta, wants to try the workers' and the unions' forces: he sacks 84 workers. Immediately a strike is announced for Aug. 4, but only a few workers stay out.

The struggle starts again at the end of August, after the holidays. The unions decided on a three-day strike each week. The first begins on Sept. 13. It is still a great numerical success, even in Turin, where only about 30% of Fiat workers go in.

### UNION LEADERS BETRAY

But the unions have already turned traitors and start breaking the class unity which had been gained after so many years. First they order the Milan workers to change to a "4-hour-per-day" strike. Then they accept to negotiate separately with the Fiat management and so they call off the next two strikes (on Sept. 20, 21 and 22, and on Sept. 27, 28 and 29) in all the Fiat shops. As a consequence, the Olivetti workers also start separate negotiations, and naturally, so do all the small shops in Turin.

No need to say that the talks at Fiat's are still going on. The unions tried to call the workers on strike again on Sept. 29, during the three-day national strike, but hardly anyone listened to them at Fiat's, and so the union leaders had to call it off at 9 in the morning, when everything was already finished!

As a conclusion, I might repeat what a Turinese shop steward told me some days ago: "I don't know how the whole thing will finish exactly, but I'm sure it will be a disaster for the Italian working class, and for the Fiat men in particular. Just now that class unity had been gained once again in Turin, these union traitors have ruined everything."

# Company Tactics Make Agitators

Detroit—During the rise of Automation, we had a stream of young workers coming into the Chrysler Highland Park plant. Most of those young ones are now skilled apprentices. On the production line, they just aren't hiring any young men at all.

The old workers, the only ones left in the shop now, have a terrible fear of their jobs. They have families; they are homesteaders; they can't pick up and move around very easily any more. And yet the company constantly frightens them with the threat of moving out.

### WORK STEALERS

It is a big rat race. They talk in terms of having "stolen" a job from another plant, as if the workers in our shop ought to be happy about stealing work from workers in another shop! They tell the workers that "we" are going to do the job cheaper, and produce more than the other shop did. The pitiful thing is that some workers actually do try to make out on these deals.

When the company has finally got the last ounce of work out of the men, they say, "Sorry, we're going to lose the job, after all." It is one big "lost and found" business.

So far as I can see, we are having a cold war of our own right in the plant. The unions are not doing anything to eradicate the fear that workers have for their jobs. People are saying they don't think the union is a sound investment. Yet the union is the only organization the workers have. When workers begin to talk like that about their own organization you know something is badly wrong.

### EVERYONE AN AGITATOR

I keep remembering a quotation I read in a book that "No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others." I think of that when I see a Committeeman walking around drinking coffee, but telling workers that they'd better not be off the job too long and should get back to work. This is the same thing the worker hears from his foreman. They act just like twins.

The worker who complains or tries to speak up is called an agitator. Everybody with a problem is an agitator.

These are some of the reasons I believe that this is the year of crisis for my plant. I'm hopeful that out of all this madness we can bring some sanity to bear—and humanize the conditions under which men in the shops must work.

# At URW Convention

# Burdon Would Tie Rubber Workers to New Frontier

Ocean Beach, California—The main problem that hung like a dark cloud and dominated the proceedings of the 23rd Convention of the AFL-CIO United Rubber Workers is the same problem that workers in every industry face: Automation.

President George Burdon keynoted the convention by calling for political action by

the membership as the only real solution to the problem, pointing out that in the 150,000-member URW union, some 20,000 workers' jobs have been Automated out of existence in the past two years.

### BURDON'S LINE IS OLD

Burdon declared that the only real solution rests with Congress and national planning "even though planning is sometimes called socialism."

But the kind of political action Burdon urged on the membership is support of President Kennedy. He said, "We must let the President know that he has the support of working people for a liberal program."

Burdon, like Walter Reuther, George Meany, David McDonald and the rest of the so-called labor leaders, seeks to push his members into the arms of the old New Frontier. And the Kennedy Administration could not even pass a bill to extend unemployment compensation to workers whose unemployment compensation has already run out.

It is true that the workers need political action to solve their problems. But this political action must be based on their needs as workers. These needs will not be found in the Democratic or Republican parties, both of which are very ably demonstrating that the needs of workers don't come last—they don't come at all.

# Chrysler Corp. Chooses Profits Over Safety

Chrysler belongs to the Council on Safety, and is supposed to devise ways to save life and limb. They recently came up with the instead of making everybody wear safety-glasses. If you had 20-20 vision they supplied you with glasses at the company's expense—but if you wore correctional glasses of your own and therefore had to have the safety-glasses specially ground they gave you only \$3 toward them. As you can imagine, there was plenty of resentment about that.

What made people the most angry, however, was that some workers have recently been hurt by faulty machinery. Some of the machinery is ancient. Vibrations shook loose some metal part of one machine which flew off and hit the operator. Yet the company won't tie up this old machinery long enough to have it fixed. As usual, it turns out they're not really interested in SAFETY. They're interested in PRODUCTION and PROFITS.

# Not for Dems, GOP—or Dixiecrats

How can anyone compare the UAW's position in regard to Republican candidates speaking at union halls to the violent opposition Ross Barnett and his race hating White Citizens Council of Mississippi has to Negro Mississippians. I asked myself this when I read what John C. Manning wrote in an article in the Detroit Free Press that said that UAW segregation in politics rivals Mississippi.

The big point that Manning made is that some UAW members in Local 326 in Flint, Michigan invited some Republican candidates to speak and Emil Mazey, UAW Secretary Treasurer objected and told the Republicans to stay out of union halls. Some may call this segregation but this is politics and politics makes some strange bed fellows.

Any Republican union member can walk into any UAW hall and attend union meetings. Compare this to Barnett's actions.

I believe the majority of rank and file workers do not want the Republicans to win but they are not thinking of beating any bushes to get votes for the Democrats.

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## Editorial

### Freedom Here and Now

(Continued from Page One)

elementary a right as desegregated education and who was soon further to tell this mob about "the oppressive power of the United States of America."

This creature had already arrogantly refused to obey Court decisions and yet when he had called "this evening" (at 7:30 p.m.) and asked for more time for him to work out a reply to the President's telegram, not only was more time granted but during that time the President evidently went on dreaming about a face-saving solution for the governor who should have been arrested—and not only for contempt of court.

Instead, all was forgotten—the eight years' notice since the U.S. Supreme Court Decision on desegregation in education during which the governors had ample time to plan how to enforce instead of flout the law; the two-year fight of one single brave Mississippian, James Meredith; and the 10 days of direct confrontation with the Federal Government trying to enforce the fourth of the District Court's orders which Barnett lawlessly and contemptuously rejected while putting on a show which passed for courage he never had.

#### THE LONG NIGHT OF VIOLENCE

"This evening" merged into the next day. Because Barnett had told the Attorney General that it would be a wise move for the Federal Marshals to steal Meredith in on Sunday while the campus was deserted, the President of the United States and the Department of Justice, with the Defense Department standing by, brought Meredith to the campus to face the technicality of no registration "on a Sabbath."

The spineless university administrators, who thought nothing of giving up their academic independence so that the bigot ruling the state could become "acting registrar", now could find no way to overstep the technicality of no registration on a holy day. Thereby they became part of the unholy conspiracy that led up to the long night of violence, arson, pillage and murder.

As Mrs. Bates of the NAACP, who had had her experiences in Little Rock, Ark., put it, "Some can't stand daylight . . . Night-time is when they crawl out from under the rocks."

The long night of violence on September 30th began at the very moment when President Kennedy was finally addressing the nation via TV (8 p.m. Mississippi time), after still other delays caused by indecisions piled upon indecisions. During this time the treacherous Governor had removed the State Police so that the legitimate brainless children of his magnolia jungle had lebensraum for armed rioting at the citadel of "higher education" which, in its supineness stands not very tall but thereby is the right symbol of the warped minds and economic backwardness that has kept the average annual income, along with its educational level, pegged to the last rung of the national ladder.

The racist fury did not abate until the early morning hours of the following day, after the United States Army finally arrived somewhere between 2 and 3 a.m.

What worth are the condolences of the President to the family of the French reporter, Paul Guilhard, who was shot 10 short minutes after he arrived on the campus at 8:30 p.m., shot in the back by these trigger-happy Klansmen in sports clothes? The long night of violence only gained momentum after it wreaked its toll of lives.

And all this happened, not on a battlefield behind the Iron Curtain, but in the magnolia jungle of these United States of America!

#### THE LONG COURAGE OF JAMES MEREDITH, NEGRO AMERICAN

As against the brainlessness of the mob, and the authorities who spawned it, and in overpowering contrast to the legalisms and indecisions of the President, the Negro Mississippian, James Meredith, who had to run the gauntlet of the jeering ugly-faced white Mississippians, spoke out as forcefully as he had acted: "It is more for America than for me." In the days that followed it became clear that this statement applied not only to the questions of desegregated education, but to the U.S. Army itself. "This condition," he said, referring to the "resegregation" of the Army stationed at the university, "constitutes a dishonor and a disgrace to the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who wear the uniform of our military services."

Nor had Meredith's courage and determination displaced a sense of humor. "If Governor Barnett keeps this up," he said after that ignoramus had twice personally refused his application, "I may not vote for him."

There is as big a chasm between this sense of humor and the low comedy of a Barnett, as there is between the latter's hypocrisy and Meredith's forthrightness. The total oppositeness in attitudes brought to the fore the two different worlds co-existing in Mississippi: Negro civilization vs. white barbarism.

Asked whether the white student isolation of him made him feel lonely, Meredith replied: "I have been living a lonely life for a long time now." This characterizes not only Meredith, but the Negro people as the key American minority.

#### NORTH AND SOUTH

North, as well as South, the Negro has been ghettoized. Although he has played a vanguard role in every aspect of life and art in the historic development of this country, the President of the United States disregarded this role—if indeed a Harvard man ever learned of the fact that it was the Negro who first introduced public education to the benighted South as well as having given it the only democracy it ever had. The true and full history of the South has no need of such false heroes as the President suddenly created out of thin air when he called upon white Mississippians to follow in the traditions of Lamar. (See p. 7.)

Such "total recall" may suffice for a President who fears a frontal attack on bigotry, limiting his appeal to white Mississippi which boasts of its long list of renegades which has punctuated its history from its secession from the Union in the last century to letting the murderers of Emmett Till go free in our times. The President is all too eager to forget this checkered history of the magnolia jungle. One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, he is still so steeped in legalisms that he cannot see the issue of human rights. Nor does his alleged omnivorous reading seem to include the fact that the Negro constitutes 43 per cent of the population of Mississippi. No wonder he is totally blind to the fact that Meredith may be lonely, but he is not alone.

#### THE SELF-ACTIVITY OF THE NEGRO MASSES

We do not mean to bring Meredith's individual courage down a peg, but it is a fact that the stuff out of which such indi-

(Continued on Page Eight)

# Readers'

## THE MISSISSIPPI CRISIS AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

I was very glad to hear Ross Barnett say he would go to jail for his "beliefs." I have the jail cell all picked out for him, should he ever muster up the courage to really do it. It is #4 in the Maximum Security Unit of the Mississippi State Penitentiary, my old cell. But, I know he will never display the courage of James Meredith or the Southern Negroes who are fighting for Freedom Now.

Louise Inghram  
Freedom Rider

Kennedy may claim that Barnett double-crossed him by going back on his word—but Barnett had been saying from the first day Meredith tried to register that he would revolt against the Government. Anybody that believed Barnett after that deserved what he got. I can tell you this—no Negro could have been "betrayed." ANY Negro would have known better than to trust a man like that.

Negro Reader  
Chicago

The president seemed to speak in as modest a tone as possible, as though he was begging the White Citizens' Councils to please accept this one Negro. At the very moment he spoke the rioting had already started. He praised what some former white Mississippians had contributed to the Government, but he never said one word about the contributions of Negro Mississippians or, in fact, any Negro Americans to the development of the United States.

It was at almost precisely this time that Kennedy was honoring a Negro from some island in the Pacific for being responsible for saving his life during the last world war. But it seems beyond him to honor a Negro American.

Worker,  
Detroit

I am very happy Kennedy finally acted. But, just like Eisenhower's in Little Rock, the action wasn't based on any human considerations—but only on the fact that the Constitution demanded it.

I feel certain that it is the activity of the Negro which will force the hand of the United States in the end. A piece of paper isn't anything until people apply it.

Student  
Los Angeles

Like everybody else, I listened to Kennedy the Sunday night he spoke to the nation about Mississippi. What I want to know is—*who the hell was Lucius Q. C. Lamar???*

Ex-History Major  
Chicago

(Editor's Note: We wondered, too. See article P. 7.)

When I read that Senator John Sparkman had sent Barnett congratulations and offers of support, I couldn't help remembering how Reuther gave full support to this race-hating and labor-hating man when he ran for Vice President of the United States on the same ticket as Adlai Stevenson. A lot of Negro unionists refused to

support him but they had a lot of others in the UAW ringing door-bells and asking members to contribute a buck to his campaign. Fortunately, the Negroes were not fooled and the Democrats lost that election.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

When Kennedy came to Detroit to "stump" for Swainson, he first made a big point about how Romney is ashamed to campaign as a Republican. (Frankly, I don't blame Romney.)

Then, Kennedy made his bigger point—that the right to vote is sacred and no matter who you vote for you should exercise your rights. To give it punch he said that in the South recently churches have been burned and three women shot just for trying to register to vote.

I couldn't figure out whether he should have been more ashamed to say that because that's his own Democratic South he was talking about—or because he is President of the country where things like that are happening and he hasn't done one single solitary thing to stop it yet.

Ashamed of Both  
Detroit

It terrifies me, having been in the Army myself, to see the spectacle of General Walker. I always knew I didn't trust the sergeant I had but to suddenly realize what sort of men can get to be generals in our Army, is just plain frightening!

Ex-GI  
Detroit

Walker makes you wonder how many more officers in our Army think just like him, but aren't nutty enough to expose themselves—yet.

Citizen  
Detroit

What burned me up was to see that our President moved only when the reactionary governor of Mississippi finally forced him to. This is what finally made him express an opinion on this whole school desegregation business. Up until then, the only opinion any of the Kennedy's had expressed was the one from Brother Bob—who told the Freedom Riders to "cool off."

Disgusted  
California

At a recent rally of the NAACP, Gloster B. Current, their National Director, said that Negroes do not want social equality, but economic and political equality. I cannot see how you could possibly separate these three. In fact this is the sort of thing the whites use to oppose all Negro rights.

The population of Negroes in Mississippi is over 45%, in South Carolina 39%, and in Alabama 32%. The reactionary whites know that when these Negroes break the barrier of disfranchisement, it will be the beginning of the reorganization of the whole South as a new social order.

Negro Militant  
Detroit

The fact that the Kennedy administration saw fit to segregate the troops defending James Meredith on the Mississippi campus shows what kind of a country this is.

The fact the Negro veterans, like Meredith, have risked their lives for this country in WW II, Korea, and elsewhere seems to make no difference. They must be reduced to garbage details now because their presence "offends people in Mississippi." Obviously these white Mississippians were not offended by Negro troops fighting for them in the war!

When will the Army and the government stop bowing to the Racist prejudice of bigots and start practicing the "freedom" they send Negro boys to get killed for aboard?

James Meredith showed he needs no college course in American History when he pointed out what happened in the South when the Negro troops were withdrawn after the Civil War. Kennedy's desire to make a stand on the narrow issue of state vs. federal rights, and his "resegregation" of the troops shows that the Harvard-educated white President should be back in school and the black college boy his history professor.

College Instructor  
New York City

Everybody in the world had eyes on Mississippi. The Afro-Asian nations particularly must have been watching real close. Sometimes it reminds me of birds sitting on a fence watching a fight to see just what will happen.

But in this age, you can't be on the fence. You have to be on one side or the other. There is no "middle." The President of the U. S. better learn that too. He can't keep in the middle forever.

I felt when the whole business in Mississippi started that if they didn't put Barnett in jail it would be an open invitation to every other southern state to do just what he had done. Not putting Faubus in jail when he was asking for it in Little Rock was the first mistake.

I can't understand why the U. S. Government can't seem to do anything to put an end to this sort of thing once and for all. Some people say they "could" but that they "won't." I don't think so. I think that they just plain can't, because that's the way our whole system is organized.

If you are a Negro you have nobody to represent you in Washington. It doesn't even matter that they have some Negro congressmen. They are no good for the poor man. That's why I say we have no real representation in Congress, not in either party and not of either race.

If the poor man and the Negro could just get their own voices expressed in this land, it would be a very different country.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

# Views

## WITCH FOR THE DEVIL?

When it comes to elections, it is usually only a question of swapping the witch for the devil. People just don't trust politicians—and who could blame them?

Insofar as important issues—like war—are concerned, nobody believes it makes any difference who is in office. Everyone I've talked to believes there will be war, sooner or later, and that it is coming more and more to look like sooner, than later.

What is pretty obvious to me, also, is that most of the guys I work with don't really seem to care if they did blow up this whole damn mess we're living in. There's not much of this sort of "civilization" they want to save, I guess.

Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

I know you are opposed to both capitalistic parties, and it is certainly easy to show that the Southern Democrats are every bit as bad as the Republicans. What is there to choose between Senator Eastland of Mississippi and Homer Capehart of Indiana?

Nevertheless I cannot see why you do not devote more space to exposing how ingrown Birchism is in the Republican Party whether that concerns "liberals" as Romney of Michigan or the "new" Nixon of California. These have allegedly rejected Birchism only to have their own authentic voice speak out against "Communism" in the Democratic Party. What difference is there between Mr. Welch red-baiting General Eisen and Truman and Romney red-baiting Truman and Staebler?

Intellectual  
Chicago

\* \* \*

## WAR AND PEACE

It looks, when you read the headlines in the papers, as if the powers-that-be are ready to blow up the world any day. But I keep thinking that there may be a war right here in this country before there's another war against other countries. I believe, as a matter of fact, that it has started already.

I do know that nobody is going to sell freedom over there if we don't start getting it right HERE. The Peace Corps could find a lot to do right here without even crossing the borders.

Negro Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

The other night we had a real bad electrical storm, and some of the sharpest claps of thunder I've ever heard. It woke me up, and I must have had a lot of company because the next day at work everybody was talking about it—and a lot of the workers said that they were sure the war had started. In fact, one guy said he got out of bed and put his clothes on because he didn't want to die in bed.

I guess everybody is thinking about the possibility of war and that it may happen any day—or any night. It is that real to us, and that close.

Chrysler Welder  
Detroit

For his refusal to work on the H-bomb, Dr. Oppenheimer's image was muddied and he was publicly shelved. For his opposition to nuclear fallout Dr. Pauling, a brilliant and active inquirer into molecular chemistry had been pictured by the national press as some sort of "nut."

It is difficult to say how fully and deeply these two scientists and those who "think like them see the whole problem. The question is not merely morality among scientists, but leads directly into something bigger.

Science furiously active as we head for the 21st century can no longer be a prop for the class-divided society that is capitalism. Its very survival must be the means of abolishing the world crisis through new human beginnings.

Scientist  
California

\* \* \*

## NEW READERS HERE

I am glad of the chance curiosity that prompted me to pick up your paper. The feature that is particularly valuable and interesting—among several such in *News & Letters*—is the "Letters to the Editor" section. This section seems to me to authentically represent the feelings, experiences, and attitudes of socially-conscious workers, something extremely hard to come upon in print. (As a matter of fact, N&L is the only place where I have seen this.)

I only wish your good little paper would reach more people, especially more workers. I send you a buck-fifty, of which \$1 is for a year's subscription; 25c is for Charles Denby's pamphlet, "Workers Battle Automation"; and the last 25c is for good luck Mazeltov.

New Supporter  
Philadelphia

\* \* \*

## NEW READERS ABROAD

I am a member of a group of Turinese militants . . . who have read several copies of *News & Letters*. Only a few weeks ago, I also read your study on "Workers Battle Automation." I thought it would be extremely useful for us if we could receive more or less regularly your publications, especially those regarding the car industry. As you probably know, Turin has much the character of Detroit: the city lives mainly on the car industry . . .

On our part we could send you any news you might be interested in, regarding the workers' struggles in Italy. I believe you must have already read or heard of the Italian metallurgic workers, who are now fighting for

their new national contract . . . We will give you fuller details if you are interested in this struggle.

M. M.  
Italy

(Editor's Note: We felt American workers would most certainly be interested in this struggle. We so informed our Italian readers, and print on p. 1 the article they immediately forwarded to us.)

\* \* \*

Thank you very much for the kind suggestions I requested concerning the publication of your *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*. I will make every effort to publish it in Japan. I think it is the first duty for Japanese anti-Stalinist Marxists today.

Teacher  
Japan

\* \* \*

I was very pleased with the Political Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya on the Gambia. Many workers here are asking for copies of it. Could you please send me 30 copies of it?

Supporter  
The Gambia, Africa

\* \* \*

I must apologize for the long delay since the last letter. I feel that our joint interest in the emancipation of African people will, however, keep us in touch, and bring us together again . . .

I am sure you will be interested to know that Raya Dunayevskaya's article on the Gambia will be published in the coming number of "Contemporary Issues" — a quarterly which has done some signal work in drawing attention to the goings on in a decadent imperialism and in the persistent economic and cultural imperialism which survive the political emancipation.

K.M.  
Scotland

\* \* \*

I am looking forward very eagerly to receiving a copy of *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*, which my young son will be able to translate for me. Best wishes.

Old Friend  
Venezuela

\* \* \*

I now have almost 20 people—both men and women—who have registered to be regular readers of *News & Letters*. Would you kindly make the necessary arrangements to send me a regular supply of your paper to distribute to these people monthly?

New Friend  
Nigeria

\* \* \*

(Editor's Note: A complete listing of all of our literature, as well as a listing of the entire series of 40 Political Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya will be sent upon request to all readers interested.)

# TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Author of  
*MARXISM AND FREEDOM*

## The Automation Battlefield And the Philosophical Battles

Were we even to discount the actual deaths workers claim are caused by Automation (1), the decade since its introduction would reveal a battlefield strewn with millions of unemployed, three full-fledged recessions, and ever shorter periods of prosperity. It has been obvious for some time that an arrested rate of economic growth accompanies unemployment.

### RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Today's press (2) carries one glowing report on the cooperation of French private capitalists with DeGaulle's State Plan. President Kennedy has been so tantalized by West Europe's phenomenal rate of growth that he has sent his chief economic advisers to France and other West European countries, especially those in the Common Market. The President's move is a rather belated one since "the European miracle" is unwinding as an industrial spurt following wartime destruction which is now coming to a halt. Were we even to discount countries, like Scotland, where the only thing phenomenal is its immense army of unemployed, we would have to consider another report emanating from France dealing with unemployment.

It is true that this one (3) singles out American companies for blame. It seems that GM and Remington Rand have fired 1,000 workers. The French Minister of Industry, Michel Maurice-Bokanowski, attacks the companies for their "anti-social" attitude, adding that "it is inexplicable that decisions of retrenchment be taken . . . without authorities of the interested state being informed."

Very clearly two elements are here involved. One is the State Plan, and the other is Automation. Both are integrally connected, not so much with the "flourishing economy" (of which the workers would have a different story to tell) as with the crisis in automated production: the evergrowing army of unemployed and the fluctuating (downward) rate of economic growth—an arrested one in the United States against a more or less (presently less) expanding one in Europe.

### THE RUSSIAN CONTROVERSY

An interesting illumination on the present controversy over state plan and rate of economic growth can be shed by a previous post-war discussion on "equilibrium" in Russia in 1946-8. The brief interlude between wartime collaboration and the cold war saw the publication there of a book by Eugene Varga entitled *Changes in the Political Economy of Capitalism Resulting from the Second World War*.

The thesis of the book can be summed up by the statement that the war has revealed that capitalism, as well as "socialism", can plan; and "therefore" an "equilibrium" has been established which "excludes" the general crisis.

As Stalin turned from "peaceful co-existence" with his wartime allies to unbridled attack on the United States and its Marshall Plan, Varga's book came under heated attack (4). What concerns us here, however, is that one bold economist, Maria Natavno-Smith, attempted to use the controversy to make Lenin's conception of state-capitalism the new point of departure. Needless to say, she too was put in her place.

"During the war", Lenin had written, referring, of course, to the first world war, "world capitalism took a step forward, not only toward concentration in general, but also toward state-capitalism in even a greater degree than formerly" (5).

Everyone suddenly agreed that nothing new had happened—neither the movement from planlessness to plan, nor from monopoly production to state capitalism. The year following the dispute, however, a new technological stage was reached, in Russia as well as in Europe and the United States. It was called Automation.

### THE WORKERS' THOUGHTS, AND MARX'S

It is here that the philosophical battles began all over again. This time, however, they were on an altogether different level. For presently a new voice was heard. It was that of the workers. The locale too had changed from Russia to the United States, and from governmental and academic halls to the mines. Confronted with Automation, the American workers moved the struggle with the capitalists from one concerned over the fruits of labor (wages) to one concerned with the kind of labor—the degrading division between mental and manual labor which had resulted in transforming the worker into nothing more than an appendage to a machine (6).

Not by accident the new attitude toward working appeared in all battles of workers with capitalists, whether or not they revolved around Automation, and irrespective of whether these struggles took place within a capitalist democracy or against Communist totalitarianism. By the time these struggles culminated in the Hungarian Revolution, not only had the workers' revolts and workers' rule assumed a new form—Workers' Councils—but so had its underlying philosophy—Marxist Humanism.

Furthermore, it was not only dissident Communists like Imre Nagy (7) who raised the question of the Humanism of Marxism. The question was also being raised in far-off Africa by Pan-Africanists who held that, more than "the economics" of Marxism, its Humanism was applicable to the problems of the underdeveloped economies (8). The one-worldedness of the question demands, however, that, instead of restricting ourselves to the early Humanist essays of the young Marx, we turn to the mature Marx's greatest theoretical work, *CAPITAL*.

### THE PROCESS, THE RESULT, THE VOID

One of the many dualities in capitalist production that Marx traces is that between the process and the result of machine production. The process led from cooperation through manufacture to machinery as it became an "automaton." The result was a movement of concentration and centralization of capital till it reached its ultimate: "In order to examine the object of our investigation in its integrity, free from all disturbing subsidiary circumstances, we must treat the whole world as one nation . . ." (9).

We have not, and, in its capitalistic form, will not reach that ultimate form. Nor did Marx expect us to. On the contrary. The whole point of making this extreme assumption was to prove that, so long as machine remains master of man, that is how long we will be confronted with the crises of capitalism. They are integral to its growth and result in "the general absolute law"—the unemployed army and the imminent collapse of the system as a whole.

The capitalist's sense of values is circumscribed by the fact that only one value exists for him—the accumulation of the un-

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## News & Letters

VOL. 7, No. 8

October, 1962

*News & Letters* is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by *News & Letters*, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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# YOUTH

## FREEDOM RIDER REPORTS

### The Negro and Mississippi

(From an interview with Joe Ross of Mississippi)

I understand from my parents in Jackson, Mississippi, that communication is curbed. You can't get around like you normally could. The situation in there is unlike any anywhere else, because as you know, Mississippi leads all the Southern states in ignorance.

However, I knew James Meredith at the time we were in high school, and even later at Jackson College. I feel that he is a very strong person, not the type who gives in easily, and if he can keep the same stride now that he's had for a long time, I think he can make it.

The problem that he's now going through is actually the problem we go through all the time, but it's not publicized. The pressure on the Negro in Mississippi is unbearable. As long as you cooperate with the state law, (and the law is not the law that governs the people, it governs only one group of people—the Negro) you can make it; you're OK. But if you ever want to revolt against these laws, then you become an enemy to the state, and the state imposes all this "sovereignty" on you.

#### PRESSURE FELT BY ALL NEGROES

Not only one Negro gets the effect of this "sovereignty" but all Negroes do. You can get thrown out of a job. Thrown off your land. If you are in a city you might be put out of your apartment, or the house. Crosses may be burned. If you are the main target, the one that everybody knows, your home may be bombed, and you may even be lynched. Any of these things is liable to happen to you.

I feel that what has happened in Mississippi is not just a problem for Mississippi, it is a national problem that has gone for too long without any help from the Federal Government, until the Federal Government had to come in. I thought President Kennedy's stand was a good one, because he let Barnett hang himself with his own rope. Barnett's state troopers were using the issue, and the situation had become violent.

There was no "law and order" there, the state troopers who are supposed to keep order were the ones who were leading the mobs. Barnett himself was the cause of all of this. It is 100 years past the time when any state can impose its "sovereignty." This is the breaking point.

Meredith's problem now is not different from the one he is in all the time. If he goes along with Barnett, then he would be in the position of wanting to be in 'Ole Miss' when he can't be there—which is almost the same as being there now and being guarded by Federal Marshalls. He is under conditions which may mean that he will not get the full impact of the education that he should get, but at least he has broken the barrier, by standing up and not turning back on the thing he wants so badly.

Neither whites nor Negroes are getting a proper education in the South today. The race problem builds a psychological

problem for both races. Neither one knows anything about each other. There is no social communication.

But even if a Negro does get an education there, when he comes out and into the world of jobs, what can he do with it? If he's lucky he can get a teaching job, which doesn't pay him enough, or maybe a job in a restaurant for \$25 a week; this is no salary!

My mother makes \$100 a month! You can't hardly live on that. She was very persistent in education; she was smart that way. She finished the 8th grade, and she wanted to go to high school. People asked, "Where will the money come from," since it was such a big thing to send a girl to school. Yet it was only \$20 for the whole year. Because her father died when she was young, and she was a girl, my mother wasn't able to go to high school. So when we went through it, she went right along with us—three times. So, at last my mother got the effect of some type of generalized high school training.

Somehow she struggled through and managed to buy a home outside of Jackson. Since Negroes are not supposed to have anything, when they do they are "dangerous Negroes." I suppose that my family was a "dangerous family."

#### FREEDOM RIDES AND COURAGE

There is so much to be done, that sometimes people are afraid. For example, I returned to Jackson during the Freedom Rides. But before I went on it, I visited my cousin's house. I tried to talk to the people about this thing, saying, "Let's do something about this problem. This is our city. If we don't speak up now, when will we speak up?"

I asked my cousin for her help. Her family was afraid that they would be bombed because I was there; they even ordered me out of the house. This is a little unusual, as we grew up together. We were right in the same community, and we were so close we were just like brother and sister. We had the feeling that we were so close that we thought we were twins. Now you don't separate like this—it's unusual. While some were committing themselves to non-violent action, others were afraid—they didn't know what to do.

But I think what really gave them confidence was when those kids went to jail. All the brutality was imposed on them, and they accepted it, because they had to accept it. I don't really think they accepted it, they had to go along with what was going on, I would say they withstood it.

Then the people in Jackson came to the point of saying, "Well, if these kids, who are much younger than I am, can put themselves in the position of losing their lives, then what should I do?" This was the type of thinking working within the community. The thought that if non-violent tactics can help dignify a state and dignify its people, and can open up ways, avenues for improvement, then what should I do?

This spread all over the city. The determination that it is time that we do something now. Unless we do something now, than we can't go anywhere.

### Meredith and World

Detroit—As a Negro, I was thrilled to hear that a Negro was going to become a student at "Ole Miss" for a number of reasons.

Glad to see civil rights move more, even on a somewhat small scale, and integration move at all in Mississippi. Mississippi's most loved nick-name is "The Lying State."

When the good old Democratic Governor of Mississippi defied the highest court in the land, and the President of the United States, on one of the things we hold so highly, democracy, he really killed the old saying, "America, the land of the free."

#### DEMOCRACY FALTERS

Barnett gave the outside world one more ounce of fact proving that the good old U.S.A. is not what she proclaims to be. It gave Africa, Latin America, and the other countries the U. S. is trying to get a foot-hold in, another chance to say, "How can you tell us you can show us the right way to freedom in a few years when you haven't been able to do so in 100 years in your own country?"

I think that his will show some of these flag-waving Americans who refuse to see the light, that they don't have a true democracy.

I hope that Meredith will be able to stay at "Ole Miss" without protection. That the white people of Mississippi will begin to see that this is really the beginning of the end. That what we say to other countries about the freedom and democracy we have here should at last be made real, not something out of science fiction!

## 'Something From Which You Can't Separate Yourself'

My son is a Freedom Rider now attending a Southern University. I moved from Georgia to Michigan many years ago, in order to avoid racism. For many years I floated on as one person who absolutely would have nothing to do with it, one way or the other. But it is something from which you cannot separate yourself.

I came to Detroit with a degree in my hand, making me capable of some type of professional job, and eliminating the need for me to stand in many of the lines we encounter every day. The greatest disappointment in my life was when my son grew up and graduated and told me he wanted to go back South to school.

I said, "For crying out loud, WHY?" He said, "Aren't they having Freedom Rides there?" I said, "I'm afraid so." He said, "They're planning some sit-ins." And he went. His class turned out to be the first class that sat in.

The sit-ins were very effective, because the next summer I chose to go South and go back to school myself. The University told me to please bring everything I thought I would need because there would be no shopping downtown. I took everything I could think of, down to a pen and pencil. In fact, I paid about \$14 for overweight luggage on the plane.

I found great pleasure in the small contribution I could make by not spending what money I had at the stores. Many places

we simply walked by and refused to go in.

#### ON TO ALBANY

I spent this past summer in Georgia again, and this time I decided to go to Albany to see if maybe I could help out there.

During the day the weather was about 105 degrees—it was very, very hot. I hold both a Gulf and a Standard Credit Card, and went into a Gulf service station. When the attendant saw the Michigan license plates the first thing he demanded was, "What do you want?" I asked for a glass of water first. He said, "You have to go elsewhere to get your water." I said, "Thank you. Maybe I should write Gulf and let them know that you didn't even want to know whether I also wanted some gasoline. I could even have wanted to go to the restroom." He said, "We don't have any restrooms for N—."

#### NORTH AND SOUTH

We participated in the stand-ins, the sit-ins and the pray-ins. It was really a wonderful experience—for the first two days. But I did get very, very sick of the word, N—. And then when I first got back to Michigan, and was walking by a school, I heard a little student remark, "There goes a N—." I had to say to myself, "I feel as though I'm still in Albany, and I thought I had left." But I simply raised my head and kept on walking.

I was a person who attempted to remove myself from all of these things. But you cannot remove yourself—you are very involved in it, no matter where you are.

## New Beginnings

By Eugene Walker

### Who Won Civil War?

## College Courses Distort American History

This semester I am taking a course in U.S. History dealing with the period immediately after the Civil War to the present day. We are now studying the Reconstruction Period, and I am simply amazed at the type of history taught in a university course.

The picture the text book gives of the Negro emerging from the Civil War is a quite distorted one. According to the text: "The downfall of the Confederacy plunged all the Negroes into freedom—a state of society for which they were almost totally unprepared. As slaves, they had looked to their masters for food, shelter, and protection. As free men they had little idea how to provide such things for themselves. Freedom meant freedom from work, and the right to leave the plantation at will; that it might carry with it responsibilities few of the Negroes were able to understand."

Since when does someone need to be prepared for freedom? Freedom is not some commodity apart from the human being; it is the very essence of his existence.

If there is any "preparation" for freedom, it is obtained in the act of striving to achieve that freedom, such as the thousands of slaves who ran away from the South and slavery, into the North to become free.

#### NEGROES BRING EDUCATION TO THE SOUTH

On education the textbook is even more misinformed: "The

Negroes themselves were pathetically eager for book-learning, and flocked into whatever schools were provided for them. Most of them however, showed no great proficiency beyond the elementary stages..." This statement is a base calumny.

No mention is made of the fact that Negroes were allowed no educational activities before the Civil War. It was only after the Civil War when Negroes became legislators, that THEY initiated free public education for the first time in the South.

The textbook continues along the same vein all the way through the Reconstruction period. Thus it stressed the corruption of the Southern legislature after the Civil War, detailing all the various swindles and frauds.

While I will agree that there may have been corruption, can this compare with the corruptness of a government which before and during the Civil War kept men in slavery and regarded them as three-fifths of a man? No corruption can compare to that of the Confederacy's ideological descend-

ants who deny Negroes, to this day, the right to vote, the right to public education, the right to hold office—all of the rights they did have during the Reconstruction Period.

#### 100 YEARS AFTER THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

It is almost exactly 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation was issued "freeing" the Negroes. As can be seen from the recent events in Mississippi, Georgia and elsewhere in the South, Negroes are still far from having real freedom. Even their strivings during and after the Civil War have been distorted into an unrecognizable picture.

At this junction in history, when Negroes are in the vanguard of the fight to achieve a new society, it is imperative that a different history of his struggle since the Civil War be written.

The National Editorial Board of News & Letters at the beginning of 1963, will issue a pamphlet on the "Emancipation Proclamation—100 Years After." I believe that with the issuance of this pamphlet a different view of the Negro struggle for freedom will come into focus.

History and the President

Who Is Lucius Q. C. Lamar?

Presidential advisers must have thumbed pages frantically prior to Mr. Kennedy's radio and television broadcast, the night of the Mississippi University riot, desperately trying to find a satisfactory white Mississippian that the President could present as exemplary of Mississippi manhood.

NO TALK OF FREEDOM

Like a magician pulling a rabbit out of a hat, John Fitzgerald Kennedy came up with the very late and all but forgotten, Lucius Q. C. Lamar. And in choosing Lamar, Kennedy made clear he wasn't speaking to Negro Mississippians and made clear he wasn't talking freedom.

It was Lamar, a Democratic Senator from Mississippi in the 1830's who was one of the strongest supporters of a bill to provide a government subsidy for the Texas-Pacific Railroad which was to be built for the Pennsylvania Railroad, the biggest corporation of its time, at taxpayers' expense, with all profits going to the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Lamar was unable to swing this, as Kennedy was able to swing the Telstar give-away in his day. Lamar was always clearly the spokesman for Northern big business and the Southern plantation owners, the unsavory alliance that ended Reconstruction in the South and eventually presided over the disfranchisement of the Negro and poor white.

His personal reluctance at disenfranchising the Negro was solely due to miscalculation at assessing the political situation in the South. He felt the Negroes in Mississippi would lastingly align themselves with the former slave holders to stem the tide of the swelling Populist movement (see ad on pamphlet on Negro history, page 8) as it threatened to engulf the former Confederacy and the West. His political cohorts in the South were in no mood for such a risky business. As early as 1875 in Mississippi an unholy truce was instituted against the freed men to keep them away from the polls and terrorism held sway until 1890 when in Mississippi the Negro was "legally" forbidden the vote. So much for Kennedy's champion of the Southland.

If Kennedy had been talking of representatives of freedom there were ample names from which to choose. In Mississippi, Hiram R. Revels, a Negro was chosen to fill Jefferson Davis' seat in the U. S. Senate. Between the years 1868-1883 Mississippi was represented in the nation's capital by two Negro Senators and one Negro Congressman. Of 150 members of both houses of the State Legislature in 1871, 45 were Negroes. Negroes held various posts in the executive of the State Legislature, from Lieutenant Governor on down.

It was the Negro legislators that introduced the free public education for Negro and whites alike that laid the basis for Mississippi's school system.

For their efforts the white Mississippi bigots have paid back by making martyrs like Emmet Till and James Parker. A couple of names that stand out of the thousands beaten and lynched in Mississippi, just for living amongst the philistines.

But instead of telling of this aspect of Mississippi's history, Kennedy mumbled about law and moderation and throws road blocks in the drive toward a new society. In the same manner Lincoln, a President of much greater stature wavered

when the choice between freedom and barbarism had to be made. In August of 1862 he wrote, "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help save the Union."

In stark contrast to Lincoln, an illiterate, but self-emancipated slave spoke for freedom; "God's ahead of Master Lincoln. God won't let master Lincoln beat the South till he does the right thing. Master Lincoln, he's a great man and I'm a poor Negro, but this poor Negro can tell Master Lincoln how to save money and the young men. He can do it by setting the Negroes free."

These are the words of Harriet Tubman, the courageous conductor of the underground railroad. Just as she spoke as part of the general sweep toward freedom, so Meredith today speaks in his way.

—Robert Ellery

The Automation Battlefield And the Philosophical Battles

(Continued from Page 5)

paid hours of labor. The capitalist's knowledge is false because he is hemmed in by the fetishism of commodities; that is the only ideology that exists for him. This is why also the only world that exists for him is the world market, which was both a stimulant to, and an outlet of Capitalist production.

Outside of that the only capitalist phenomenon that is world-wide in scope is war. Far from industrializing the whole world, all two world wars succeeded in doing was putting a question over the very survival of civilization at the same time the shotgun marriage of science and industry, which resulted in Automation, put the seal of bankruptcy on its thought.

THE TODAY-NESS OF MARX

Marx's analysis of the inevitable collapse of capitalism flowed from his perception of "the new passions and the forces" imbedded in society—the working class and its aspirations. The only way to overcome capitalist contradictions is to begin production anew, on a human foundation, not with man's subordination to machine, but his mastery of it. His self-development is not just a new "motive force of production." It is a new human dimension. Underlying the today-ness of Marx is this over-riding humanism.

In contradistinction to the today-ness of the past of Marxist-Humanism is the obsolescence of bourgeois thought today as it seals itself into a capsule far removed from the thought and aspiration and voice of the workers. On both sides of the Iron Curtain intellectuals stand in awe of Automation: the automatic factory that will "free" management from concern with labor; the "Artificial Intelligence" (AI) which will help government solve the problems of economic growth; the science so insulated from life's needs that it can probe outer space. At phenomenal cost, both sides are in competition to reach the moon first. Neither is interested in releasing a new human dimension.

The conquest of outer space cannot, however, solve the problems of this earth. All our age has added to Marx's prediction of capitalist collapse is the specifics of nuclear holocaust. Until the philosophical battle and the factory struggle are joined there is no way out of capitalist crisis. Only a new human dimension can eliminate the "no exit" sign hanging over our crisis-ridden civilization. That human dimension has but one source of life and one source of thought. It is the life and thought of labor. Therein lies the history of the past and the present. Inherent in today is tomorrow.

FOOT NOTES

- (1) *Workers Battle Automation* by Charles Denby, (News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich. 25c).
- (2) The syndicated columnist, Marquis Childs, October 3rd.
- (3) Press Associates, Inc., Sept. 23, 1962, is a labor news service. This dispatch printed in RWDSU RECORD.
- (4) The stenographic transcript of the Russian discussion was published in English by the Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C.
- (5) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol XXX, p. 300. Russian only.
- (6) See the chapter, "Automation and the New Humanism" in my *MARXISM AND FREEDOM*.
- (7) IMRE NAGY ON COMMUNISM, (Praeger Publishers, New York).
- (8) *African Socialism* by Leopold Sedar Senghor. (American Society for African Culture, New York.) See also *Sekou Toure* by Aime Cesaire. (Presence Africaine, No. 1, English edition, 1959.) Both authors are quoted in my *Nationalism Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*. (News & Letters, Detroit 4, Mich., 25c).
- (9) Karl Marx, *CAPITAL*, Vol. 1, p. 636.
- (10) See the special (March 1962) issue on "Automation" by the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

By Louise Inghram and Mary Hamilton

"... There was a rally in Jackson the night before we went to court. It was pouring down rain... The place holds 1500 people and was filled to capacity. The police were out in force, refused to let anyone stand. When the seats were filled the rest of the people were made to disperse... The Freedom Riders were all there. We received a standing ovation. We sang that night within the borders of Jackson."

25c

Order your copy of the Freedom Riders' stories. News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich.

A DOCTOR SPEAKS

By M. D.

The Purpose of Education

The subject of education is a familiar topic in today's news. Since Russia's recent advance in industrial technology it appears to have become for us a matter of acute national concern bordering on a crisis.

Actually, however, we have been long overdue for a new look at education. In the past 20 years our population has increased greatly. There has been a mass migration, North and West; a continued movement from country to city; a greater mixing of minorities in the making of large urban centers and vast new suburbs. At the same time there has been no overall planning for new schools and teachers on a nationwide basis.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

Since nearly everyone today is dependent on medical care, it is desirable to look at the special field of medical education. The problem is the lengthy course of instruction and the increasing expense. A minimum of 10 years of schooling and hospital work beyond high school is required for an M.D. degree. For specialization, an additional three to five years is necessary. This makes the average doctor 30 and more years of age at the beginning of his practice.

Life has a limited course for all of us—even doctors; and the average medical student does not come from a wealthy home.

Today, with understanding of science, biology, chemistry and physics becoming more and more a part of our daily life, it would seem possible to telescope and concentrate some of the high school, college and first year or two of medical school. This is being tried in two or three medical centers.

What would be of more practical help is the subsidization of medical education by the state. The average medical school (after a period of four years of college) costs 1200 and more dollars a year. This plus books and maintenance imposes a heavy load on the family supporting a medical student.

In spite of this knowledge, the American Medical Association, fearing what it calls "socialism," is actively fighting government financial support to medical students and medical schools.

EDUCATION AND CONTROL

With education in the past chiefly a local problem, confusion has come from emphasis on two aspects—1. Diminishing the heavy tax burden. 2. "Saving" America by emphasizing patriotism and the three Rs, reading, writing and arithmetic.

We are in a world wide movement toward state capitalism and as a nation are being pushed in that direction to compete with the state control in Russia. Nuclear development and space are technology needs total control—not only of factories but of the educational training of the young. This is a must for a state capitalist society.

In California, the coming November election for state superintendent of education high-

lights the above issues. One of the candidates, Rafferty, is backed by the Birch society. Local control of education may be well and good, but not when it is associated with a "patriotic" basis for what is to be taught or with loyalty oaths and subversion lists for the intimidation of teachers.

RICKOVER'S STRAIGHT-JACKET

On a nationwide basis another voice is being heard. Admiral Rickover seeks to save America in a way that he believes will better meet the challenge of Russia. He would adopt the Russian emphasis on science and technology and, like the Birchers, eliminate "progressive education" and any "frills" which emphasize culture and humanities. He wants more hours and more concentration on physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology and the associated technology, and vigorously plugs on radio, TV, newspapers, magazines and public forms for a complete renovation of our educational system. He is greatly disturbed by the fact that European youth are ready to enter college two years before American youth.

Rickover would like to separate early our young people into those who learn easily and those who do not, thus creating a youth elite for special consideration, advancement, and ultimate placement.

NEED HUMAN GOAL

The challenge of living in times of increasing industrialization—of Automation—cannot be met by faster educational tempo; by the mechanization of our very lives; or by competing with capitalist states through super capitalism. Certainly we need more school buildings, more and better qualified teachers, and a larger output of money to meet these needs. This is a far better area for our taxes than military weapons.

The question of local or federal control is not primary. Light for these muddled and seemingly insoluble problems can only come when we establish a human goal; the creation of a society in which men and women can function as whole individuals—each with his full capacities and abilities. It is high time to look at the life about us with Marxist-Humanist eyes.

It is clear that looking at the subject of education in terms of local or federal control will only lead into more confusion. We must instead focus on the individual human needs and on human values. Without this guiding light, we head for a jungle—an arena of battle in which men are related to one another as parts of a machine whose accumulated labor serves only to divide and dehumanize.

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# Mississippian Speaks for Rights

(Continued from Page 1)

big battle to make Mississippi worthy of the pride the present politicians claim she deserves. The battle will be long, and most victories small and hard. The great fear to stand up, the great fear to speak and act like a man is a tough opponent. (Tougher, and more significant, incidentally, than the white supremacist.)

But what ought to be Mississippi's backbone will remain instead of relocating. It will be

See Page 3 for ad on Mississippi Free Press

the future teachers who will not teach around the truth. It will be the future leaders, who will lead the people up not away. It will be proud, not afraid.

It will be long after the federal marshals have left the Ole Miss campus, long after Meredith has left the campus, even after the clear memory of his courageous stand has slipped the mind, that the real significance of his contribution will begin to flower, and it will.

## EDITORIAL

# Freedom Here and Now

(Continued from Page 4)

vidual courage comes is the self-activity of the great masses. This is not just a question of history, although the struggle for freedom began with Negro slave revolts long before the Civil War which it finally impelled. This is a question of today, the today which began approximately at the time of Meredith's birth in the 1930's when the Negro helped the white workers remold the industrial face of the nation through the establishment of the CIO, continued through World War II and after to end Jim Crow in the United States Air Force which Meredith had joined, and came to a climax in the last few years with such conspicuous successes as the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., and the desegregation of lunch counters in many Southern states, inspiring white, as well as Negro, Freedom Riders to fill the jail in Jackson, Miss.

Although Meredith and Meredith alone made the decision to apply for entry to the University of Mississippi, the self-activity of the Negro people created the spirit of the times, which enabled him to walk onto the segregated campus as a symbol of all the freedom struggles.

Over 100 years ago Wendell Phillips recognized that the new human dimension given to American history, as well as to his own entry into the pages of that history, was the gift of the Negro. What was true of the great New England Abolitionists is a hundredfold truer of the Freedom Fighters of today, Negro and white. At every turning point in American history, this self-activity of the Negro also became a point of departure, for world development. Before the Negro American gained so immeasurably from the African Revolutions which are presently reshaping the map of the world, he helped that emerging world.

The Negro will not now stop at token-ism, whether that be in Southern education, Northern employment, or the type of voting which puts a man like Kennedy in the White House. As one reader wrote NEWS & LETTERS: "If the President moved at such tortoise pace in the Mississippi situation when it had withheld the electoral vote from him in 1960, can you imagine the total paralysis that would have overcome that man if Mississippi had cast the decisive electoral vote for him as President?"

### THE AMERICAN IMAGE ABROAD

World attention was focused on Mississippi. So compelling was the drama there that even the spectacular six-orbit space flight of Astronaut Schirra became a secondary matter. President Kennedy's self-induced myopic view of the world, as of American history, however, blinded him to the impression he was making. As it happens, a Negro worker expressed best what appeared in the European press:

"The government can move thousands of troops in a matter of a few hours under the pretext of fighting Communism. It has done this in Laos, in Africa, in Viet Nam as well as in other places. Now it threatens to move in on Cuba. But when it is a matter of American citizens, and those citizens are Negro, the Administration feels paralyzed."

The Administration accuses the Ross Barnetts of playing into the hands of Khrushchev by creating a poor image of America abroad. The Barnetts and their ilk did their bit to expose how hollow are phrases about freedom and democracy. The President with his "go slow" policy made a not very much better showing. "After all," a worker told NEWS & LETTERS, "we are in the midst of celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. No one can possibly call a hundred-year span a race with time."

Like his Republican predecessor in office, President Kennedy kept stressing the fact that he was merely executing the law of the land because that is his job. The not illogical conclusion of an attitude that you must obey the law "whether you like it or not"—and that is all the President's appeal to white Mississippi amounted to—is the madness which produced a Major General Edwin Walker. Yesteryear he commanded the troops at Little Rock with just such an admonition. Today he led the bigots into wild frenzy and rioting. Surely Nazi Germany has not receded into such distant history that anyone can afford to ignore the Walker episode and say of fascism, "It cannot happen here." (See p. 8).

### FREEDOM HERE AND NOW

Fortunately, at the opposite end of the Mississippi spectrum stands not the President, but the Negro. The very continuity of his struggles, both throughout his history and today, in war time as in peace time, brings sanity into the development of our country. Along with the white worker, he created the CIO. He now says he will wait no longer for any man to lead him. Nor will he stop short of total freedom HERE and NOW.

Either that—or you become a prisoner in the magnolia jungle. There is no in-between. It is for this reason that we hail the action of Meredith and see it as the beginning, not the end, of the Negro struggle as well as the struggle of the working people as a whole, for a totally new society. If it is on truly human foundations, it will not only know no color bar, it will know no geographical boundaries. Back in 1831, when the LIBERATOR was founded, William Lloyd Garrison chose for its banner, "The world is my country." What was then a wish is today a necessity. What was the center of the struggle then—the abolition of slavery—now encompasses man's inhumanity to man in all his other dimensions. Short of a new human dimension, we will regress to the times of those slave revolts. It is for this reason we have reproduced, on page 1, the great leader of Negro slave revolt, Nat Turner. These are the true traditions of the freedom fighters of today, white and Negro. No need for eloquence for those abroad. What is needed is freedom HERE.

# Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

## 'General' Walker

In command of the segregationists who caused two deaths in Oxford, Miss., injured hundreds and made a public display of mass ignorance, prejudice and stupidity, was ex-General Edwin A. Walker. He was arrested on charges of insurrection and seditious conspiracy and immediately committed to a Federal hospital for mental examination. The ex-General claimed that the entry of a single Negro student into the University of Mississippi was proof of "the conspiracy of the crucifixion by antichrist conspirators of the Supreme Court."

The actions of an insane individual usually deserve only sympathy for his condition, but this one was the

General put in command of troops in Germany by the U. S. High Command, was removed only after a civilian newspaper exposed him as the dispenser of the literature of the ultra-right John Birch Society. After being allowed to resign from the Army he ran for governor of Texas. He finished last, but was hailed by the Daughters of the American Revolution. This was the man selected by the U. S. High Command as the man to enforce school integration in Little Rock in 1957. As screwball in Oxford, Miss., in 1962, he exerted an evil enough influence. The most horrifying thought of all, however, is what would have happened if the civilian paper had not exposed this madman when he was an Army General in command

of troops in Germany in a position to create an incident that could set off World War III? (See Editorial—P. 1.)

Who is really responsible? What will be done with him? Sending him to a hospital for mental examination could very well be a means, selected by the Army, of committing him to a hospital for six months instead of the 30-year sentence he would face if found guilty of the charges against him. The major problem confronting the American people in relation to our "Generals" is, what agency protects the people from their insanity, their "secrecy" under which a nuclear war might be touched off by another "General Walker"?

## El Salvador

El Salvador, a country about the size of Delaware, on the west coast of Central America, with an average annual income of less than \$200 a year and whose government falls into the category that the State Dept. would call a "satellite" if it belonged to Russia instead of the United States, has just instituted a set of laws that will be considered the model for the "Alliance for Progress" if other South American nations follow.

After a mere seven hours of debate, repressive laws were passed which permit the "judicial tribunal" to decide on the validity of evidence, to accept hearsay evidence, to punish those who in any way disagree with it by writing on the walls, uttering disagreement, organizing or encouraging work stoppages, spreading public fear or exciting public disorder.

The general public knew nothing of President Julio A. Rivero's plans in advance. They knew what had hit them only when his police began picking people up off the streets on un-named charges.

If this is an example of what President Kennedy supports as a prime example of his kind of "democracy" in South America, then what chance does he have to claim a difference between those methods and those of Castro?

If Castro is to be boycotted by international blockade, (and we hold no sympathy for Castro's undemocratic, Communist methods) then by what degree do the methods, actions and financial support of Kennedy differ from that of Castro or Khrushchev? How can one gain enthusiasm about the military dictatorships which exist in South America sole-

ly by American financial aid, paid unwillingly by American workers' taxes? Workers ask, "Why should we be taxed to support governments controlled by capitalists who will not tax themselves to maintain their dictatorships?"

\* \* \*

## West New Guinea

The Dutch have turned over West New Guinea to the U. N. for an eventual vote on either independence or annexation to Indonesia. After 134 years of Dutch rule they have not left a single Papuan doctor or lawyer, and life in the interior is only a step away from stone age conditions.

The Dutch were interested only in exploiting the country, from which they drew countless millions over the years. Two thirds of the 17,000 Dutch administrators and technical personnel have gone home to let things drift with no regard for the consequences.

What now awaits the people is hard to say. Although anything would be an improvement on Dutch imperialism, President Sukarno's ambivalent role and emergency powers to ban freedom of speech leaves a big question mark over the entire issue.

\* \* \*

## Algeria

After the longest, bloodiest civil war in which a million human lives were lost, Algeria is at long last free from French imperialism. It has served as a beacon light for all Freedom Fighters, and we can only wish it speediest success.

There are clouds on the horizon there, however. The factional fight between Ben Khedda and Ben Bella that followed freedom and threatened to plunge the country into yet further bloodshed has ended with Ben Bella

the victor. He no doubt has popular support of the vast majority who fought the French Government. Yet it would be wrong to consider that he has as unanimous a vote as the 98 per cent turnout and vote would seem to signify. For very obviously what the Algerian workers were voting for is an end to war and a demand to get back to work so that the political freedom becomes meaningful instead of the crippling unemployment they now suffer.

Not only have the issues between the factions been kept deliberately confused but the relationship between the various forces within the revolution—the FLN and the ANP (the Popular National Army)—is likewise unclear. In the French press the Algerian workers were quoted as saying, "We are hungry for stability and peace. That's why we turned out so massively at the polls . . . Some work and some bread; that's what comes first for us today."

Outside of pledging continuous aid to other countries fighting for freedom from colonialism, like Portugal and the Rhodesias, and pronouncing that his country was "neutral" between the nuclear titans—Russia and the United States—Ben Bella, in his appearance before the UN where his country became the 109th member, revealed nothing of his internal plans. He speaks of "socialism" but so do many others who nevertheless consider that they are the rulers and that the workers must continue to work, only harder, once freedom is won. The question of questions, however, is: what happens after political freedom is won? Will the masses who won this freedom at the cost of their lives be the basis for the reconstruction of society on new beginnings? We hope so.

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