

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Reports on Revolts Hide Facts

Specialists from every field are writing something about the riots that swept throughout this country in the past several years.

All those intellectual geniuses are supposed to find the root cause of the riots, the root cause of the Negro frustration in the ghettos, the Negroes' attitude towards society, their city and state. When they get all they are looking for in one city, a riot is aflame in another city, before their analysis is even in the government's hands.

One of the things you never get from these experts' conclusions is that the white power structure, the National Guard, or the police department is in any way to blame.

WHAT DOESN'T GET REPORTED

I have read some reports by writers other than these federal experts about what happened during some of the riots in various cities. In their monthly newspaper the New Jersey branch of the Civil Liberties Union wrote of the unconstitutional and inhuman acts by the police and National Guard against the Negro community. They stated that while they were going into Negroes' homes searching for weapons, without a warrant, they wrecked every home they entered, tearing up the house and scattering the belongings all over the place.

They told about how the police drove up and began shooting at homes. A Negro woman in her home heard the shots, ran to get her baby who was playing in front. She was shot to death with the baby in her arms. The article told how they made a Negro man take all his clothes off and run nude down a street. Another man had to kneel down and kiss the feet of the police. The curfew applied only to Negroes, and the police had young white hoodlums helping them beat up Negroes. These actions are not so hidden that those federal experts could not have found them out. I am sure they have, but it is never made public. Those actions they keep secret.

A young Negro spoke to me about what is going on: "Man, I don't dig this separation that those Black Nationalists are yelling for, but I dig what Stokely Carmichael said. For years and years my father, my grandfather, my great grandfather, all tried to be friendly. Now I stand in a situation where the whites appear to be friendly by passing a few laws, but my basic situation gets worse and worse. They really don't mean to change anything. They really don't mean to accept me. I don't want them. No matter what they do, I don't like them."

POLICE ALL CLEARED

He showed me the daily paper, where the Prosecutor Cahalan here in Detroit was reported to have cleared some dozen policemen and National Guardsmen of killing seven or eight Negroes. The prosecutor said it was all in the line of duty. My friend then said: "My house is filled with holes now where those SOBs shot it up. My family and I had to sleep flat on the floor all night, and they kept yelling to turn those damn lights out. But I didn't move from the floor for those blood thirsty hounds to kill me. A Negro barber-shop across the street from me had lights on. They shot all the glass and lights out of it. You know as well as I do this would never happen to white people anywhere in this country. And this same action is what we had to live through down South all our lives. There is no difference in policies here. All cities and all their leaders know this. The state and federal governments know that is how the white power structure works."

I told him a story of a white minister in Detroit who said he walked into one of the police stations on Woodward. The cells were packed with people as close as sardines in a can. All were standing, men and women. In the lobby they had all Negroes standing against the wall, with their hands above their heads. One woman yelled that she was pregnant, felt faint and might be having a miscarriage. She asked to please be allowed to sit down. The police never looked at her or said a word. The white minister said he felt that the desk sergeant looked more humane, so he went over and asked him to let the lady have a seat. The sergeant angrily said, "What have you to do with it? She is not a lady, she is a Nigger woman rioter." The minister left and came back awhile later. The woman was lying on the floor groaning.

They released some prisoners that night after curfew was in effect so that they could get shot or rearrested on yet another charge. Not only do the whites keep their mouths sealed about this, but so do the so-called Negro leaders in all the cities. "Why should we listen to them," said my friend, "I don't want to see them or hear anything they have to say. They are all Uncle Toms, just sitting and waiting to get some appointment to a federal or a state job from the actions and struggles of the ghetto Negroes."

If those experts never expose these actions by the courts, the police departments, the city power structure, then nothing will be solved from all their findings and all their analyses.

Working Conditions Top Strike Issues for Auto Rank-and-File

"We're striking for more than the economic package and fringes Reuther talks about," a striking Ford auto worker told *News & Letters*. "Sure we need those things, but more important are our daily battles against the company's profit-greedy speed-up that can't ever be satisfied; against daily intimidation and abuse by the bosses; against unsafe working conditions; against being just plain fed up to our ears with the daily push in the plant that never lets up but keeps grinding you down harder and harder every year until you just can't stand it any more."

The sentiment of this Ford worker is shared by others in GM and Chrysler, but these problems are nowhere in sight on the big negotiating table surrounded by corporation and union bureaucrats. And as the five-week-old strike dragged on the

divisions showed clearly between the aims and problems of the rank-and-file workers and the UAW bureaucrats.

All auto workers know this is a "soft," or selective, strike. The huge Ford Rouge plant in Dearborn, has a few token pickets at most of the plant gates, but there aren't any at one side gate. Here, all of the white collar workers go in, as do maintenance crews, outside contract workers and others agreed on between the company and union.

In addition, Ford of Canada keeps on working, producing enough to keep a trickle of Ford cars coming off the assembly lines.

WORKERS LEFT OUT

The workers, left out of any decision making, feel helpless to do anything about the situation and have the attitude that nothing will happen until "Walter and Henry decide to get together." Even then, they know it will be to negotiate on the big package, and not on their pressing daily problems. And so they have mixed feelings, because they know they have to fight this strike out in solidarity with the union and Reuther.

This spirit of solidarity of the working class is not often talked about any more, but it is the most important element in this or any strike. Workers know when they're fighting management they have to stick together, and even the skilled auto workers demonstrated this, though they have clashed with Reuther and demanded even greater pay than they get now as compared with production workers.

When a rival skilled trades group hired a huge Detroit hall for a rally shortly after the Ford strike began, only a handful of skilled workers showed up. The overwhelming majority stayed away, practicing labor solidarity.

While the strikers will continue to put up a solid front against the corporations, they still have plenty against Reuther and the UAW bureaucracy. The "soft" strike for Reuther is very hard for the strikers, who want to hit the company as hard as they can. While they place wages high on their needs because the cost of living has wiped out any gains they have made, far more important is the speed-up and the yearly Automation which is increased to add to the speed-up. This, however, is not even on the bargaining table.

FIGHT SPEED-UP

Workers at Chrysler and GM, meanwhile, already have had a taste of things to come, and they don't like it. At these plants,



EDITORIAL

Opposition to Vietnam War Is Deep and Total

In an election they could not possibly win, the Vietnamese people nevertheless let their voices be heard, loud and clear, around the world: "We want peace." Their vote was a complete rejection of U.S. imperialism, its barbarous war, and the military dictatorship it bolsters in South Vietnam: the overwhelming majority of the people voted against Thieu-Ky. The most outspoken candidate for peace, Truong Dinh Dzu, who used a white dove as his symbol and whom none expected to come even close, finished second.

The vote is even more devastating when seen in this light: almost 40 per cent of the people were not allowed to vote at all, because they lived in non-U.S. controlled areas, or were ruled off the election rolls because they were "Communists" or "neutralists." The election procedures and actual voting were in the hands of the military government, and so flagrant were the abuses and evident "rigging" that the special sub-committee of the Assembly recommended 16-2 not to validate the Thieu-Ky "victory."

CONTINUOUS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The new protests of both students and Buddhists in Saigon demonstrate that—while Ky, with constant and strong U.S. backing, has lasted longer than any of the other puppets—the only thing sure in Vietnam is that the people will never give up their fight for freedom. Violent anti-government demonstrations have rocked Vietnam continuously since hated President Diem was overthrown and assassinated in 1963. They will not be stopped by clubbing students beating newspapermen, throwing Candidate Dzu in jail, or shutting down opposition newspapers—all of which the military junta has just done. Nor will they be stopped by U.S. officials working feverishly behind the scenes to "prevent chaos" and get Thieu-Ky accepted—which they have just done.

The Vietnamese people have been fighting for 25 years against their oppressors—Japanese, French, American and Vietnamese. While the peasants, rubber plantation workers, students and Buddhists continue the struggle in their own ways, the Viet Cong continues the civil war in South Vietnam, recruiting no less than 3,500 men a month to its ranks. Despite the official lie of "invasions from the North," LBJ and Ky both know that their real enemy is the near-totality of the population in the South.

The allies that the Vietnamese people need in their struggle for self-determination are not Russia and China, who were quite

(Continued on Page 4)

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Notes from the Diaries of Two Civil Rights Marchers in Milwaukee

Editor's Note: Negroes have been marching for open housing in Milwaukee since Aug. 28. They march for 20 to 30 miles daily, and hundreds of whites have been marching with them. Yet the news of these marches has been suppressed not only by the daily press but by the so-called "radical" press, as well. Below we print excerpts from the diaries of two of the marchers:

Monday, Sept. 4 (Labor Day)—When I arrived at St. Boniface church there were crowds of people milling about outside, surrounded by police and news reporters. The basement of the church was jammed with marchers who had returned to refresh themselves. They had been marching for the better part of that day.

Then the march began again. A Negro woman asked me to walk with her . . . She grabbed my hand and held it tightly for the next thirty miles of marching, held it as if she never wanted to turn it loose again.

Up front there rose a cry of "Freedom!" and ran the length of our column, passed over us in a mighty wave, resounded in the distance at our backs, came whipping back and roused the sleepers in their beds. They came to their windows and stood on their porches by the thousands . . . It was beautiful! And it was awesome.

We shouted that we wanted to go south into the Polish quarter, but the cops had thoroughly blocked our path, so we headed west and walked clear to the suburb of Wauwatosa where we arrived at midnight, circling and weaving all over the place.

We returned still weaving and circling all the way back to St. Boniface church. It was now 2 o'clock in the morning.

The woman at my side, who had worn inadequate shoes, had walked most of the way barefoot, across the pavements, pebbles, gravel, pieces of broken glass, etc. She had been marching since morning.

Wed., Sept. 6—At this date the Negroes of this city have marched for ten consecutive days. We are going to keep on marching until they give us what we want, or until the very walls of this city topple over! That is the general feeling among those of us who still give a damn for humanity.

and was kicked in the guts; he moaned with pain and had to be carried by two of his comrades . . .

On the other side the soul-neighborhoods never looked so good. We weaved our way to St. Boniface church and had another rally and ate some food. We arrived around seven or eight o'clock.

Sat. Night — Yes, we started marching again. This time it was the cops. . . . We were running suddenly, bodies literally flying through the air, the cops swinging their clubs and making contact with a lot of heads. One cop drove straight into the melee with his motor-cycle and came

We started marching. No circling or weaving. Straight to the Mason-Dixon Line and over into Poland. Numerous tough guys standing on the corners. A few juicy exchanges; we understand each other already. A mild kind of march; no attacks; no missiles. We go back to the north and march down all the way along Michigan Ave., Milwaukee's main street. Painfully smiling faces of all the good citizens, while we were happily singing our freedom songs. How can anyone be free nowadays unless he is walking in our lines?

The paper says that today (Sept. 9) the march will go "deep into the south side." Which scares me because I've heard what's happened there the past week . . .

About a half mile after the 16th St. bridge we meet our first hostile whites. They seem in a holiday mood with their catcalls and the marchers answer with enthusiasm . . .

Many cops now. But no badges, and that is ominous. Every cop has his riot stick in hand and a plastic visor over his eyes.

A youth council guy yells "Are you tired?" and everyone yells "NO!" But I am. We're on our feet again, walking deeper into the south side, just like they said, heading toward Humboldt Park. Now a crowd of whites is walking on the other side of the street, screaming at us. Our side is screaming too.

On the other hand, someone tells me he saw a white girl separate herself from a group of jeering, screaming white kids, her friends and schoolmates, and run over to join the line. That's courage, sister.

As we move out of Humboldt a young Negro man falls in be-

side me and starts a conversation . . . The white crowds are building up and people are getting tense. We're on Lincoln Avenue. We suddenly hear screams and shouts and commandos running forward and cops rushing into the line ahead of us, riot sticks flailing.

I can't hear what the whites are saying, but I can see their contorted faces and their raised fists. A middle-aged white lady does an ironic obscene dance on the street corner.

There's more screaming and we see bunches of fighting bodies. Someone says, "They've brought out the tear gas guns." Damn—that really scares me. I don't want to get gassed—I heard about it from some friends of mine who got it last week at St. Boniface.

My black friend is still beside me. Another white woman is on his other side . . . At the next corner there is panic. The line breaks completely and people run down the cross street, away from the cops. I run too, ashamed but more scared, sure that the tear gas cloud is coming. But commandos run after us and herd us back. I find my friend and now we hold hands, tight.

I'm wondering why the hell I ever came and wishing I was home. But there's a good feeling too—a kind of freedom feeling. Like if something bad happens, it happens, and I guess I'll live through it . . .

Finally we reach the 16th Street bridge. We walk across. My friend says "By the way, my name is Moses" and I tell him mine. We laugh because we've been through so much together and now we're being introduced. We shake hands and say goodbye at Marquette University where the marchers have stopped to rest. I catch my bus and go home.

Sat., Sept. 9—I got to St. Boniface at 1 p.m. We had a rally and started marching at three o'clock perhaps.

This time the cops did not form a line across the street the way they had done Monday night. We

As we go to press, Schlitz Brewery is the new target of the Marchers. This could be a turning point . . .
Detroit readers! Come hear an in-person Milwaukee Marcher's Report
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walked across the bridge, and many people vowed that it must be the longest bridge in the world. It is also the Mason-Dixon line of Milwaukee.

We had to keep our lines very tight. We marched all the way to Kosciuszko Park and rested. We sat down in the grass, a gigantic circle of two-thousand; then there was a ring of Commandos (the guardians of all our marches) facing outward and watching for trouble. Then came a ring of policemen, and then there was the white mob all around us. We sang a few songs and chanted and clapped our hands.

Further on Lincoln Ave. we were attacked by spearheaded sallies from across the street. A commando fell into their hands

to a crunching halt because of sheer bodies jammed together.

Mon., Sept. 11—I had to work very late again, but a man who also works where I do, a white man who believes in Goldwater and loves capitalism etc., went down to the south-side and stayed there from 9 p.m. til midnight. These are some of the things that he had to report to me:

Wherever the marchers went there was a hail of rocks as big as fists, flying bottles, bricks and other missiles. He saw a car full of Negroes being jumped and rocked back and forth by a dozen white people. They screamed obscenities and spit in the faces of the Negroes; when they got tired of this they urinated on them.

He was shocked at what he saw, as I think any man would have been. He does not believe in open housing, but he said that this was going way too far; that he had never seen anything like it. He fled the scene when a tear-gas bomb exploded at his feet.

Fr. Groppi told us later that he had been in the south and all over the country, fighting for freedom, but that he had never come against such an ugly show of racism as he saw on that day.

Sat., Sept. 16—A big rally in the church; at times we have many whites with us, as we do today. Outside our own Milwaukeeans, we have people from all over the U.S. who have come here to march with us. Many things are changing; people suddenly realize that they are in an honest to goodness revolution . . .

We walk through downtown and into Polish territory; there are a few cat-calls, but nothing serious. We do not stay here long, but walk east where the Puerto Ricans live. It was rumored that they would meet us with shot-guns; instead some of them join us.

Sat., Sept. 23 — Dick Gregory got up again and gave us some of his favorite cracks. Fr. Groppi reiterated for the hundredth time the definition of Black Power, what it ought to mean to us, who are marching for freedom. It doesn't mean black superiority. It means that we must achieve a condition where every man of every race, religion, creed or color can go wherever he pleases, can live wherever he pleases, and can be a bread-winner in all the dignity that ought to be a matter of course to any human being. So when we chant "Sock it to me, Black Power!", this is exactly what we mean . . .

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

A Simple Answer: Treat Us Human

The previously unheard voice of the Negro people has got the whole world thinking about what to do with the black people. My answer is to give them the same opportunity that white people have; treat them like human beings.

WHITES MOVE AWAY

But many whites don't want to do this. They would rather live next door to animals than live next door to a Negro. They will move every day to keep from staying next door to a Negro.

Many Negroes are tired of white people running from them because of their color. But what happens when the Negro does what these whites want? The Black Nationalists talk about asking the government for five states to let all Negroes live there, away from all the whites who hate living around Negroes. The whites can't see why the Negroes want to be in separate states when "they are doing so well here."

OPPOSE "SEPARATISM"

But what these same whites who hate Negroes are thinking about is that if all the Negroes move into five states, who would they have to look down on? Who would they have to work for them? No poor whites will go into their homes and offices to work for as little money as the Negro people.

The whites hate for summer to come because they know that the Negro is going to start fighting for his rights the first day winter is over. If the Negro would

just not let his fighting for freedom die down so low when it gets cold then the white man will never have the chance to think about the way to keep the Negro down.

YOUTH SPEAKS UP

I think the days of trying to keep the Negro down are over, now that the young Negro is speaking up. He would rather burn up the world than be under the white man as a servant like the older folks used to be. The young will find a way to bring the whites down to size, even if it takes a burning up of the world.

The whites wish that the Negro would stop fighting for a little while so they could think of something to keep him back a little while longer. Perhaps it will be to elect someone that will be against the Negroes' rights. They will soon find out that their time has almost run out and they can no longer treat Negroes any way they want.

NORTH GETS WORSE

The North seems to have changed and gotten worse for the Negro in recent years. By now it seems a lot worse than the South ever was. They talk a lot against Negroes in the South, but so many in the North really hate Negroes a hundred times worse than in the South.

The Southern way was — as long as you work for them, they did not go around talking about how they hate living around you. In the North this is not so.

All I can say is something has to be done.

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Auto Strike Scene — Inside and Out

Ford — N.J.

Mahwah, N.J.—Three big grievances are most on striking workers' minds here at Ford's 4400-man assembly plant: the tremendous heat in the plant during summer, the increase in work standards, and the sub-contracting of more and more UAW jobs to non-union outside contractors.

Several workers were very angry at Ford's phoney stories about auto workers' wages put out in the newspapers. "They tell you we're making \$190 a week on production," said one man. "I don't know where in hell they get those figures. I'd have to work 70 hours on my job to get that! Since the papers came out with these figures, a lot of guys are getting it from their wives, who want to know what they're doing with all that money they don't bring home."

WANT ACTION

Most workers said they thought the strike would last forever if the union didn't hit GM as well as Ford. They felt the two companies were working together, and said that Reuther's policy of hitting only one target was prolonging the strike and giving Ford an advantage.

They also said that Ford's position was being strengthened by the fact that plants working for the government were not being struck. But many workers were pessimistic about getting more militancy out of Reuther. "Even if every local wanted a general strike against the Big Three, they couldn't force Reuther to go along because Reuther doesn't care what the workers think."

Several workers thought more could be done to make the strike effective. "They always settle the big table first, and then leave us hanging to settle local issues—which are the most important—ourselves. The little table issues should be settled before anybody goes back to work," demanded one worker.

Another criticized the timing of the strike: "The contract used to come up in June. Now we work all summer to build up new car inventories so Ford can hold out on us in September." He added that at the end of August, the Mahwah plant was shipping out cars with missing door panels and other parts missing; anything to get them to the dealers before the deadline.

Other men were upset at the lack of militancy on the picket line. One was mad that Ford had been able to slip out some new trucks to dealers during the

strike. "We ought to do something to stir things up and let people know there's a strike on here," he added.

GRIEVANCES PILE UP

One of the biggest issues in Local 906's negotiations with Ford at Mahwah is the problem of heat in the shop. "In the summer when it's 90° outside, it's often 120° on the line. After four hours, you're about to drop, and some people don't even make it through the day. But Ford often makes you work overtime in the summer to get out the new models, and once you're working overtime, they speed the line up 'cause they think since you're getting overtime you should work harder."

Speed-up has taken a new form: "You still do the same number of jobs in an hour, but each job is a bigger operation, and they expect you to keep up the same quota."

This is a big issue in the local. Another big issue is contracting out work. Local 906 has lost 45 men last year alone where the jobs they did have were farmed out to non-UAW subcontractors. The company is threatening to do this in more areas, and workers feel it is trying to break the union.

"If this strike were run right," said one worker, "We could bring this country to a stop. Then they'd have to listen." When another worker wondered if Johnson wouldn't send them back to work if they struck all the Big Three, one answered: "Let him try to run the plants without us. They wouldn't get five cars out in a day."

GM — Detroit

Detroit, Mich.—I work at the GM Fisher Body Fleetwood plant. Since the contract ran out, the company has been speeding up the line and adding new jobs to some of the workers.

Before the contract ran out we were doing about 52 jobs an hour on the assembly line. Now we are doing over 56 jobs, an extra 4½ jobs an hour for everyone.

I work with a crew on my job. They have not tried to give us any extra jobs aside from the line speed-up. They know that if they did and we protested — walked out—it could shut down the whole plant. Instead they pick on guys that work singly—who can be replaced, who cannot fight back as easily.

NEW JOBS

Like the tail light job—where they build tail lights for the Eldorado Sports car and put it in as the car goes down the line. Now they have to put rubber molding in the Fleetwood four-door sedan in addition to the other job.

Or take the guys that put the felt on the roof. They now have to put in some floor matting. Neither of the extra jobs is really big, but when you have the speed-up of the line and the extra work, it really adds up.

And these things are not temporary, they are standards which the company is going to try and keep when the contract goes into effect.

WORKERS REACT

The workers reacted as best they could. Some went on sick leave figuring the speed-up and extra work would change after the contract went into effect.

Others go into the hole. But the company keeps threatening to fire the workers by saying there is no contract. They are after the new workers especially, those who do not have any union protection.

Workers think there will be a strike at GM. They think GM is trying to break the union.

On the Line

Pressures Reach Explosion Point for Auto Workers

By John Allison

Experience has taught us the root causes of all problems in the shop is production. We will describe a case in the Chrysler Highland Park Plant, which began when a worker tried to explain to a supervisor a production situation in which the afternoon shift was at fault.

As a result of this dispute, the supervisor received a blow from the worker. Two inspectors came to the foreman's rescue. They were given the same treatment. Plant protection was called and one plant guard was struck.

At this point, the Highland Park city police appeared on the scene. They sprayed tear gas on the worker, then handcuffed him, and proceeded to beat him to a pulp.

WORKERS PROTEST

The other workers, who were at the scene of the beating, began to shout in protest against the police brutality. When the officers, alarmed at the reaction of the workers, appeared to be reaching for their guns, they were warned not to pull them. Their lives were in grave danger, because the workers in the plant were in an indignant and fighting mood. The police beat a quick retreat.

The long hot summer has not run its course. No, not yet.

Always, when there is an argument in the shop, you can be sure it is over production. You can also be sure of a lot of heat surrounding this kind of problem.

We are working without a con-

tract on a seven-day week. Workers are very tired and tempers are very short. Accidents happen more often. Sickness is more frequent.

UNEASINESS MOUNTS

Everything is on its way up. Production goes up. Food prices go up. Accidents go up. Sickness goes up. The cost of the war goes up. But real wages go down.

There is a growing uneasiness in the shop because we don't have a contract. Workers expected Ford to give in much sooner than they have.

We are seeing Ford workers hire in, in numbers, especially skilled trades employees. This is a new gimmick, when union and company agree on companies employing each others workers.

The delegates met in Cobo Hall to set the assessment to help the Ford workers. Everyone is talking about the \$20 a month over the \$5 regular dues.

The old system is back, where the chief steward collects every members dues. And you know something? The union is more militant now than it was when the company was checking off our dues.

No Contract Threat Made by Foreman Earns Broken Jaw

Detroit, Mich. — Several weeks before the UAW-CIO contract expired with the Chrysler Corporation, workers began to talk about what would happen at the other two companies if the union struck only one of the Big Three auto makers.

Chrysler workers were saying, "No, not again. We know what hell we got from the company in 1958 when we worked several months without a contract." Many said they would never forget the intimidation, the speed up, the firings, and the threat of firing by those rotten foremen.

Every time a worker made a complaint, the company would say, "complain to whom?"

We began to discuss who was a sitting duck to be fired as soon as the contract expired. But what we all had forgotten was that there was some difference in the average age of the workers in 1958 and those of 1967.

SOME CHANGES

In 1958 practically every production worker in the plant was nursing his seniority. Most had 10, 15 to 30 years service, and they were reluctant to fight back for fear of losing their seniority. Today about a third of the production workers have only from six months to three years seniority, and there are many young workers.

One of these younger workers, with a year-and-a-half seniority, was one of those marked as a sitting duck to be fired by his foreman if we worked without a contract. The day before it expired his foreman told him, "Tomorrow-I will be your union representative, steward, committeeman and officers, and also your foreman."

The day it expired, this foreman went into the superintendent's office and made a request for a pay-off slip for this young worker. The super told the foreman to give the worker a reprimand with two or three days off from work instead.

As he left the super's office he went to the general foreman, whose attitude and action toward workers were the same as the foreman's. He told this foreman to fire him.

When the foreman went back to the worker he said, "Come with me to the office, I am paying you off." The worker asked, "What for?" The foreman rushed to this worker, shaking his finger in his face, saying, "I told you to follow me to the office: I don't have to tell you what for."

The worker struck the foreman in the nose with his fist, with such force he fell against the worker. When the foreman was pushed back, the worker hit him in his jaw, and the foreman landed on the floor.

Workers were yelling: kill him, kill the S.O.B. The worker picked up a steel bar and seemed about to oblige those that were yelling, when a Negro foreman came up and stopped the worker, who also was Negro.

The foreman on the floor was white, and was out, completely out. They had to get the stretcher and load him into the ambulance.

THE BREAKS

The report came back from the hospital that the foreman's nose and jaw were broken, and after arriving in the hospital he suffered a heart attack. The worker just walked out of the plant. He said, "What is it to lose a year and a half seniority?"

The worker was taken to court by the foreman, but word came back to the plant that he would probably get off with only court costs. The workers took up a collection for him — while the foremen were standing by watching—and got over \$150 to give him. The only workers who were afraid to give were the steward and the committeeman.

The foreman is recovering. But one thing for sure: in this plant everyone now works at a more normal pace than we did before the contract expired. Not one worker has been fired since.

The workers have been telling the general foreman, who always threatened workers before the contract expired, you are next. He has not threatened any workers since.

Just as many of the older workers had overlooked the difference between now and 1958, so had the Company. But we know the difference now, and the older workers are very happy they have the youth among them.

Maryland Freedom Union in Battle with Book Company

Baltimore, Md. — During the early part of July an employee of the Elliot Book Binding Company placed a call to the MFU office expressing his desire to have the Maryland Freedom Union organize the workers of the book company.

We asked the caller to set up a meeting with as many employees as possible. A meeting was set up and an organizing drive at Elliot's was begun. The drive was successful and over half of the workers were organized.

OWNER PATRONIZING

On July 25, a representation petition was submitted to the owner, Mrs. Charles Elliot. It became quite evident at that meeting that the owner not only did not believe in unionism, but she also had a racist patronizing attitude towards her Black employees.

On July 26, at 7:30 a.m. Mrs. Elliot approached one of the Black employees in an attempt to force this employee to sign a paper refuting the union. The employee refused, and when physically pressured to do so, pushed off Mrs. Elliot in self-defense. The employee was then ordered from the premises along with most of the Black employees.

EMPLOYEES STAY OUT

At a later meeting set up between the employer with her rep-

resentative and the union with its representative, Mrs. Elliot expressed shock over the fact that her employees had organized without consulting her, after she, "was

Send Aid

Contributions can be mailed directly to:

Maryland Freedom Union
851 N. Gay St.
Baltimore, Md. 21202

nice enough to hire them." Her prize statement was: "You know that it takes two Negroes to do the work of one white worker."

At this same meeting, Mrs. Elliot refused to allow the employees, who would not sign the anti-union statement, to return to work. On the basis of this, all of the Black employees and several of the white employees elected to remain out on strike.

These employees have continued to strike since July 26 with very little financial help coming from the Maryland Freedom Union. These workers have had the courage and fortitude to persist in fighting for decent wages, fringe benefits, and the restoration of their dignity as workers.

FUNDS NEEDED

We of the Maryland Freedom Union recognize the need to aid these employees financially in order that they may continue their fight. Many, many times these employers who run the sweat shops of today have attempted to defeat their employees by holding out, using time and the need for money as a weapon against them.

The National Labor Relations Board is now handling the unfair labor charges we have brought against Elliot in behalf of the employees. We hope an election will be held in the very near future.

The need for funds is urgent in order to break the bonds of economic slavery.

An Apology

We learned with dismay from several of our readers that their copies of the Aug.-Sept. issue were so badly ink-smudged that portions of some articles were actually illegible. If you received such a copy, please accept our apologies. We will be glad to send you a good copy of that issue, and will do our best to make sure it does not happen again.

EDITORIAL

Opposition to Vietnam War Is Deep and Total

(Continued from page 1)

willing to play big power politics at Geneva in 1954 and compelled the Vietminh to accept the division of Vietnam in two. Those two state-capitalist giants, who dare to call themselves "communists," now stand on the sidelines and reap the benefits of having the U.S. pinned down in South East Asia, while the Vietnamese people, inspired by the idea of freedom, continue to hold the giant of capitalism to a bloody and indefinite stalemate.

ALLIES ARE EVERYWHERE

The allies of the Vietnamese people struggling for self-determination and control over their own lives, are all those masses everywhere, in the technically underdeveloped countries and within the technically advanced ones alike, who are also fighting for freedom and for control over their lives. The Vietnamese people need us as their allies. This is why the anti-war movement is so important.

The revulsion against LBJ's "Dirty War" on Vietnam is worldwide. It has grown and intensified with every new stage of escalation—and nowhere so much as in the United States. This broad opposition ranges from the Congressional "doves" and the enormous anxiety recorded by the Gallup polls, through peace marchers to actual draft-card burners and soldiers who face prison rather than go to Vietnam.

Out of the more than 100,000 American casualties since 1961, over half have been in the first nine months of this year. And with the war cost already running \$24 billion a year, it is estimated that another \$4 billion may be needed before the end of 1967. As the war escalates, each new peace march is bigger than the previous one. Each new poll shows greater discontent—the latest giving Johnson only 31 per cent approval for his handling of the war. More and more congressmen join the ranks of the critics, as they sense the deep dissatisfaction of the voters and see November, 1968, getting closer.

Yet the war has not been stopped, and Johnson, while forced to acknowledge the deep discontent with the war in his recent "policy speech" in San Antonio, nevertheless used that same speech to make it clear he had no intention of getting out. In fact, the more the anti-war sentiment mounts, the more the war is escalated by Johnson.

HEARTS AND MINDS AND NAPALM

Not a day passes, despite all the verbiage about his "sincere search for peace," without some new military escalation that brings ever more barbarous suffering to the Vietnamese people and ever increasing danger of war with China. LBJ seems intent on winning the "hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people by the use of more and more bombs, napalm and soldiers. And while the horror in the South is intensified, the escalation in the North brings us ever closer to World War III. The official admission of what everybody knew—that the U.S. Air Force has been bombing Laos—was followed up by new bombings in North Vietnam which threatened foreign (including Russian) shipping and the Chinese border itself.

If LBJ can seemingly ignore the clear anti-war feelings of the majority of the people, what he cannot ignore are the ceaseless struggles of the Negroes, especially the massive uprisings in the ghettos, which have done more to still the hawkish voices for total war than all the peace marches or governmental "Nervous Nellies" put together. The Black masses have made it abundantly clear in many ways they do not consider the War on Vietnam "their war."

Recent strikes in copper, shipbuilding and armaments tend to prove that workers, too, are not the brainwashed pro-Johnson "patriots" that disgruntled old radicals often claim they are. In their struggle for more human wages and working conditions, they are bound to come into increasing conflict with the government, whose intervention in labor conflicts will undoubtedly grow in the name of "war needs."

What the organized anti-war movement must ask itself is why it has not been able to mobilize the actual millions, especially these masses of workers and Negroes, whose discontent is reflected in the polls, but who have shied away from the existing movement. It is the participation of this "Second America" which would change the movement not only quantitatively, but qualitatively.

For that, what is needed is a philosophy. The anti-war movement thus far has exposed only what it is against, not what it is for. As a result, its opposition to U.S. imperialism has easily been identified with "pro-enemy" i.e. pro-Communist positions, and the majority of Americans have no more use for Russian or Chinese state-capitalist exploiters than they do for their own old-fashioned capitalist ones. Unless the anti-war movement can unite on what is needed—a new world free of all domination—U.S., Russian or Chinese—it will never win the millions it should be reaching.

And without these millions, it will never have the power to strike the war-makers where it hurts, at home. The black masses, and the workers, both black and white, are the only ones who have the power to stop our rulers right in their tracks.

This is the power of home-grown social revolution, and it is the only one that can be an effective ally for the embattled South Vietnamese people in their 25 year fight for self-determination.

THE NEGRO REVOLT

A white worker in our shop asked a Negro worker why Negroes rioted in Detroit, and what they mean about Negroes having pent-up frustrations. The young Negro replied:

"You want to know why Negroes rioted? Among other things, we have Emmett Till's lynching in us still, and the memory of those Mississippi whites who laughed at the trial, and the murderers who didn't spend one day in jail. Neither did the murderers of the three civil rights workers executed in Philadelphia, Mississippi.

"We still have in us the memory of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, that took the lives of four little Negro girls, and Mrs. Liuzzo's murder.

"There is never a problem in convicting a Negro when we commit crimes but the Government can't seem to do anything about the crimes committed by whites against Negroes. And that is true throughout the whole country!"

The white worker said he didn't have to tell him any more, thanked him, and walked away.

Negro Welder
Detroit

* * *

I noticed that the police in Detroit were able to protect the Livernois-7 Mile shopping area there. The day after East Harlem almost exploded here a co-worker of mine who lives there said that the police there were lined up along 96th Street as if to say you can do what ever you want north of 96th (E. Harlem) but don't step south of 96th (one of the richest sections of East NYC).

It seemed to me that what marked most of the outbursts was the fact that they were not against "whitey" but against the cops.

Woman Worker
New York

* * *

For the opponents of popular initiative politics, the riots are serving the very useful purpose of providing observable experience upon the theory of which such future experience can successfully be combated. As Marxists and exponents of popular initiative, what right have we to be doing less?

As Marxists, should we not be celebrating the momentary victory by defining the more clearly the yet unsolved problems? As Marxists, should we not be the first to observe that apparent concessions invariably attended essential suppressions?

J. E. Work
Massachusetts

* * *

Could anything be more ridiculous and insulting than a grim-faced parasite called Lyndon B. Johnson getting on TV and screaming to the people to be law-abiding, while with his laws he is practicing lawlessness all over the world and murdering women and children?

Reader
California

* * *

The Aug. Sept. '67 issue is up to your excellence. Thank you for the copy that arrived here; good going, very good going it is.

I am very much taken with your editorial, "Law and Order From The Barrel of a Gun." It shows tremendous perspective which you ably

pass on to your readers.

I am much in need of it because I have become pretty cynical; thank you.

Reader
Chicago

* * *

Through riots comes the breakdown of mores (many of which should be torn down) which may eventually lead to anarchy. If this is the desired end, continued riots may bring it.

If the desired end consists of better living conditions and a greater respect for human dignity, many white people will have to wake-up and look at people as individuals. Their prejudice must be torn down—if not from their own reasoning then by law.

The Negro, in many cases is guilty of hating every white man. He must look at each white man individually and not assume that every white man hates him.

Maybe if people stop hating and stop thinking the dollar is omnipotent, then, maybe people can live in peace.

Student
Detroit

* * *

There was a backlash in the shop related to collective bargaining. The employees who had trouble with the police during the revolt had more trouble with factory management when they came back.

As soon as they could, the Labor Relations people would send these workers a "Dear John" letter, stating that their seniority had been broken. That means in plain language, that they were being discharged.

We are fighting these cases, but the younger workers are beginning to realize that the police, the judges and the companies are all in the same league.

Committeeman,
Detroit

* * *

NEW POLITICS?

What a sad joke the New Politics Convention turned out to be! When I heard about the 50-50 deal the white delegates agreed to, I couldn't help thinking about the sort of veto arrangement Russia and the U.S. have at the United Nations. Neither side can ever really win, since each can veto the other anytime they wish.

Disgusted Radical
New York

* * *

"We should move to convene a Black Caucus or Panel whenever and wherever a significant number of black people are gathered." It was partially out of the above reasoning that a Black People's Convention was organized in Chicago during the period when the National Conference on New Politics was being held. Even more important was the assessment of the racism of which the NCNP pre-conference plans and shenanigans reeked.

Thursday evening after NCNP's kick-off rally (which local SNCC and CORE picketed) approximately one-hundred black people met in Palmer House room No. 844 to discuss the true meaning of NCNP for black people. It was decided early in the meeting to chart another course of action for those blacks who were not bought off by NCNP's false glitter. We swung into motion immediately

Keynoting a BPC rally Fri-

Readers'

day evening were James Foreman, SNCC's director of international affairs, and Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE. It is impossible to transmit to media of the printed word the passionate, fiercely dedicated, and totally committed enthusiasm of the audience and speakers.

Saturday brought with it a day of workshop sessions on the economical, political and social aspects of Black Power.

On Sunday, we convened an all day plenary session where SNCC national chairman, H. Rap Brown delivered a stinging diatribe against white paternalism.

As was clearly stated in the BPC position papers, we acted in the spirit of the National Conference on Black Power of Newark, N.J. and attempted to move beyond the confines of the conference table to structure a vehicle through which the mandates of Newark could be implemented. Time and a good deal of concerted effort will determine if we did, in deed, create a forum for action.

Jim Liburd, member
BPC Steering Comm.
New York

Did anyone really believe that the anti-semitism of the resolution about the "imperialist war of Israel against the Arabs" was made non-anti-semitic just because they added in parentheses "this is not anti-semitic." What a farce. Activist
Los Angeles

ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT

Left wing volunteers and olim who want to work effectively for radical social change in Israel have called for a conference of young radicals who have recently arrived in Israel from different countries.

We aim to discuss goals of social change here, formulate a moral stand on peace in the Middle East and a new relationship between Jews and Arabs, contact socialist groups in other countries, publish a magazine and generate publicity.

We think it will be of interest to you and to the Left in the States. We will send you details as it develops. It is time Israel had a New Left.

I showed Raya Dunayevskaya's Letter on "The Arab-Israel Collision" to many sympathetic people here who found it the most honest and unique Marxist view of the situation. I have made copies and am seeing to it that they are distributed throughout the country. Her stand took great political integrity. Shalom.

R.T.
Israel

The Communist Party members seem completely unaware of the trend of opinion outside their own ranks. The following meaningless item from the Executive Committee appeared in the agenda for endorsement at a recent meeting of the Glasgow Trades Council:

"The Executive Committee discussed the statement issued by the General Council on the Middle East situation and it was decided to inform it that in our opinion it was inadequate and unrealistic."

It would have passed without comment had someone not asked what it meant. The Secretary told us the General

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Views

Council of the Scottish T.U.C. had opposed the sending of arms to the Middle East and the Executive Committee declared this to be unrealistic. He went through the motions of trying to find the letter from the General Council. It was moved that the matter be remitted back. They were evidently taken by surprise.

One delegate attacked those who talked about another Vietnam as if one Vietnam was not enough. He said that the people in Israel and the Arab countries had problems of their own to solve without any interference by the big powers and closed by emphasizing the fact that the small countries were pawns in the hands of the two conflicting world powers.

A Catholic delegate rose and said that he had just listened to the most honest statement he had heard in Glasgow Trades Council.

Nobody tried to reply. The Chairman said that since the Secretary could not find the S.T.U.C. letter they should not proceed. He had already said that the recommendation was carried on the Executive Committee unanimously.

I don't know what the outcome will be but the procedure is unprecedented. Perhaps the C.P. spokesmen had not been briefed.

Observer
Glasgow

It is sickening to study the faces of USSR's policy-makers professing sympathy and alliance with the Arabs and know that they are hypocrites, enemies of the rank and file workers as are the USA "leaders".

The Kremmites betray Vietnam and Egypt. Nasser should never have allowed himself to be goaded into war by the Syrians. It would not surprise me but that the Syrians causing the border dispute were in the pay of the CIA. This situation has been staged.

What are "they" after? Abolition of the socialization of public utilities, etc., which Nasser has effected. It is a dangerous example, and has to go. It is because of these improvements which continually mean the removal of USA oilman from the Middle East that the "war" was hatched.

Nasser would do well to drop Syria and the whole idea of a United Arab Republic and turn to the emerging African nations.

Worker
Chicago

GREEKS IN CANADA

Following is a copy of a letter I wrote to Prime Minister Pearson:

I and five other citizens of the United States attempted to enter Canada on August 27, 1967. I have been in and out of Canada all my life.

My grandfather was a Canadian citizen and my mother was a Canadian citizen before she became a citizen of the United States.

Suddenly, on August 27, 1967, I was informed by the border authorities at Niagara Falls that I and my friends were not welcome in Canada because the King of Greece was visiting and we were known as people of Greek descent who held strong democratic ideals.

I was amazed that the fascist-king had been allowed

News & Letters Committees not only publishes this monthly newspaper and the provocative pamphlets you will find listed on page 2, but is an organization whose members, workers and intellectuals, Negro and white, are active in all areas of freedom struggle. We invite you not only to write us your comments and share your experiences with our readers—but to come and meet us and browse in our library, as well. In Detroit, the office at 415 Brainard St., (corner of Cass) is open Monday through Friday from 9:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. and Thursday evenings from 7:30 to 9:30.

to bring his oppressive system to our continent. I have always regarded Canada as a citadel of democratic ideals and civil liberties. Has the son of a Nazi been able to alter that?

I and others intend to visit Expo 67 at the time of the King's visit there. We wish to know if we will be allowed to enter Canada. Yesterday we spent our hard earned wages on gas and tolls (unlike the King we do not have eight million subjects to donate \$750,000 to us annually). We do not want to repeat yesterday's disappointment.

Is Expo 67 only for Greeks who support the fascist junta or are we democrats welcome as well?

Dan Georgakas
Am. Com. For Freedom
and Democracy in Greece
New York

REALISTIC HUMANISM

The young people who come over to the Left generally do so because their humanity is genuinely out-raged by the System's cynical attitude toward life and work, and more specifically due to the atrocious excesses perpetrated by the militarists.

But this well-meaning hatred of this inhuman society can easily be channeled into totalitarian politics, e.g., the PLP, and to a lesser extent, the YSA. Many who sense this revert to ineffectual anti-Communist liberalism.

What I believe News & Letters has to offer to radicalized youth is a coherent Weltanschauung that is both revolutionary (i.e. realistic) and non totalitarian (humanist) in character.

Student
Philadelphia

NEGROES, STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS

Whether or not Rap Brown was actually a "volunteer teacher" during the New York teachers' strike, the fact remains that he was advertising himself as a strikebreaker.

The SNCC position is a calculated and conscious effort to not only maintain but intensify the separation between black and white workers that has existed for too long in American history except for periods such as the Populist era and the rise of the CIO. This racial separation is a prerequisite for achievement of SNCC's nationalistic goals.

Will Rap Brown go in for further strikebreaking, which in my opinion will alienate him from most Black people, who, I believe, sympathize with the struggles of all working men?

Observer
Philadelphia

There is a total absence of opportunism in our cause. Perhaps some organizations have tried to take over, but their efforts were wasted. The whole show is run by our Commandos; even Father

Gropi and Dick Gregory are mere figure-heads and advisors.

No philosophy of life is pronounced except the general freedom of man, the immediate goal being open housing. Our little alderman Vel Phillips has told us, if anyone wants to know what we want there is only one answer: we want everything.

And by the way, even you people in Detroit can help us here. Do not buy or drink any beer that is made in Milwaukee. I can tell you from my own experience, that Budweiser is one of the best beers made in this country, so drink Bud! Tell our readers.

Marcher
Milwaukee

LATIN AMERICA

Much has been written about the guerrilla communists in Guatemala. Visitors I have talked with tell me that the whole countryside is armed. The military imposes order particularly in the towns.

There are at least two right wing terrorist groups also operating who feel the Army is too slow in stamping out Communists and pro-Communists — which means all opposition to the government. Their victims are tortured before being killed.

A Guatemalan reporter here said that these terrorists have killed at least 100 people in the last six months. It is done on a selective basis to get control of small pueblos.

If all that I've learned here is true, I would say that a civil war is going on.

Student
Mexico

Would it not now be a good time to protest "advisors" and military aid to Latin-American oligarchs and dictators? Before the country is heavily committed to what will later be widely recognized as a "mistake"? Perhaps "No more Vietnams!" would be a good slogan.

Military oppression in Latin America gives Che, Fidel, and DeBray their strongest talking point. They claim there is no alternative to armed guerrilla warfare if "redemption" is to be found. Thus the future of millions would be chained to a few young adventurist, idealist guerillas who make "killing machines" of themselves . . .

There are weather signs that the argument of the Castroites that the military factor is all-important in these countries is being heeded by significant non-Communists in Latin America. Even some Catholic priests have been preaching armed revolution . . .

Our Administration, however, would probably deny the seriousness of the situation—pointing to the small number of "advisors" in Latin America. Perhaps another word will be chosen, since "advisors" reminds one too much of Vietnam.

Reader
Florida

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya,
Author of Marxism and Freedom

Instant Vulgar Materialism vs. Marxist Humanism

Editor's Note: The following letter by Raya Dunayevskaya was sent to the philosophic journal, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, as a critique of an article by Professor Donald Clark Hodges on "The Young Marx—A Reappraisal". While the journal chose not to print the letter, we feel it important to publish it for our readers.

* * *

Fortunately, Marx's world outlook, which he originally called "thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism" and elaborated in a series of manuscripts now entitled *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844*, is now available in several English translations. These speak eloquently enough against Professor Donald Clark Hodges' reductionism: "In the manuscripts of 1844, alienation involves a specific economic transaction between an alienor and alienee." ("The Young Marx—A Reappraisal" in the *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. XXVII, Dec., 1966, pp. 216-229.)

Unfortunately, Prof. Hodges didn't limit himself to what we might call instant vulgar materialistic interpretation of Marx and those who dare to defend the young Marx in the revival of Marx studies, but stooped also to ideological McCarthyism. This must not go unchallenged. Here is what he writes: "It has been a matter of principle for each of the major revivals of Marx studies in this country to claim intellectual independence of the U. S. S. R. In fact, however, each has been closely allied to corresponding economic and political developments within the Soviet Union." (p.219) And further down on the same page: "As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union seems to have led the way of awakening interest in the young Marx. The first English translation of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* was published in Moscow in 1956, presumably for foreign consumption. A new Russian edition was published during the same year, testifying to the increasing domestic interest in the work."

FIRST ENGLISH PUBLICATION IN "MARXISM & FREEDOM"

Accidentally or otherwise, 1956, which is given as the date of the allegedly first English publication, in Moscow, would indeed make it the first published version in English. The only trouble with the 1956 date is that it isn't true. While in mimeographed form, these Manuscripts were translated in the United States in 1947, I was unable to get a publisher until 1958 when I appended Karl Marx's *Private Property and Communism*, and *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic* to my work, *Marxism and Freedom*. When later I lectured at the University of Leeds on "Marx's Debt to Hegel", Mr. Martin Milligan, the translator of the Moscow edition, told me that he too had these manuscripts translated but had been unable to convince the publisher to print them, and was most pleasantly surprised when they finally did appear in 1959. A new Russian edition of the *Early Writings of Marx* did appear in 1956, but, contrary to Mr. Hodges's contention, that this is proof that Russian Communism "led the way of awakening interest in the young Marx", here is the sequence of events leading up to, and following the Russian edition:

In 1955 the major Russian philosophical journal suddenly launched an attack on the Humanist essays of Marx. As if Marx had jettisoned his Humanism, V. A. Karpushin, the author of "Marx's Working Out of the Materialist Dialectic in the *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of the Year, 1844*" (No. 3—1955, *Voprosy Filosofii*) argued that it was necessary to separate the "materialism of the mature Marx" from the "mysticism" of Hegel which allegedly still clung to "the young Marx", pounding away against "Hegelian terminology" like "negation of the negation." Due to a "cultural lag" (p.219) not so much, as Mr. Hodges thinks, in the ranks of "open Marxism" (whatever that means); but rather among Western intellectuals, I was then unable to convince anybody in academia that the Russian declaration of an open season on criticism of the young Marx was anything but "hair splitting."

REVOLUTION "IN THE AIR"

My contention was that a great power like Russia would hardly unloose such a barrage of criticism against the Hegelian phrase, "negation of the negation," unless revolution was still "in the air" despite the two years that passed since the crushing of the East German revolt of 1953; to Marxists, after all, that is what "negation of the negation" meant: revolution. Reasons far different than that of "comparative affluence" (p.219) were taking the Humanist essays out of the academic halls and onto the historic scene, as was clear also from the intellectual ferment in East Europe, whether one begins with the writings of Ernst Bloch and Wolfgang Harich in East Germany, Leszek Kolakowski and almost any issue of *Po Prostu* in Poland, and, later, the Petofi circle in Hungary. In any case, it was only after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and after Imre Nagy was executed that "the West" learned that Imre Nagy, in his letter of appeal against Rakosi, had raised the question of Humanism as true Communism. (Imre Nagy on Communism) And it was long after that—on February 6, 1959, to be exact, that *Pravda* reported that M. B. Mitin had declared Khrushchev's report to the 21st Congress of the Russian Communist Party to be nothing short of "the magnificent and noble conception of Marxist-Leninist socialist humanism."

In a word, far from having "led the way in awakening interest in the young Marx" and laid out a path for American scholars to follow, the Soviet Union, during the Stalin regime and into the Khrushchev era in 1955, so totally ignored these essays as not even to have included them in Marx's *Collected Works*; between 1955, and up to the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, the Russian Communist theoreticians began cautiously to talk of the Humanist essays, hoping to put their imprint on them, i.e., that they were not by the "real" Marx; only after the failure of the ideological campaign to brand the underlying philosophy of the real revolutionaries in East Germany, in Poland, in Hungary as "revisionism" did Russian Communism begin to sing a somewhat different tune;—and even then only because the Humanist philosophy had by then been raised by the revolutions against Western imperialism from Latin America to Africa.

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

NEW BEGINNINGS

by Eugene Walker

Hungary and Russia: Two Unfulfilled Revolutions

Oct. 23 will mark the 11th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution; Nov. 7 will mark the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The kinship of what both were fighting for, as well as the repression of the former by those who claim to represent the heritage of the latter, tells much of the history of the 20th Century.

Where the action of the Russian workers and peasants in 1917 lit up the sky and raised the banner for a new society, the Russian Army in 1956 trampled on this same banner raised by the youth and workers of Hungary.

MASSES CREATED SOVIETS

The Russian masses put into practice the Marxian theory of human liberation. First in the 1905 dress rehearsal, and then in 1917, when the Russian Revolution brought forth a new form of struggle, a form created by the masses themselves — the councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Where some saw the Soviets as a competing element to their own pre-formed ideas and parties, Lenin saw and hailed these developments.

It was to this new that the masses themselves had created that he gave all attention — from listening to what the workers were saying, to patiently explaining why the provisional government could not fulfill the demands of the masses. When in power he was concerned with the population "to man" running the government.

HUNGARY'S COUNCILS

This, then, was the theory which the Russian masses had taken over from Marx and had begun to renew, develop and carry forth for their day. And it was precisely this theory of human liberation that the Hungarians decided to practice in 1956.

For them, the form was Workers' Councils as well as revolutionary committees of every sort — intellectuals, the army, the youth. The Councils were central to all the committees and their demand was for workers' control

over production, a multi-party system of government and a new type of socialism. They were moving not towards a return to private capitalism but away from the one party monolith and toward a Marxian humanism.

The revolt lasted only two weeks before it was crushed by Russian tanks. Even after the bringing in of Russian troops, the Workers' Councils continued to function, to be the political voice of the workers.

TRANSFORMATION

How could a "workers' state" crush a workers' revolution? What Hungary had exposed for all to see was that Russia was not at all a workers' state. It had been transformed.

It is not this transformation which the leaders of the Soviet Union speak of when they review the changes in the 50 years since the Revolution. "We were one of the most backward of nations and now we are one of the most advanced," was how Anastas I. Mikoyan, the oldest member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, phrased it.

The change we speak of, however, is the transformation from the Marxist theory and practice of human liberation to the totalitarian practice of state capitalism.

The practice of the workers building a new society was replaced by the practice of Stalin's five-year plans with the workers producing and producing. After 30 years of Stalin came Hungary.

The Hungarian Revolution, not Krushchev's speeches, was the real deStalinization. By establishing their kinship with the Russian Revolution, not the present day Russian state, the Hungarians kept alive the Marxian idea of freedom.

Underground Press in Beverly Hills

Los Angeles, Calif.—Yes, it has finally happened. An Underground paper is soon to emerge from the cloistered halls of Beverly Hills High School. And it will be one of the most radical Underground papers in existence.

Among the staff will be: 1) the most important people in the anti-Administration, student power movement, which is pretty small out here; 2) the group that publishes *The Young Marxist-Humanist*, to which I belong; 3) any other radical or related groupings such as the anti-war activists not also covered in the above two categories (the liberals have largely copped out already due to some preliminary Administration pressure).

The paper will have three basic distinctions: 1) it will use as many sympathetic parents in the area as possible as a pressure group to keep the hands of the school authorities off; 2) it will be a serious, responsible political journal—it will not indulge in the frivolities of the Underground papers that are far more interested in disruption and throwing four-letter words at the system than in actual change; 3) it will link its criticism of the school system to a scientific analysis of the society as a whole.

WHY BEVERLY HILLS?

The fact that so radical a pa-

per is coming from Beverly Hills is not quite as strange as it sounds. Of course, there is no objective reason for it in the sense of economic poverty or exploitation; but the objective reason in the broader sense is the general world crisis. There is very much feeling that 1967-1968 is the turning point in world history.

And there are plenty of subjective reasons. The human and intellectual atmosphere of Beverly Hills, the epitome of bourgeois suburbia, is stultifying, and this is especially true of the High School. The school "Establishment" is such a homogenizing force that you must be extremely radical if you are going to be radical at all. There is no honest subjective reason (not even a believable illusion) to justify anyone of intelligence selling out.

CHALLENGE "FLUNKIES"

The student government at the High School is firmly in the hands of the Administration flunkies, though they were dramatically challenged last June.

The school issues to be emphasized, besides the whole academic system, have not yet been determined. Among them will probably be the prohibition of student political groups and controversial speakers and the general lack of political freedom, and of course the dress codes.

—B. Wendell

SCHOOL STRIKES

N.Y. and Detroit Teachers Make Gains

New York, N.Y.—The 14-day strike of N.Y. city school teachers ended on Sept. 28, in partial victory. The United Federation of Teachers successfully held out against the Board of Education, community and internal disapproval, and the anti-labor Taylor Law.

THE CONTRACT

The new contract provides for salary increases ranging from \$1,200 to \$1,950. It does not provide for any of the original union demands for smaller classes, expansion of the More Effective Schools program, or other educational improvements.

The union delegates voted 2 to 1 to accept the contract despite militant opposition by some of the union leadership. Albert Shanker, UFT president, who supported the contract, declared, "Every contract is a sell-out, but I think we have a good one here."

A SELL-OUT FOR COMMUNITY

Controversy arose in the community and within the ranks of the union itself over the so-called "Disruptive Child" clause. The union wanted the individual classroom teachers to be given the authority to suspend disruptive children from their classes.

The opposition, in the community and UFT, saw this as a potentially racist weapon against the children from the Negro and Puerto Rican communities. The children who needed good educa-

tion most would be principally affected.

Thus, the Negro and Puerto Rican communities came out against the strike; and a segment of the union membership formed the "Afro-American Teachers" group and protested the "Disruptive Child" clause by strike-breaking.

HISTORY OF DISTRUST

Antagonism between the community and the Teachers Union did not arise suddenly over this one issue; unfortunately, the union had, in the past, played a reactionary role in fights between the community and the Board of Education over both integration and community control of the schools.

As strike-breakers, the Afro-American Teachers became allied with the traditional enemy of the community, the Board of Education; they simultaneously cut themselves off from having a voice in changing their union's demands.

Ironically, the issue for which the Afro-American group scabbed was bargained away early in contract negotiations. The "Disruptive Child" clause ceased to exist. What remains, however, is the distrust and hostility inevitably accorded to strike-breakers.

As a result of antagonizing both the community and a part of its own membership, the UFT lost the support which might have enabled it to win real educational

improvements. In this respect, the strike failed. But, for all its inadequacies, the teachers strike does have crucial significance.

The teachers union confronted, and possibly destroyed the Taylor Law which prohibits strikes by public employees in New York State. The majority of teachers stood solidly behind their union, showing a new awareness of class issues and of the importance of class solidarity.

Detroit, Mich. — After three weeks of negotiations, the school teachers made a settlement with the Board of Education which ended the strike in the Detroit school system on Sept. 18.

The strike, which the School Board thought would never materialize, but which the teachers knew was the only way to have their demands met, kept 300,000 pupils at home for two weeks.

TEACHERS SUPPORTED

At first, parents supported the teachers in their demands. Many said the teachers should have a raise. Every citizen knows of bureaucratic positions which carry much less responsibility and command larger salaries than schoolteachers were getting.

Soon parents had mixed reactions to children remaining at home, when many of the neighbors' children were already enrolled in parochial schools.

It is significant that most Negro groups in the city supported the teachers' strike, warning only that they would not tolerate the Board's using funds set aside for new classroom construction to meet the salary increases demanded.

UNION HOLDS FIRM

The Detroit Federation of Teachers, bargaining agent for all the teachers, would not yield until their demands were met. Schools were picketed every day regardless of the weather. The Detroit Community was made aware that the teachers not only were talking; they were doing.

The gains were both economic and in the field of better working conditions. The teachers gained an \$850 increase in salary for 1967-68 and another \$850 for the 1968-69 school year. But one of the most important features of the contract was the restriction on class size. Detroit is the first large city to include this.

It is a well known fact that class size in the Detroit schools can be as large as 50 or 60 pupils in the junior and senior high schools, and 35 to 50 in the elementary schools. In the new agreement, any class size over 39 can be in grievance by the teacher, and the Board agreed to a maximum size of 30 in the primary units (i.e. kindergarten through second grade) in the inner-city schools.

STEP FORWARD

This size still will not allow much individual teaching, and it is not the ideal, but it is a step in the right direction for a good teacher to be able to teach and not just be a daytime supervisor of children or a glorified babysitter.

The schoolteachers' strike showed that all people who work want to control their conditions of work, whether the product is a finished automobile or the developed mind of a child. Other "professionals" who have the same desires are stepping out also.

It is also known that all the teachers of the Detroit School System are not the best teachers. It is hoped that with the increase in salary that the good ones will remain, the bad ones can be weeded out, and better teachers can be attracted to Detroit.

Socialist Scholar Confab Falls Flat

New York, N.Y.—Socialist scholars met on Sept. 9-10 in full academic regalia at the New York Hilton Hotel (the choice of setting being an attempt to show a symbolic solidarity with the poor and oppressed, no doubt).

On Saturday there were two involved discussions on the subject "Marxism and International Economic Development" (an academic euphemism for Imperialism so it won't sound so bad). In a discussion about imperialism however, it would have been more profitable to hear how American imperialism affects us in our own lives as well as generalizations about how a hypothetical imperialism affects a hypothetical economy somewhere off in the blue.

The question is, after all, how to fight imperialism as well as how to understand it, and it is to both these questions that socialist scholars ought to address themselves.

URGENCY IN THE AIR

When Bob Fitch from Berkeley got up to speak he expressed some of my own feelings on the conference. He said in effect that not enough academicians, even socialist ones, see the urgency in the air these days to offer a contribution to the struggle against capitalism and instead retire into the university where it is all too

easy to get money to study some totally abstract subject.

It is time to project ideas out of the campus as well as into it because it is after all the working class that can put to use the ideas of socialist intellectuals.

WHAT IS BLACK POWER?

According to Ivanhoe Donaldson's speech at the conference, "Black Power" seems to be a turning inward of the black community out of disgust for American society. Although both he and a Negro speaker from Detroit expressed their opposition to capitalism, they seemed proud that they had no ideology to oppose it, only passionate personal responses.

Both of them repeatedly wrote off the white working class as being just as reactionary as the rest of the society, seeing no potential for change there. Donaldson even went so far as to say there are no classes in the black community, only the dispossessed.

Black power, from this session at least, seemed to mean "revolutionary tactics" but unclear revolutionary direction.

WHO IS LISTENING?

This conference would have succeeded if it had aroused interest and debate in other parts of society instead of being for and about only intellectuals and students. The conference itself seemed to symbolize the unfortunate isolation of supposedly socialist intellectuals.

A New Bulletin—Just Out It Remains to Be Done

—Raya Dunayevskaya

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- II. The Negro Revolution
- III. The Guerrillas War On Social Revolution
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- V. The Shot-Out-Of-A-Pistol "Philosophy"
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Czech Reports on Writers' Conference

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia—"It is necessary to acknowledge that during 20 years no human question has been solved with us—beginning from primary needs like housing, schools, economic prosperity to more sophisticated needs which the undemocratic systems of the world are not able to solve like the feeling of being of full value in the society, subordination of political decision-making, ethical criterions, belief in the sense of even a small work, the need of confidence among people, the rise of the education of the masses."

With this devastating criticism, one of the Czechoslovak writers who gathered for their IV congress at the end of last June summed up 20 years of Communist rule in his country.

COMMUNIST DISSENT

To be sure, this writer, Ludvik Vaculik, is a Communist himself—or rather, was one, for his exclusion from the party certainly is not far off.*

And he was not the only Communist among the writers who was forced gradually to draw the conclusion that, whatever the changes "for better" which occurred since 1956, and whatever the promises above all as far as the economic system is concerned, the basic features of the Communists' rule remained the same.

The writers convened for three days, from June 27 to June 29. If their gathering was more than a polite and polished assembly of men of culture, there are several special reasons for it. For though Czechoslovak culture gathers momentum during recent years—with visible success sometimes (see Czechoslovak films)—this is

*Since this article was received novelist Vaculik was, indeed, expelled from the party, as were playwright Ivan Klima, and critic Antonin Liehm. Another novelist, Jan Prochazka, was purged from the Central Committee. Earlier, Ladislav Nnacko, author of *The Taste of Power*, was stripped of his title of "Meritorious Artist" and had his citizenship revoked, after flying to Israel to protest his government's stand on the Arab-Israeli war.

because of other reasons than those the government claims.

PROGRESS EXTORTED

To quote Vaculik again: "Everything culture has attained, as anything good that people have had with us, as well as all good products and buildings, and all realizable ideas from the laboratories, studios and institutes—all this exists rather in spite of how our ruling circles have behaved through the years. All this has been literally extorted from them."

This lack of freedom is the most important barrier the writers tried to attack and change. The system being what it is, the claims of the writers transcend immediately their limits: the demand for the censorship to be limited to questions of state defense would mean a tremendous leap forward for all dissenters and critics of the system (including those of the humanist camp, naturally).

Another reason why both the words and deeds of the writers, especially as expressed at the congress, are of more than superficial interest is this: Many of them may not see the end of their actions and, one is tempted to say, most of them see no other way out of the present misery than to change it by degrees. But they do feel and recognize changes have to come—and whatever their argumentation, they put themselves, in this way, in opposition to the regime.

WRITERS CAN COMMUNICATE

There are other social groups that may not agree with the rulers. Yet there are very slight possibilities of an exchange of ideas beyond very small groups.

There are very probably no actual organization links between various groups.

As to the writers, this is different. Their journals voice criticism—often in a circumstantial way which is understood, however, by everyone able to read between the lines. So they not only communicate among themselves but diffuse both their own ideas and those they believe to be worth diffusing.

Vaculik was not the only man who dared speak out openly against the regime. Yet already in concentrating his contribution on the relation between power and the citizen, power and culture, he struck a note quite different from those who took a stand against the Czechoslovak foreign policy because of its all-out campaign for the Arabs and against the Jews in the Middle East crisis (with indefensible antisemitic undertones) or those who sadly recalled the development of the freedom of the press during the past 120 years.

SOCIALIST HERITAGE

A man of deep socialist convictions now seeing his hopes frustrated, Vaculik reflected on the past of his people—a past with many democratic traditions and with most of this heritage pointing out to a really socialist development before the Communists usurped the power in February, 1948.

The last item of his speech includes this clear profession: "I am not throwing my criticism of the power in this state against socialism, as I am not sure that such a development was necessary with us, and as I do not identify this power with the concept of socialism."

More than any manifesto, this profession speaks for itself. It was not published—"naturally" one would say—in the country of its origin. But circulating at least in dozens of copies it will contribute to the process now in progress—the process of the idea of humanism.

Instant Vulgar Materialism vs. Marxist Humanism

(Continued from Page 5)

The 1960's, which witnessed both the creation of a new third world and great mass movements, in technologically advanced countries from the Negro Revolution here to the anti-American demonstration in Japan, finally propelled the revival of Marx studies in the United States as well. In the world of established Communism, one voice held out against any "softening" on the question of Marxist Humanism. It was that from China and here is what its Academy of Sciences held forth: "The modern revisionists and some bourgeois scholars try to describe Marxism as humanism and call Marx a humanist. In particular they make use of certain views on 'alienation' expressed by Marx in his early *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844* . . . In the early stage of development of their thought, Marx and Engels were indeed influenced by humanist ideas . . . But when they formulated the materialist conception of history and discovered the class struggle is the motive force of social development, they immediately got rid of this influence." (*The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences, Peking.*)

Now it is easy enough to show a similarity between the Chinese views just cited and those by Professor Hodges about how Marx "outgrew" his "alleged (sic!) humanism" (p.217), how U.S. scholars who say differently are only engaged in "a salvage operation . . . from Marx's own wastebasket" (p.216), ending with an appeal not to create "a humanistic image . . . congenial to the academic community" (p.216) but rather to leave the manuscripts "to the gnawing criticism of the mice" (p.229). But how could any one possibly jump from those "facts" to the conclusion that the scholar isn't as "intellectually independent" as he claims, but is "closely allied" (p.219), etc. etc.? At the risk of being considered "soft" on the philosophical community, I dare conclude that it would have been far better for freedom of thought, for academia and all others, if Professor Hodges hadn't become so "increasingly irritated" (p.217) at all interpretations of Marx other than his own as to be ready to create instant amalgams!

January 22, 1967
Detroit, Michigan

Raya Dunayevskaya

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Unpublished English Excerpts from the Writings of Marx

Editor's Note: In this, the centenary of the publication of Karl Marx's Capital, we continue with our publication of excerpts from the unpublished writings of Marx. The two excerpts below are from two different periods. The first is from the famous Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie, written in 1857-58, part of which subsequently became the Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 1859. The second excerpt is the continuation of what was to have been the final chapter of Capital, one excerpt of which we published in N&L December 1966. This first English translation from the German by Egon H. E. Lass is from the Archives of Marx, Vol. II (VII) Moscow, 1933.

FROM THE GRUNDRISSE DER KRITIK DER POLITISCHEN OEKONOMIE

The exchange of living labor against materialized labor, i.e., the existence of social labor in the form of the antagonism between capital and wage labor, is the last stage in the development of the value relationship and of production based on value. It presupposed that the decisive factor in the production of wealth is the amount of direct working time, the quantity of labor that is applied. But the more modern industry develops, the creation of wealth becomes less dependent on working time and the quantity of applied labor than on the force of the agencies set into motion during the hours of work . . .

Labor no longer appears so much enclosed in the process of production but rather man relates himself to the process of production as watchman and regulator . . . He steps next to the process of production instead of being its principal agent. In this transformation, it is neither the immediate labor, which man himself performs, nor the time in which he works, but the appropriation of his own universal productivity . . . in a word, the development of the social individual which appears as the basic pillar of production and wealth. The theft of alienated labor time on which the present wealth is based appears as a miserable basis against this new developed one . . .

As soon as labor in its immediate form has ceased to be the great source of wealth, labor time ceases and must cease to be its measure and therefore the exchange value the measure of use value. The surplus labor of the masses has ceased to be the condition for the development of the general wealth just as

the idleness of the few has ceased to be the condition for development of the universal faculties of the human mind.

WITH this the mode of production based on exchange value collapses and the immediate material process of production is stripped of its scantiness and its antagonistic form. Thus it is not the reduction of labor time to create surplus labor but the reduction of the necessary labor of society to a minimum which is in accord with the artistic, scientific, etc., education of the individuals through the free time and means created for everybody, for the free development of the individual. Capital is itself the contradiction since it demands the reduction of the labor time to a minimum while it at the same time makes labor time the only measure and source of wealth. Despite itself capital is instrumental in creating the means of social disposable time, to reduce the labor time for society to a minimum and thus make the time available to men for their own development . . . The measure of wealth will then no longer be labor time, but leisure time.

FROM THE ARCHIVES OF MARX

On the other hand, the capitalist, with the other part of the advanced sum of money, has bought capacity to labor, laborers or as was developed in Ch. IV, it would appear, living labor. Therefore it belongs to him just as much as the objective conditions of the labor process. Nevertheless, the following specific distinction here prevails: It is the real labor, which the laborer gives to the capitalist as the equivalence for that part of the capital which was transformed into wages of labor; for the first cost of labor. It is the spending of his vital energy, the realization of his productive ability, his movement, not that of the capitalist . . .

THE MEANS of production that the worker employs in the real process of labor are indeed the property of the capitalist and confront his labor, which is the expression of his life, just as developed before, as capital. But on the other hand, it is he, who employs them in his labor. In the actual process of labor he uses the means of labor as conductors of

his labor, and the subject of labor as the material in which his labor expresses itself. Precisely thereby he transforms the means of production into a form of the product, corresponding to the given aim. But it is a different matter when viewed from the standpoint of the process of augmentation.

It is not the laborer who employs the means of production but the means of production that employ the laborer. It is not living labor that realizes itself in objectified labor as its objective organ, but it is materialized labor that preserves and augments itself by means of sucking living labor, becoming thereby value augmenting in value, becoming capital and functioning as such. The means of production now develop merely as swallows of the greatest possible quantity of living labor. Living labor develops merely as the means of augmentation of the values present and therefore their capitalizing. And without regard to what was developed before, just because of this the means of production eminently appear again, confronting living labor as the existence of capital, and now indeed as ruler of past, dead labor over the living. Precisely as formative of value, living labor is continually incorporated into the process of augmentation of materialized labor.

As an effort, as expenditure of living force, labor is the personal activity of the worker. But as formative of value, as conceived in the process of its own materialization, the labor of the worker, just as soon as the latter enters the process of production, is in its turn a method of existence of the value of capital, embodied in him. This force, preserving value and creative of new value, is therefore the force of capital, and this process develops as a process of self-expansion of value and, on the contrary, the impoverishment of the worker who produces the value created by him as a value alien to himself.

IT IS the process of alienation of his own labor. The worker here from the very beginning stands higher than the capitalist to the extent that the latter strikes roots into this process of alienation and finds in it his absolute satisfaction, while the worker as its victim from the very beginning is situated in a relation of rebellion against it and feels it as a process of subjugation.

Working Conditions Are Top Issues for Auto Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

it is model changeover time, when production standards are worked out between the company and union. But production is now being speeded up by management and management alone (see articles, p. 3).

This one issue of production standards is what the workers want solved, but it is clear there can be no solution within the contract—even if Reuther would have this as one of his main demands, which he does not. The reason is simple: so long as the clause remains in the contract that management has the right to direct the working force, so long will the workers have to fight the battle of speed-up.

The eagerness on the part of the auto workers to move against the auto companies on this score is seen in their attitude toward GM. This is so because GM has the worst speed-up and the worst union representation system of all of the Big Three, and fighting against GM means fighting against these conditions. As one auto worker stated, "Everybody says GM is too big and powerful to strike: Reuther, the local union leadership, the government—everybody. Except the workers. They're more than ready to strike GM right now."

SPECIAL CONVENTION

It is, of course, in anticipation of a strike at GM that Reuther also called the special Detroit delegate convention held Oct. 8. For in addition to upping regular union dues \$2 a month, raising them to \$7, he asked for an average increase of \$20 a month from working GM and Chrysler workers to go into the strike fund. This money is supposed to be earmarked for GM workers to keep them and their families going if there is a GM strike.

"This is the first time in history that the UAW has called a special convention while there's a strike going on," a striking Ford worker said. "Something like this could be really great to show the solidarity of the workers in the fight against the auto companies. But we think it is just being used to get a dues increase for the International, which Reuther can't get under ordinary conditions."

There was little question that the delegates to this special convention (the same ones elected to attend the UAW Constitutional Convention held earlier this year) would approve both the regular dues increase and the special strike assessment. What workers questioned was Reuther's using the fighting spirit of the auto workers, fanned by a strike situation, to impose a regular dues increase he could never convince delegates to approve under normal circumstances.

MANAGEMENT FOOLED

When the contract expired, the companies immediately stopped checking off union dues from workers' pay checks. They felt there was such dissatisfaction among union members that a good number of them would refuse to pay dues. But the auto companies were dead wrong: all union members are lining up to pay their dues.

However, this does not mean the auto workers will automatically be as willing to pay the extra \$1-a-day assessment. Chances are they'll be far from willing to give up this sizeable part of their wages unless they do have some explanations about what will happen to their money if GM is not struck.

The matter of money appears to have far more importance to the union leadership than human activity. In their attitude, it doesn't take men and women fighting on picket lines to keep scabs out and to close down the plants, it just takes a big treasury to pass out below-subsistence strike funds to auto workers and their families.

LOCAL LOSING

More and more, the international union is taking over the whole show. Local unions used to have their own strike funds, picket crews, and handle most of the activity, including the passing out of strike benefits. But this is all done by the international union and its computerized operations, leaving practically nothing for the locals to do except prepare a couple of picket signs and set up token picket lines. And as one worker pointed out, "If you only need a token picket line, you don't need any picket line at all."

The present negotiations at Chrysler and GM with union representatives is supposed to take care of local grievances to avoid a repeat performance this year after the signing of the national package. But all appearances indicate this will not happen, because the corporations are simply not willing to negotiate any of the grievances. All the local union negotiating teams do is meet and waste time; they're getting absolutely nowhere.

Meanwhile, young Ford workers are scheduled to attend union orientations sessions along with picket duty. These classes are supposed to teach the young workers about the fighting history of the UAW and to keep them informed of the strike progress.

A young Ford worker, following an orientation class, and talking to an older Chrysler worker, was rattling off the issues—higher pay; equal pay for Canadian workers; improved medical and retirement benefits; more liberal vacation time; salaried status for workers; reduction in outside contract work; and finally (but hardly mentioned by Reuther), improved working conditions.

UAW VS. WORKERS

The older Chrysler worker observed that the last point is really the most important, but it didn't really make much difference, because Reuther set the priorities. The younger worker argued that in May, the union officers had passed out flyers listing things workers could check to be considered in the present negotiations, and only about a dozen were turned in out of a shop with some 4,500 workers. This, he felt, showed that the workers weren't really very interested.

"To the contrary," the older worker replied, "the workers are very much interested. But they have been receiving these questionnaires for years and years, and at first they filled them out—only to find out that it made no difference at all what they marked as most important. What Reuther and his bureaucracy set as the goals became the goals, regardless of what the workers put down. They just got tired of filling out something that doesn't make any difference at all."

It is another illustration of the division between the rank-and-file production worker and the UAW leaders. The rank-and-file wants to change the conditions of work; the labor leadership wants more pay for work.

There can be no greater difference in needs and directions. Reuther has said much; the rank-and-file remains to be heard from.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

UNITED NATIONS

Secretary General U Thant, in opening the 22nd session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, was far from enthusiastic about the progress the body has made over the years. He deplored the fact that the war in Vietnam has been progressively intensified during the past two-and-a-half years, with the number of men involved and the savagery of the war steadily escalated.

He reviewed the events in the Near East and Arab-Israel relations, stating, "The basic issues which provoke the explosions remain unsolved and, indeed, except for a few sporadic and inconclusive debates over the years, largely untouched by the United Nations. There has been no enduring persistent effort in any United Nations organ to find solutions to them."

He continued, "I am bound to express my fear that if again no effort is exerted and no progress is made toward removing the root causes of conflict, within a few years at most there will be inevitably a new eruption of war."

When the time came for the two leading world powers, the United States and the Soviet Union to express the views of their governments, the thoughts expressed by both sides took the usual pattern, each blaming the other.

In a word, each of the poles of capital is doing all it can to bring the world to war unless it gets its imperialistic way while the UN Secretary General is playing scorekeeper. Nothing has changed since its predecessor, the League of Nations was designated by Lenin as "the thieves' kitchen." The brew they're stirring up is World War III.

CASTRO

K. S. Karol recently had a long personal interview with Fidel Castro riding with Fidel as the driver of the jeep to a favorite haunt in the countryside. Along the way Fidel seemed to be obsessed with the idea that he would change not only Cuba, but the monetary relations in the world.

"We want to get rid of the mystery of money. Indeed we're planning to get rid of money altogether," Castro told him. "Soon we shall stop all financial bookkeeping in trade between socialist enterprises so as to free ourselves from slavery to the market."

He has set up, as a start, the huge farm at Pinares de Mayari—62,000 acres where 7,000 girls produce according to pre-set quotas of production and eat according to their needs, without wages being paid. 40% of agricultural production is exported to pay for imports.

Castro recently predicted

that a constitution may be established around 1970, when, in his opinion, the people are ready for it. Evidently he saw no contradiction between his view of himself as a revolutionary and the view that the Cuban people aren't even supposed to be ready for a Constitution before 1970.

His views on the Arab-Israel war were surprising, considering that he is a typical defender of the Arab side as if that stood for revolution. And yet he himself had to admit that the "main reason for Egypt's defeat was the inadequate revolutionary spirit in the army." How could they have a revolutionary spirit when the cause was the reactionary goal of destroying a whole nation?

Again, we have Fidel's word that he himself was shocked in the period leading up to the war by the type of Arab propaganda which revealed "a lack of revolutionary principles. True revolutionaries never threaten a whole country with extermination" he said. "While we have spoken out clearly against Israel's policy, we don't deny her right to exist."

He indicated, further, that the Middle East crisis proves that "no one can save a country which is incapable of saving itself. The Arab countries have certainly proved themselves incapable of meeting the problems facing them, internally as well as in the international field." The question Castro didn't bother to answer was why does he, despite these statements, support such regimes so unconditionally in the UN?

RED CHINA

The opposition to the regime of Mao appears to be growing, with pitched battles on the streets of Canton, the largest city in China. Liu Shao-chi, the President of China, frequently denounced as the arch-enemy of Mao Tse-tung, was denounced recently as an "unpardonable criminal" by the Peking Peoples Daily, organ of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Strangely enough, formally he is still in his post as President. They have yet to convene a Congress or take any other Constitutional measures against the one they now designate as the "Khrushchev of China."

The chaos in China is so great that Mao has ordered a ban on his Red Guards from "engaging in armed struggle" and the suspension of wage payments at factories where production has come to a halt as the result of the fighting.

Military authorities have ordered that "no organization is permitted to carry out underground activities . . . publish newspapers or carry out propa-

ganda." In view of the fact that the outside world has yet to see a single piece of propaganda by any of the anti-Maoists, it would seem the military carried out this order before it was ever written.

The tragedy of the Chinese revolution is that all this (plus the barbarous act of televising some executions!) is occurring on the 18th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution when so many from the new, third world had hoped to be rid of both Western and Communist imperialism.

BOSTON

The nomination for the post of Mayor of Boston, Mass., a normally Democratic Party job, has been won by Mrs. Louise Hicks, the segregationist member of the Boston School board who has fought against the integration of the school system over the past several years. The Negro population of Roxbury, a Boston ghetto, revolted against city-wide discrimination last June.

Boston, which is 89% Catholic, and the seat of the Kennedy Klan, is suffering from a white backlash the likes of which hasn't been seen since the days when mobs of respectable citizens tried to lynch the great abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison. But there is today no Garrison in sight.

Mrs. Hicks, known in Boston as "The Fat Lady," will be opposed by Kevin White, the Secretary of State, a colorless figure who came in second in the race.

Far from working with the Negro revolutionaries, as did the Abolitionists in their day, Kevin White is just burying his head in the sand of indifference to the burning issues of the day.

GREECE

The following are excerpts from an open letter to the "King of Greece" by Constantine Glucksburg:

The colonels have put the poet Yannis Ritsos on an island to die, but Greece is a nation of poets. They have placed Manolis Glezos in a prison, but there are others who can rip the swastika from the Parthenon.

They have placed Andreas Papandreou in a cell, but there are not cells enough for the nameless students, workers, intellectuals, and peasants who are the true soul of the Greek nation.

We are an outstretched palm and our fingers were sprained. The fist is now clenching. The days of the junta are numbered.

Greek actress Melina Mercouri put it another way: "I was born Greek, I will die Greek. Patakos was born Fascist, he will die Fascist."

毛澤東的挑戰

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