

NEWS & LETTERS

'The Root of Mankind Is Man'

10¢

VOL. 8 — NO. 5

Printed in 100 Percent Union Shop

May, 1963

10c A Copy 6d in Great Britain

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Election Time in Auto Unions

The local unions in the UAW are heading into the final stretch of their elections. Some say this is the only time workers have their kicks out of these union bureaucrats, and those opportunists seeking positions. Workers ask those in office and those seeking election: What have you done to help us in the past two years? How can you have the nerve to ask us for your support? They also ask oppositionists: What are you going to do if elected that is different from those in office? These are vital questions that workers are asking, and they are not accepting simple answers.

The Reuther supporters in Local 212 who have been in office for the last 15 years, are pulling every trick in the book against workers, hoping to remain in office until the end of time. They held an election on Sunday, March 28, for the purpose of electing an election committee to be in charge of the election for May 15.

OVERTIME ZIGZAG

For five years workers have been yelling and rebelling against overtime work. These officers would say that there was nothing they could do — if the company scheduled it, the contract said we had to abide by it. After hearing workers say that they were not voting for the Reutherites because of their position on overtime, the Reuther supporters quickly put out a leaflet banning overtime.

No production worker is on overtime now, so this ban hit the skilled workers, and they yelled "Politics." They came out and voted against the Reutherites. They lost the election committee to their opposition. A day or so later, the officers put out another leaflet, saying that the overtime ban was cancelled. Production workers were laughing as they read it, some saying that those guys were going to have heart attacks if they lost.

A worker said, "I am doing all I can to get them to have a heart attack." Another said, "In all their campaigning, they can only say what they have done in past years. I ask them how long do they expect us to keep them in office on their long-lost past? I wish the opposition would win, but whichever one does, I am having lots of fun."

The Reuther supporters are not facing workers themselves to ask for their support; they are sending those who are not running on the slate. They say that the union is short of funds, so short that they have laid off several of the girls in the local office, and the Recording Secretary. They also stopped the local paper.

But some weeks ago, it is said that they gave a chicken dinner for the retirees of the local that cost thousands of dollars. The reaction from the workers was: "I am all for helping the retirees, but when it's solely for politics, then I am against it." The local officers boast that the opposition cannot defeat them because they have the retirees' votes before the election begins.

REUTHER VS. WORKERS

Reuther was on TV this week and the announcer asked him whether the Local 212 position against any more overtime was the union's position. He said it was not the union position, but that management had a moral obligation to the millions of unemployed, and that there should not be unnecessary or excessive overtime. He did not say that he or the union had any obligation to the unemployed. When asked whether banning overtime would be a demand in the coming contract negotiations in 1964, he said it will be discussed.

A worker said, "And that's all — just discussed. What will discussion mean to the millions of unemployed. They want jobs. Stopping overtime will put some of them to work."

The important issues that workers want solved are the inhuman speed-up, working conditions, overtime. Neither slate is taking a position on it. They want a shorter work-week, but Reuther is beating the bushes about profit-sharing. He yells about what G.M. and Ford workers would have received if they had been getting profit-sharing last year. G.M. workers would have received \$900, and Ford workers \$700. These are the only two auto companies he mentioned, but they say that Chrysler workers would have received \$80.

The UAW was built on the basis of equal pay for workers performing the same kind of work. Now Reuther is for workers receiving more than others for the same work if that company's profits are higher.

PROFIT SHARING IS PIECE WORK

If one reads the Kaiser Steel Company's profit-sharing plan on the West Coast, they say it is nothing more than the incentive plan. In plain words: piece-work. This is another form of work that the UAW has always been strongly opposed to, because it is speed-up in its crudest form.

The daily papers say that the agreement called for no strikes or work stoppages. In other words: no grievances. The majority of workers in the UAW have never worked on the incentive basis, but with profit-sharing, workers are forced to keep pace with another worker. And the more they produce above a set standard of production, the more their pay will be. If production calls for 1,000 pieces a day, after getting that amount you may receive two to five cents for every piece above the 1,000.

I feel sure that if Reuther gets this profit-sharing, the only thing left of the union will be the collection of the workers' dues. There won't be any need for a shop steward or shop committeemen — or even a local union.

Birmingham Negroes Show Way to Destroy Southern Inhumanity

"I go downtown after work every day to help those young folks find their way to freedom," a Negro woman worker in Birmingham, Alabama, told News & Letters. "I would like to have a little freedom before I leave this old uncivilized state. The young folks are showing those crazy white people down here that they are not afraid to fight for what they want — freedom NOW. I will feel all right about dying if I know that my people are about to be free."

ONLY THE BEGINNING

The mass demonstration which erupted on Thursday, May 2, was reported to be the largest single protest against segregation this country had ever seen. Before that day was over, no less than 750 Negroes had been jailed; their "crime"—a peaceful protest parade. It was a climax to an intense month-long struggle in Birmingham in which over 200 Negroes had already been jailed for this same "crime." But it was only the beginning.

For the next five days the demonstrations grew steadily larger, until the jails were filled to overflowing with the demonstrators. When a temporary halt was called on the sixth day, almost 3,000 were crammed into the filthy prisons of Birmingham.

The secret talks which followed between the Negro leadership and Birmingham's white business leaders resulted in an announced "agreement"—at first reported to have won victory for the Negroes on all their demands. The immediate denunciation of those whites on the negotiating committee as "gutless traitors" by the city and state politicians, however, made it clear that it was only the beginning of their terror, also.

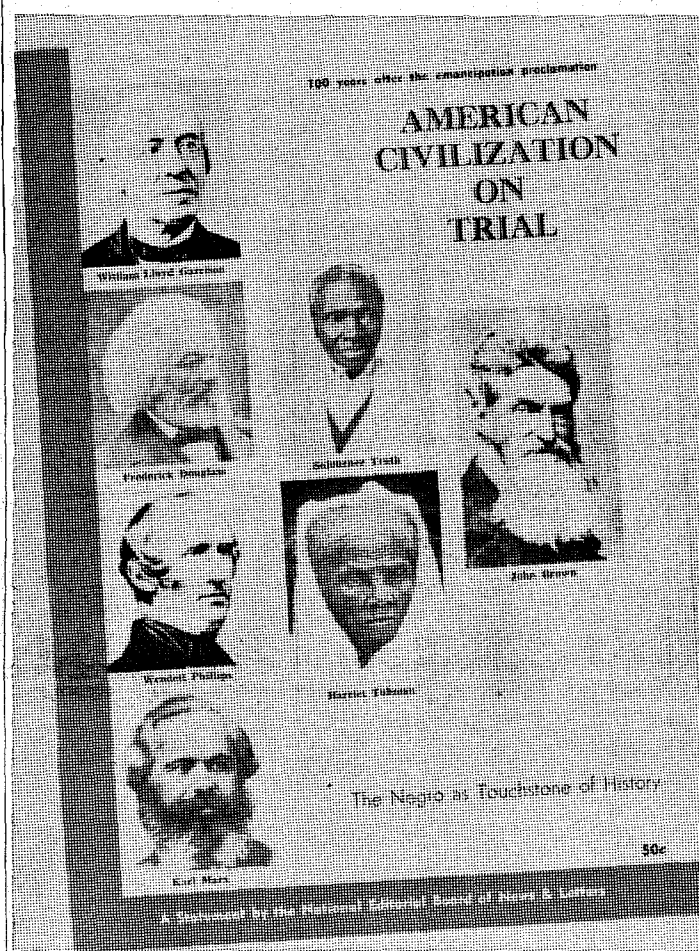
In swift succession, the Ku Klux Klan made plans for a cross-burning, held a rally, and within 90 minutes two bombs had gutted the Negro section of Birmingham and once more released the club-swinging cops, this time reinforced by Alabama's notorious and trigger-happy state police, more brutal even than Birmingham's "finest," against the Negroes of Birmingham.

THE SHAME OF AMERICA

The violence and terror which the white segregationists unleashed against the peaceful demonstrators once more exposed the full shame of America for all the world to view with horror.

Vicious police dogs, reminiscent of the killer dogs of Hitler's Storm Troops and of the Communist "vopos" guarding the Berlin Wall, were unleashed against the marching men, women and children—many of whom were bitten so severely they had to be hospitalized. High-pressure fire hoses, equipped with a special device called a monitor, were used to send the demonstrators sprawling and bleeding.

When children fell back from the crushing streams, the notorious racist police chief Bull Connor, increased the pressure. The pressure was so great that the water skinned bark off the trees in parks where the demonstrators had gathered. Club-swinging cops drove the crowds back. But when an officer held back a crowd of white people standing nearby, Bull Connor was reported by newsmen to have yelled, "Let those people come (Continued on Page 8)



Just Off The Press

American Civilization On Trial

Negro As Touchstone of History

Today, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation is being celebrated by the deepened struggles for new human relations. From South Africa to South U.S.A.; from Hungary to Montgomery, Alabama; from the Congo and the Rhodesias to Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama, the fate of humanity is in the balance—barbarism or freedom.

Our age can understand in living fullness what was only a passing thought in 1863: The first importation of slaves in chains indissolubly linked forever the fate of all races of mankind and the future of all continents from the oldest, Africa, to the newest, North America.

Too long has the truth of the American Negroes' contributions to freedom in shaping the past and present history of this nation been disregarded, distorted or maligned by historians. Because the Negro is the touchstone of history, American Civilization on Trial is our true history.

Order Your Copy From
NEWS & LETTERS, 8751 GRAND RIVER AVE., DETROIT, MICH. PRICE 50¢

ON THE INSIDE

Freedom Occupies Consciousness
Two Worlds—Page 5
Women and Abolitionism—Page 2
Aldermaston Reports—Page 7

Independent Labor Action Can Halt Madness Leading to War

By Harry McShane

"Eighty per cent of the people of the world are peasants. Yet the world is hungry, because the methods and tools are inefficient."

"The world is spending £40,000,000,000 a year on armaments. So we can at least contemplate making things for use instead of as waste, like implements of war, and even if we never get any direct return, we would be finding employment for people in this country."

(Extracts from a speech made by Professor Ritchie Calder at Dunoon, Scotland, on 25th April, 1963.)

While Professor Ritchie Calder was giving expression to one of the many quandaries arising from the present complex situation, the Scottish Trades Union Congress, meeting in the same town, elected Mr. Frank Stephen to the position of president for the coming year. Mr. Stephen is opposed to Polaris bases on the Clyde, but he has said that if Britain is going to build Polaris submarines they must be built on the Clyde.

The Independent Labour Party, at its recent annual conference, passed a resolution condemning both power blocs for their retention of nuclear weapons, but it managed to pay tribute to the Russian Government "for its initiative" in withdrawing missile bases from Cuba in return for guarantees from America. The fact that the old "gunboat diplomacy" has been replaced by the more dangerous missile diplomacy seems to have escaped the delegates to this conference.

Mr. Harold Wilson, the new leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, who, in order to fulfill his ambition to become Prime Minister, is electioneering day and night, complains that the Polaris ships will not be ready until 1967. He says, "I don't know what we will do about a deterrent until then."

'A DAMNING EXPOSURE'

While the sensationalist elements were waiting on the report of the Tribunal on the Vassal spy case, they were presented with a greater sensation than they expected. A document containing secret information regarding shelters for the administrators to be used in the event of war breaking out, was distributed during the Aldermaston March. It was certainly a damning exposure of the Government which, apparently, visualized a devastating war, but, while protecting itself, did nothing to protect the people.

Opponents of war are usually charged with helping the enemy. The position is more complicated these days by the fact that supporters of Russian militarism have muscled their way into the anti-war ranks. By their support for Khrushchev's missile policy they have hindered the development of a genuine struggle against war.

MUST KEEP UP FIGHT

The Government, supported by the jingoist elements in the Labour Party, intends to use the Official Secrets Act against those on whom blame can be placed for the distribution of this document. Whatever we may think about the matter, we must oppose any attempt to use the Official Secrets Act against the opponents of war. Our right to fight against militarism, and to expose the militarists must be maintained.

It is obvious that there is a good deal of confusion over how to fight against war. Because of a complete lack of understand-

ing of the issues involved many of those opposed to war are clinging to straws. Platitudes about peace from Khrushchev, Kennedy, Macmillan and Pope John, are allowed to divert us away from the sense of urgency required if we are to stop war.

The strong tendency to separate the fight against war from the movement for a new society can render all our efforts futile. In this regard we must keep clear of the rubbish put out by the Communist Party when it talks of Socialism and Peace. To them it means a victory by Russia. It means acceptance of Russian foreign policy, and the Russian definition of Socialism. A genuine movement for peace must clear itself of the suggestion that it is pro-Russian. At the same time, it must not create the illusion

that peace can be assured while the fundamental cause for war remains.

THE ROAD FORWARD

A section of the movement against nuclear warfare is calling for industrial action. This call goes out at a time when the struggle is on for work on the production of war materials. Industrial action on the scale visualized is not possible if it is confined to war alone. Such action calls for a level of consciousness that would not be content with a negative proposition. Action of that kind leading to anything less than the transformation of society would fail in its purpose.

The masses will move when they realize that those in power, regardless of their party, are an obstacle to their most important needs. If we look back to 1956 in Hungary, we will get a picture of how they will move. They can make war impossible by taking power. That is the road forward.

Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

This Light Will Shine

Who will make this a new world by changing the bad way of living with all the laws against them? A preacher on the radio one Sunday recently said that no matter how hard they make the struggle for the Negro people, they will come out of the wilderness one day to let that little light of theirs shine until the end of time.

Right after that I had the opportunity of visiting Alabama and hearing the Negroes there tell me how low-down the Southern white man is to the colored people. But there was one person who came from work and went right on downtown to help those 1500 young Negroes in Birmingham bring their freedom to light because she wants to see a little bit of it before she leaves this old world.

UNTIL THEY WIN

They told me what these young people are doing. They are no longer taking things from these uncivilized white Southerners who think that the Negroes are as dumb as those dogs that they are using. They can make dogs bite human beings because they know that dogs don't have much sense and don't know when to stop biting unless the crazy white people tell them to stop. But the people who march each and every day say that they are going to boycott these stores and restaurants and all public places until the Southerners give up.

They say that Khrushchev can come to this country and go into any place and anywhere he wants to go, and then go back to Russia and prepare to have a war any day against the United States. These young Negroes say that if they can let that kind of man come to this country and do all of this, why can't the Negro who lives in this country just like the white man go into these places.

All of the leading Negroes, including Rev. King, say: Let us fight for our rights. If we had to go and fight for this country during the war, and were right with the whites then, why can't we be with them now? We are willing to fight to win this war for freedom, too.

NO MORE UNCLE TOMS

The only thing that I see is that the white man can't find any more Uncle Tom Negroes to break up this fight for freedom, because being an Uncle Tom for the white man in the state of Alabama will not keep the whites from lynching him anyhow. The

Negroes in Mississippi and in Alabama have said to the white man: Give us liberty, or give us death. We are going to win, by golly, we are going to win! Even if it takes the rest of us, we are going to win!

We can't change our color just because the whites don't like the black race. They say that God made us all and made us in his own way. We are not the cause of our color. How can a white man think that he was put here on earth to rule everything? They tell me that God made one thing of every kind, and said: Go out and multiply. But he did not say: White man you go and rule everything that I have made. Negroes are right to fight for what they want, because we are here to stay.

The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

WOMEN AND ABOLITIONISM

The publication of the News & Letters pamphlet "100 Years After The Emancipation Proclamation—AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL" has made me think how pervasive Abolitionism was. The Abolitionists were not only anti-slavery but the struggle against slavery was interlocked with the struggle for women's rights.

Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Martha Wright, Lucretia Mott and others such as Lydia Maria Child, Ann Preston, Angelina and Sarah Weld and many others were active first in the anti-slavery movements and then in the suffrage movement. Their struggle for the right to vote was not one of "equality for equality's sake" but for the right to have a say in the world about them. They won their experience to fight for their rights through the Abolitionist movement.

Although there are recorded protests for the right to vote for women in the 17th century, and clubs and associations had been formed by women, it wasn't until the 1830's that a well organized movement began to take shape. They had such great men as the Abolitionists Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison on their side.

OUR HISTORY

Surprisingly enough the Federal Government prints many fine items. It is just too bad that writers of history books for school children do not read them, for if they did the true heroes of American history—those who had the idea of freedom in their mind (1) and the will to freedom surging through their veins—could not escape them so completely.

In what must have been a 20 minute speech at a cele-

bration of the Centennial of the Women's Movement, (2) Lisa Sergio gave more American history than usually fills up ten history books:

"... In Philadelphia in that same year of 1833 women, with even more audacity than their peers in Illinois, formed a club with a definite political purpose: the fight against slavery. The issue was dangerously hot, but the women were geared against burns, for only 4 years later they called a national convention of 'American Anti-Slavery Women'... In 1838 they called a second one, and then the hot issue burst into flames.

"Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, was by public consent dedicated to liberty. Here the convention was held. Speeches were heard for abolition, and the ills of slavery were discussed for 2 days. The third day... Mobs, roaring against abolition, pounded on the doors to gain admission and silence the speakers. The doors remained closed to their fists, but the mob smashed the windows. The police... out in the streets stood by and watched. Not a hand was raised to stop the shouting, violent mob. And then, over the pounding and the crashing of glass a hideous yell was heard: 'Burn the hall!' Men begged the women to forgo their evening session, but the women after calm deliberation decided to hold it. Said the manager of the building: 'A more dignified, calm, and intrepid body of persons was never seen.'

"... the women serenely faced the jeering insults and execrations. That night the mob burned down the hall... the authorities refused to let the women move to Temperance Hall, lest the rioters who believed in slavery reduce it, too, to ashes.

"The women who believed in freedom found a school-room... Eventually then it would be necessary for the women to speak for liberty, not as guests in a hall, but as citizens having the right to be heard. The enticing idea of suffrage was taking shape...

"It was no easy matter to cross the Atlantic Ocean in the year 1840, but the women who had braved the Philadelphia flames now braved the waters. The World's Anti-slavery Conference was taking place in London, and the United States delegation was headed by William Lloyd Garrison, from whom the chief speech of the convention was expected. Henry Stanton brought Elizabeth Cady, his bride, and other women went as delegates. England had freed the slaves, but not the women, and the petticoat delegates from America were denied access to the convention hall.

"Protests finally led a compromise: the women might sit behind a screen in the gallery and listen to the proceedings.

"They might not be heard or seen William Lloyd Garrison refused to make his speech. He sat with American women and shared their silent anger..."

(To be continued)

(1) United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 224, 1948.

(2) For a fine and moving biography of another of America's great heroines see Harriet Tubman The Moses of Her People by Sarah Bradford. (A Corinth book. The first edition appeared in 1869 and the second in 1886. It gives a graphic picture of this women's life struggle to win freedom and of the Underground Railroad which she braved 19 times. It reprints letters from Wendell Phillips, W. L. Garrison, Gerrit Smith and others.

NEWS & LETTERS PUBLICATIONS

- 1—Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves—
By M. Hamilton, L. Inghram, and others. An account by participants in the Freedom Rides to Mississippi 25c Per Copy
- 2—Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions—
By Raya Dunayevskaya, African Revolutions and Western Ideologies 25c Per Copy
- 3—Workers Battle Automation—
By Charles Denby, Editor of NEWS & LETTERS. Workers in auto, steel, coal and other industries speak their minds 25c Per Copy
- 4—Indignant Heart—
By Matthew Ward. The autobiography of a Negro worker in the South and in the North 25c Per Copy
- 5—Political Letters—
By Raya Dunayevskaya. A running analysis of current events from a Marxist-Humanist point of view. Includes the following topics: Cuba, Sino-Soviet dispute, the Middle East, the American Economy, the African Revolutions, Russia 20c Per Copy
- 6—News & Letters—
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, edited by a Negro production worker and published 10 times a year \$1 Sub
- 7—War and Peace—
Statement by NEWS & LETTERS Committees 20c Per Copy
- 8—News & Letters—Bound Volume—
Every issue from the first, June 1955 through July 1962 \$10 Per Volume

ORDER BLANK NEWS & LETTERS

8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich.

Please enter my subscription to NEWS & LETTERS, 12 issues for \$1

Enclosed please find \$..... for the following:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
(Please circle number corresponding to literature desired, as listed above)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE

Labor Must Clean Its Own House



Discussion Series Continues

Negro-White Unity Is Vital

The far-reaching Freedom NOW movement in Birmingham has put the AFL-CIO leadership on the spot. It has forced public awareness of the shameful compliance of the steelworkers' union with the companies' racist policy of separate seniority and up-grading lists for Negro and white workers in Birmingham steel mills.

This isn't news to production workers, and especially not to Negro production workers, in the North as well as the South.

What is new in Birmingham is that the Negroes have refused to separate any single demand from their indivisible struggle for full human rights—whether it is for school desegregation, or lunch counter desegregation, or against police brutality, or for voting rights, or for equal job opportunities.

DISCRIMINATION in the lily-white craft unions has always been the shame and weakness of the American labor move-

Real Farces On The Left

Glasgow, Scotland — Recently on B.B.C. television there have been a series of programmes which have been taking a very satirical view of present-day society. There have been protests from all the pompous asses, and watching the show has become a fad. But when we look at the actions of the supposedly revolutionary parties the programme pales into insignificance.

Alex Moffat, leader of the Communist-dominated Miners' Union, has banned unofficial meetings and strikes at Polkemet Colliery in West Lothian because it was losing productivity. The members of the Socialist Labour League, a Trotskyist organization, are going to court to get back into the Labour Party from which they have been expelled. A Communist-front organization called the Scottish Peace Committee refused to join the Committee of 100 and some Young Socialists in a demonstration because the city magistrates had forbidden it; they held their own meeting in a side street opposite, and only when they saw no arrests being made did they break up their own meeting and join the others.

NO STRIKE PLEDGE

The Government recently announced that the contract for the British Polaris subs could go to the Clyde as long as there was a certain delivery date. The bosses said they could not do it unless there were guarantees from the unions that there would be no strikes or disputes until the subs were built. The supposedly left-wing unions agreed, and the town councils in the area welcomed the proposal although they had been very much opposed to the Polaris base in the Holy Loch . . .

All this would be hilarious if it were in a musical, but it is a terrible commentary on the Labour, Communist and Trotskyist groups which are no longer forces for social change. The workers can have no hope of attaining socialism if they do not take control of their own organizations and reject entirely the whole framework of traditional politics.

J. F.

ment, especially since the rise of the AFL at the turn of the century. It has therefore also disfigured the skilled divisions in the industrial unions of the CIO. However, since the introduction of Automation and the sharp rise in permanent unemployment, the blight of racism has spread, in one degree or another to all departments of the major industrial union. This, despite the fact that they originally broke down the giant corporations' open-shop stronghold by helping the most oppressed workers organize themselves on the basis of working class equality and solidarity.

A FEW WEEKS AGO, for example, shortly before the start of the new stage of struggle in Birmingham, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) filed an unfair labor practices complaint against the United Rubber Workers local at the Goodyear Rubber Co. in Gadsden, Ala., a scant 100 miles east of Birmingham. The local was charged with violating labor laws by refusing to process Negro workers' grievances against segregated working conditions, and by agreeing with management to continue such conditions in the Gadsden plant. The final determination is not yet known.

After years of protest by the workers themselves, Herbert Hill, Labor Director of the NAACP, finally, about a year ago, publicly accused trade unions of discriminatory practices. In the heated debate that still continues in trade union and old radical publications, charge and counter-charge blamed this union degeneration on reactionary rank-and-file white workers.

The economic base of racism, that is, its root cause in Automation and the calculated policies of American capitalism, has been completely ignored. Scornful of the role of the worker, and utterly unable to base their theory and practice on the unyielding self-activity of the independent Negro mass movement, both sides of this sterile dispute can only council reliance on the "good will" of the leadership. Whether they are for the union bureaucracy or for the federal agencies it all is reduced to the level of reliance of the "good-will" of the deceitful tokenism of the Kennedy Administration.

After two years of vigorously and correctly denouncing discrimination by major unions, Hill's target was not one of the oft-criticized powerful craft unions such as the Iron and Structural Steel Workers, or the Sheet Metal Workers Union but a small, isolated organization on the outermost fringes of organized labor. This doesn't excuse the union, it only reveals the emptiness of Hill's approach.

Whatever the outcome the Birmingham struggle, however wide-ranging it becomes as it develops from day to day, official unionism — from Steelworkers' boss David McDonald to the entire AFL-CIO bureaucracy, including the independents — will be forced to break its present self-indicting silence and answer the Negro workers' charges of union discrimination in Birmingham mills.

Only one element in the Freedom NOW struggle, it encompasses all relations in steel production from Alabama to Pennsylvania.

—V. L. J. Granger

Strikes Seen As Method to Free Negroes

For many years I've been thinking about the problems of the American Negro, especially the Negro in the South. I've been watching the developments in the situation: bus boycotts, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, etc.

The struggle for achievement of freedom for the Negro in this country (even such freedom as is known to capitalist society) has dragged out for years, and it looks as if it will drag out for many more years as long as the present methods of struggle are used.

MUST WIN FREEDOM

The Negro will not be truly free until he forces his own emancipation. Freedom cannot be given to the Negro by others. Ministers, rabbis, and students, no matter how sincere (and I believe they are sincere) cannot win freedom for the Negro, especially with such tactics as Freedom Rides and sit-ins. The Negro should win his own freedom in order to be truly free.

Since the Southern Negroes are overwhelmingly workers and since they are employed by white men overwhelmingly, their best strategy would be to fight as workers. And the tactic that I think would be most successful would be that of a general strike until legislatures change laws, city and town councils change ordinances, and school boards change long-established procedures.

Such a general strike must enlist every Negro who works for another for his living, no matter if he works for a white or a Negro. It must enlist the chambermaids, the cooks, the chefs, laundresses, dishwashers, and field hands, as well as factory workers, unionized workers, and skilled workers of high status.

Certainly it would be very difficult to organize such a strike and such a movement. Also, organizers would be subject to a great deal of police pressure and violence. It will be harder than the CIO-organizing fight of the thirties because this time the government would be actively opposing it with its FBI.

TIME IS RIPE

But I think such a movement can now succeed. The time is ripe. There are many organizers in the South now, working for piecemeal changes. I think many of them could be brought over to a more far-reaching program. For all the difficulty of a Negro general strike in the South, I think it might settle this question once and for all and be far cheaper in the long run than the tactics used today dragged out over many years.

I am sure others have had this idea before and it has been rejected for sound reasons, but it is the only way out of the present bogged-down situation that I can see.

Philadelphia Subscriber

Subscribe to News & Letters

On the Line

'We Have Cried Enough, And Apologized Enough'

Detroit, Mich.—We have cried enough, and apologized enough for "the workers." It is time now for some answers, and the Two Worlds "Why Not a New International" struck me as the total answer to ALL workers, throughout the world. It moved me very much. I have read what has been happening in England, where unemployment is not as great as it is here, and yet those workers felt called upon to go into a program of action. They shed no tears. They acted.

'More in Common With Japanese'

Japan is Britain's chief shipbuilding competitor. Shipbuilding employers in both countries are trying to capture Russian orders which, if current reports can be relied on, may reach a final total of 20 ships.

It seems that immediate interest is centered on two factory ships. It would help, of course, if the workers decided to work in harmony with the employers to ensure that the orders came to Britain. This is in line with the thinking of some of our trade union leaders.

It happens that 71,000 Japanese shipyard workers are now out on strike in support of a demand for increased wages. They want their wages raised by £5-10s per month. There is unemployment in Japan and orders for ships are badly needed as they are here. Those of us who believe we have more in common with the Japanese workers than with the British employers will take a firm stand on this matter.

A clear example of this new madness comes from Denmark. The Odense shipyard has asked the workers to accept a temporary wage cut of ten per cent to enable the yard to secure a contract for two ships.

The shipping company, that wants the ship, has made it known that if the original tender was cut by £104,000 there is a good chance of the order going to that yard. The union leaders are considering the matter, but the shop stewards and the workers are far from being enthusiastic about it.

There are wiseacres among the trade union leaders who are straining their mental powers to find a way in which wages and conditions can be made to fit in with the needs of capitalistic industry. It cannot be done. The example of the Japanese workers is the one to follow. This struggle, coming so closely on the heels of the French miners' victory, gives us great encouragement.

Reprinted from Information Bulletin, issued by the Scottish Marxist-Humanist Group.

Buck Passing

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—There was an incident I was involved in when we were pitching bricks on a scaffold. The boss asked me to pass some bricks up on a scaffold since the crossing was blocked off and the hi-lift couldn't get across and put the bricks upon the scaffold for the men to finish the job.

It was essential since they had the ring almost keyed up and they needed a few more bricks—he said they only needed about five more to finish the job.

I told him that the safety man was on the floor and watching all the actions that day, and that if I threw them up I might

To think internationally is to raise the question of the multitude of problems that workers face all over the world. If all workers could come together—not the leaders, but the rank and file, the workers at the point of production — if all these people could come together and talk about unemployment, it would be the beginning of a whole new world.

FULL POUND OF FLESH

The greatest crime of capitalism as I see it, is this: you have "prosperity" and overtime in all the auto shops today, but you go to another industry—steel and coal—and you find the workers starving to death, literally.

A friend of mine recently returned from a visit to West Virginia and Pennsylvania. He was really shocked. During the election campaign Kennedy made a lot of promises about what he would do to help those two states within 30 days after his election. It is three years later and those two states are suffering even more than they were then. The workers are actually being mutilated. It was such a horrible sight that my friend felt physically hurt to have seen it.

The company is exacting their full pound of flesh from every man who is working—but there are many others who aren't even allowed to work.

IT IS TIME

They manipulate the economy so that you never have quite enough suffering for everyone to go into a program of action together. Workers are isolated in certain industries, and in certain states. People are suffering right here in Detroit, you don't have to go to Mississippi or West Virginia.

The real problem is to start thinking of the whole—not just auto, or steel, or coal, but a total picture. It is time to come forth with new action: Why NOT a new international? Why can't we end this rat race in which you have feast and famine both at the same time?

get sent home. He said I should pass them up and he'd take all the consequences for it. So I decided to do it.

The safety man was there observing it, and immediately went over to tell another boss on the ground about it. That boss told him I didn't work for him and he had nothing to do with it, but he came over and got my foreman.

My foreman jumped off the scaffold and got on the safety man. He claimed that was the way they've been doing it in emergencies ever since they've been patching furnaces. The two of them went round and round, and couldn't come to any agreement—so they got a higher-up safety official to "arbitrate" their grievance.

In the meantime they called our superintendent, who said that if that was how the Safety Dept. felt they wouldn't do it any more. Of course as soon as the safety man left, they were passing brick up on the scaffold again, but I didn't pass any more up, I can tell you.

Editorial

Kennedy Shows True Face To Steel

Last year President John Fitzgerald Kennedy disciplined the steel corporations; this year the steel corporations have disciplined Kennedy.

If Kennedy ever had the idea that he could rise above the presidency to become something more than the foremost representative and spokesman of America's ruling capitalist class, he has learned that he can't. He is now showing his true colors, which are much the same as those who held his office before him.

When the industry's tenth-ranking Wheeling Steel Corp. sent up its trial balloon announcing a \$6 per ton price increase on selected products, everyone—but mostly business and steelmen—awaited Kennedy's reaction. Everyone knew that Wheeling Steel had been selected by the industry to test the present mood of the President, just as they knew that if JFK did not attack it, the others would also raise their prices.

After 48 hours of public silence, the Administration spoke. It was a mild-mannered President who gave his blessing to the price increases. To be sure, he said he still considered across the board increases as inflationary, but that "selected price adjustments up or down are not incompatible with a framework of general stability."

LAST YEAR WAS DIFFERENT

At the same time last year, when U.S. Steel's Chairman Roger S. Blough announced that U.S. Steel was raising steel prices \$6 a ton, Kennedy responded with an explosive attack:

"In this serious hour in our nation's history," Kennedy told a nationwide TV audience, "when we are confronted with grave crises in Berlin and Southeast Asia, when we are devoting our energies to economic recovery and stability . . . and asking union members to hold down their wage increases, at a time when restraint and sacrifice are being asked of every citizen, the American people will find it hard, as I do, to accept a situation in which a tiny handful of Steel executives whose pursuit of private power and profit exceed their sense of public responsibility can show such utter contempt for the interest of 185 million Americans." Charging the steel magnates with "irresponsible defiance of the public interest" and "ruthless disregard of their public responsibilities," Kennedy declared there was absolutely "no justification for an increase in steel prices."

The President mobilized every executive, legislative and judicial weapon in his arsenal to force steel to rescind the proposed price hike. Then, in addition to feeling double-crossed

MEASURE NOW IS PROFITS

The yardstick which Kennedy now openly applies to judge the state of the economy reveals the complete identification he now makes with his class. The yardstick is profits. In his argument for not opposing the steel price increase, JFK pointed out that since 1959 steel prices have dropped one per cent, and the present increase will restore this price to the steel corporations, which in turn guarantees higher profits. In 1962, steel profits were "only" \$567 million.

An earlier indication of Kennedy's real class interests was shown clearly in his acceptance of the tax cut he proposed without the tax reform, which he originally demanded had to be considered together. The tax cut will give the capitalist class billions of dollars, both in equipment cost write-offs and personal salaries. For the overwhelming majority of the people, the workers and their families, the tax cut will give them the glorious benefit of a few paltry dollars.

JFK SEEKS TO DISCIPLINE LABOR

Now that steel has disciplined JFK, it now is depending on him to discipline labor. This Kennedy has already moved to do, stating that since steel showed "restraint" in its price increases, he looked to both labor and users of steel to show a similar restraint: labor, when the question of wage increases comes up in the forthcoming steel contract negotiations, and users of steel when raising prices of their products.

Judging by past performance, steel union President McDonald may be quite willing to accept Kennedy's dictates, despite the fact that in the past two years at least 150,000 steel workers have been thrown out of work, those working have been working short weeks, and increasing automation in steel will throw still more out of work and speed-up to an even greater degree those still working. The reaction of the rank-and-file steelworkers, however, may change matters considerably.

Auto spokesmen in Detroit, on the other hand, at the same time that Kennedy was asking for restraint, were already giving him their answer. They said the increased steel prices would add from \$35 to \$50 to each 1964 car. Similar price increases are certain to be added to other steel products.

NEW FRONTIER IS OLD

By now it is clear to everyone, and most of all to Kennedy, that the promises of the New Frontier—to get the economy moving, to create more jobs, to solve the massive unemployment problems—have been swept away. For now JFK has lost all confidence in the ability of the economy to grow or to provide jobs for the permanent unemployed army of more than six million persons, and he knows that he can do nothing himself to increase jobs.

Unemployment, however, remains as the basic indicator that every serious economist uses to judge the state of any national economy. It will be recalled that all during his presidential campaign, and until a few months ago, Kennedy always pointed to the high unemployment rate and the need for economic growth to provide jobs.

His substitution of profits in the place of unemployment as the measure of the economy, while it serves to dispel any illusions that some may have held that JFK could be "different", cannot prevent the economy from stagnating or unemployment from rising. These crises are the result of the capitalist mode of production, which will remain and increase so long as capitalist production relations remain.

The workers, meanwhile, are doing some thinking of their own. Unlike JFK, they measure the performance of the economy by their ability to get and keep a job, and by the kind of conditions they work under. On both points, they find the economy completely incapable of satisfying the needs for the kind of life they want to live as human beings.

Readers'

BIRMINGHAM PUTS AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

I am writing to you very urgently for details of the trouble in Birmingham, Alabama. I want this for an article in our paper over here "Labour Worker," and I would like to have any material you can let me have as soon as possible. It has created quite a bit of a sensation over here and we hope that it will smash the segregationists in Alabama and light a torch which will not be put out until the Negro is a free citizen in a socialist commonwealth.

J.F.
Glasgow, Scotland

Birmingham is one of the most reactionary cities in the whole world. And a lot of people thought the Negroes in Birmingham would never do anything about it. When the Montgomery Bus Boycott began in 1956, everybody was waiting to see what Birmingham would do. A lot of Negroes I know were cursing the Negroes in Birmingham because they didn't join in. Then the Negroes in Georgia began to move, and still nothing came out of Birmingham. But look at them now!

You just never know when you look at a calm sea, when a wind will come and that calm sea will become a churning mass of fury. You can never "write off" a people just because they don't move when you think they should. It is almost 7 years since 1956, but what is happening in Birmingham looks to me like the most important thing that has happened yet. It is the most important industrial city of the South. What happens there will shape history.

Montgomery-born
Detroit

You begin to despair at white America—and then the post-man from Baltimore, who marched to Alabama and was murdered there, makes you realize that some part of white America IS there with the Negro struggle after all. No matter how hard the daily papers try to play up Moore's early history of mental illness, his "strange" behavior, etc., etc.,—they cannot take it away from the real issues.

Time Magazine, in the middle of a "sympathetic" treatment of Moore's activity, found fit to characterize him as "peculiar", a "pacifist and an atheist." Missing the real story completely, Time did NOT report that of the ten Freedom Walkers who took up Moore's pilgrimage, five were white; and of those five, two were natives of Alabama. One, Sam Shirah, had wired Alabama's segregationist

Governor Wallace to remind him that he had once been a Sunday School Superintendent in Sam's father's church—and to ask him to uphold the United States Constitution. (Needless to add, the ex-sunday-school-superintendent jailed them all, anyhow.)

It is long past time for more "peculiar" whites to stand up and be counted.

White Mother
Detroit

I remember very vividly a TV show I saw two years ago to this very week. It was an interview of Negro and white citizens of Birmingham, Alabama. The title of the show was "Who Speaks For Birmingham?" I think the Negro people have given us the answer this month.

Freedom Rider
Los Angeles

The most amazing thing to see is the discipline of the Negro people in this struggle. It does not take much discipline to get angry and fight. It takes a tremendous amount of discipline to be angry and remain non-violent. Yet I feel somehow that history has shown us that in the end you have to fight when it is a question of winning freedom.

What the non-violent movement means to me is this: when you have a people who are as well disciplined as the Negro people in the South are today, you have an Army. If it ever does reach the point of violence, that Army will be a tremendous force to contend with.

Negro Worker
Detroit

Birmingham has always been harder on the Negro than any place in the South—except Mississippi. But the young people are not afraid. It looks like they mean business. They are going to win this fight.

Negro Mother
Chicago

Many of the methods used by the white cops against the Negroes today were used against labor organizers in the past, and I can personally guarantee that more workers learned Marxism from the end of a cop's billystick than from all the books they had ever read.

Most of the workers, however, did not find "non-violence" much help to them. It was more helpful, we found, against police dogs, to fill water-guns with an ammonia solution, and use it "with discretion."

Ex-Organizer
Boston

I belong to the school that thinks there are no such things as "historical accidents." It is no accident that American Civilization on Trial—the result of years and years of work and thought on the Negro struggle—came off the press the very same week that Birmingham, Alabama climaxed years and years of Negro struggle with the biggest demonstrations for Negro freedom that this country has ever seen.

Journalist
New York

MOTHERS ON WELFARE

I have showed my copy of News & Letters with the article on the ADC mothers to everyone I could. One mother who is not on relief said, "Here they take our money and send it overseas and build atomic bombs, but they won't use it to take care of their own people!"

I do hope the article will be of some benefit to the mothers. I admire their courage, their will to go on despite the terrific barriers that are being thrown up by a bigoted and anti-welfare thinking (if you can call that thinking) society.

That you for printing it . . . Freedom is not a privilege which should be granted only to the elite of the world.

Concerned
California

I read in last issue's N & L about the way the families of unemployed persons are being broken up in America. We had a case here recently where a husband and wife were evicted by their private landlord. The wife asked to go into a welfare home with her three children. The Council said they had no room and told her to put her children in care. One was sent to a Home, and she was told she could only visit once a month, another was sent to fosterparents and the parents were not allowed to have the address, and the baby was put into a nursery.

One of the National papers, The People, attacked the Council in very strong terms, calling them "baby-snatchers" and the Town Clerk took the case up with the Press Council. I'm glad to say the Press Council did not censure the newspaper concerned.

I've never understood Marx on the necessity to break up the family. After all, the working-class family only stays together by hanging on. Capitalism is breaking up the family all the time.

Mother
London

Editor's Note: It was the bourgeois family, "based on private gain," which Marx said "will vanish as a matter of course . . . with the vanishing of capital." As far back as 1848 he wrote: "The bourgeois clap-trap about the family . . . becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

News & Letters

VOL. 8, No. 5

May, 1963

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

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor
I. Rogers Managing Editor

Second Class Postage Paid
at Detroit, Michigan

Views

Many people cry out that those on welfare are chiselers, but a local CBS TV crusader here interviewed a man prominent in local welfare work who said that "chiselers" amount to about 2%. There is no correlation between being poor and dishonest. There is a racial element, as about 60% of those on welfare here are Negroes and Mexican-Americans. I am white myself, but after "living" on welfare awhile I've really learned what it is like to belong to a so-called minority. I've lived among these people for years and they are good and courageous. To see any of them treated badly is to die a little each time.

Mother
California

PEACE MARCH, 1963

"Peace Saturday 1963" in Los Angeles consisted of a walk on the sidewalk from MacArthur Park to Pershing Square downtown and back to the Park for a speech by Rita Moreno whose speech appeared to consist of what other prominent politicians had to say on peace when it was expedient to be for peace.

The placards ranged from "Ban the Bomb", "Peace is My Shelter" to "Pure Milk", etc., and there was the "Co-existence is Better Than Non-Existence." From the placards you would never know that the Russians also had a bomb. Or that the capitalist system had something to do with war.

The walk attracted a number of youth along with the Communists, Birchers and Nazis. About all I can say is that there was a peace march in Los Angeles Saturday.

Production Worker
Los Angeles

We do not have a real anti-militarist movement here. Every activity assumes the continuation of existing society.

Militant
Scotland

I am sick at heart about the Peace March and rally that I attended here. On this day—the resurrection of the Prince of Peace—with every church in the land in celebration, in Birmingham, Alabama, Rev. King and Rev. Shuttlesworth are in jail for wanting peace now. To me the greatest March for Peace today was in Birmingham, where 1500 followed King's brother. Naturally, the Birmingham police made sure that King would join his brother in jail with 28 other marchers.

The rally here was attended by about 1500 also. Better than two-thirds were young people, and that is what made it so sad for me. What an education to give these young people—the idea that wars can be stopped by this walk. I actually saw one man looking for a police-car when he saw another demonstrator get hot under the collar at four or five Nazis who were on a counter-picket-line. The speaker, Rita Moreno, quoted everybody from Senator Humphrey on down. It was sickening and very tragic. From this meeting you would not know that Russia was even on this planet.

I talked to some of the young people, sold two subs to News & Letters and 25 copies of the Freedom Rider pamphlet. That was all I had with me. I distributed about 75 copies of the paper.

Committee Member
Los Angeles

The "objective" daily papers have done it again—all in the guise of "fair and impartial" reporting.

Over 800 people participated in the Easter Peace March here. When they reached their rally-point, about 20 Birchites were there picketing against peace. The papers that bothered to report the March at all, ran two pictures—each the same over-all size. The picture that was to represent the 800 Marchers had about 3 people in it, but the picture that was to represent the 20 miserable anti-pickets showed all 20 of them. They looked like the mass demonstration.

That's "fair and impartial" reporting?

Disgusted
Detroit

I noticed that the dailies couldn't refrain from printing as the photo coverage of the English Aldermaston Peace March only that portion of the March that represented the Young Communist League contingent. That's the only banner you could see in the picture. I know that the Peace Movement has let itself in for being manipulated by the Communists—but to give American readers the impression that all 100,000 ban-the-bomb demonstrators are Commies is just a little too ridiculous, I hope, for even the most innocent reader to swallow!

Reader
Chicago

THE YOUNG MARXIST-HUMANIST

The article by a recent high-school graduate in your April issue called, "Racism Shows False Face of 'Christians'" was very moving. So was the article called "All My Life I Have Wanted To Be Free" by Bobbie Turner, which I read in the Young Marxist-Humanist (just received, and it is beautiful).

Together they show those of us with white faces what it must be like for a Negro child to grow up in this society.

White Mother
Detroit

Editor's Note: See review, page 6.

AUTOMATION—AND UNEMPLOYMENT

An American Welfare Officer spoke recently on the radio here on "Woman's Hour." She said that this year one million school drop-outs had failed to find jobs and what she described as "the delinquency problem" was becoming acute. She said many firms retained their workers, putting men on boys' jobs, as Automation came in, and the young school drop-out could find no work.

At the same time a conference on the problems of Automation was taking place in this country. However, our newspapers and managerial class try to pretend that eventually working hours will be cut (in fact, workers will

be bored and not know what to do with themselves!) and the standard of living will be raised.

Correspondent
London

The disturbing thing about unemployment is the fact that all the parties try to give the impression that they can do more than mitigate the effects. We are about the only people who say that it raises the question of the new society.

Correspondent
Glasgow

CREDITORS, TAXES AND WORKERS

The editorial on taxes in your April issue, made me think of a friend of mine who was making out real well one year, and had made more money than ever before, but who commented wryly: "If workers ever got to make \$8000 a year, it would cost \$10,000 to live!"

A. T.
Detroit

We pay taxes just like the white man. They don't separate the money when they get it. They better stop separating us.

Negro Woman
Detroit

They work night and day to keep the people under their thumbs. They are happy as can be if they can get everybody buying on credit. They figure as long as people owe the collector, they'll not have time to worry about much more. If they can keep us worrying about how we're going to pay our bills, they think they can stop us from worrying about other things—like freedom, or equality, or civil rights, or anything else. As for me, I'll never stop worrying about that. My bill collectors don't worry me one bit.

Working Woman
Detroit

MARXISM & FREEDOM

I'm very glad to inform you that I have succeeded in persuading a small progressive publisher to publish your Marxism and Freedom. The chief manager of the firm promises me to publish it this year. I shall do my best to translate it correctly and as readably as possible.

I have also read the greeting of Raya Dunayevskaya to The Young Marxist-Humanist with hearty consent. . . . I should like to tell these opinions to our friends in any way I can.

Marxist-Humanist
Japan

Editor's Note: We regret that the letter from Latin America in our April issue, which reported: "I'm happy to tell you I believe there is a very good possibility now for a Spanish translation of Marxism and Freedom . . . I am discussing it with the publisher . . ." was signed, "Marxist-Humanist, South Africa," instead of Marxist-Humanist, South America." We trust the mistake, as well as the correction, was obvious to all readers.

TWO WORLDS

by Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL, Negro as Touchstone of History. Statement of the National Editorial Board, NEWS & LETTERS, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich. 50c.

Freedom Occupies Consciousness

Two very opposite events, which reverberated around the world, first in 1957, and again in 1962, were held in unison in men's consciousness. In 1957, Sputnik No. 1 and Little Rock were the main headlines; in 1962, James Meredith's courageous attempt to enter the University of Mississippi took the lustre out of the spectacular six orbital flight of Astronaut Walter Schirra. An age in which "a little thing," like school desegregation, can hold in tow such scientific milestones is an age in which men's consciousness is preoccupied, not with science, but with human freedom.

Throughout history, all great turning points were characterized by "the progress in the consciousness of freedom." Under the impact of the great French Revolution, the German genius, G. W. F. Hegel, gave the most profound expression to the unity in the development of freedom and of thought. "Only that which is an object of freedom," he wrote, "can be called an idea." It is from such a Hegelian-Marxian point of view that the analysis of United States history is made in the above pamphlet, entitled *American Civilization on Trial*.

A brief review, such as this must be, cannot do justice to a study of 200 years of the contradictory development of the United States which has, moreover, been written so concisely as to fit into 36 pages. I shall limit myself therefore, to two aspects only: (1) the radical departure of this study from previous ones, both bourgeois and radical, and (2) the relationship of theory to practice as activity, and to practice as organizational form of a unifying philosophy.

A RADICAL DEPARTURE

Hitherto Negro struggles for freedom, where dealt with in histories at all, have been separated from the mainstream of American development. The present study, on the contrary, makes the Negro himself "the touchstone of history":

"Because slavery had stained American civilization as it wrenched freedom from Great Britain, the Negro could give the lie to its democracy. At first he was alone in so doing. But with the birth of Abolitionism, and for three stormy decades thereafter, American civilization was placed on trial by whites as well who focused on the antagonism between the ideal of freedom and the reality of slavery. The Negro became the touchstone of this class-ridden, color conscious, defaced civilization which had an ever-expanding frontier but no unifying philosophy."

This is not only a matter of setting the record straight. Negro historians have striven mightily, and in many cases successfully, in recording the accomplishments of the Negro. The true writing of Negro history, quintessential as that is, is not yet the true writing of American and world history unless (1) there is a dialectical grasp of the relationship of minority and labor struggles, and (2) the movement of history is seen, not so much as a progression of great men, as a progression of great masses of men. Where old radicals tried to do this, they detailed the oppression without seeing the creativity of the masses. *American Civilization on Trial* shows these as the subject, not the object, of historical development. We can gain a glance at these proper subjects of history, that is to say, its molders, by viewing the contents page of this pamphlet:

INTRODUCTION

- 1—Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slave Masters
- 2—Compelling Issues at Stake

PART I—FROM THE FIRST THROUGH THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION

- 1—Abolitionism, First Phase: From "Moral Suasion" to Harper's Ferry
- 2—Abolitionism, Second Phase: The Unfinished Revolution

PART II—THE STILL UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

- 1—Northern Labor Struggles to Break Capital's Stranglehold, 1877-97
- 2—One and a Half Million Forgotten Negro Populists
- 3—Populism and Intellectual Ferment

PART III—IMPERIALISM AND RACISM

- 1—Rise of Monopoly Capital
- 2—Racism and Plunge Into Imperialism
- 3—A New Awakening of Labor: the I.W.W.

PART IV—NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

- 1—The Negro Moves North
- 2—Garveyism
- 3—Marxism

PART V—FROM THE DEPRESSION THROUGH WORLD WAR II

- 1—The CIO Changes the Face of the Nation and Makes a Break in Negro "Nationalism"
- 2—March on Washington
- 3—The Communists Oppose Independent Negro Movements

PART VI—THE NEGRO AS THE TOUCHSTONE OF HISTORY

- 1—Urbanization of Negroes
- 2—The Two-Way Road to African Revolutions

PART VII—FACING THE CHALLENGE, 1943-1963

- 1—The Self-Determination of People and of Ideas
- 2—The New Voices We Heard
- 3—What We Stand For and Who We Are

THE "PSYCHOLOGY" OF JIM CROWISM

Being the proper subject of history has nothing, of course, to do with the subjectivism of the psychological approach to Jim Crowism which points to the prejudices of white workers as "proof" that Jim Crowism is something apart from the class relationship between workers and capitalists. What these modern-day "analysts" forget is this: just as the "stigma" of slavery could not have persisted so long if its economic remains in cotton culture and share cropping had not been the natural consequence of the unfinished state of the Second American Revolution, so the psychology of Jim Crowism would not have persisted if it had not been re-introduced by the development of Northern industrialism into monopoly capitalism. The latter needed Southern racism for its plunge into imperialism even as it needed imperialism for its violent struggles against white labor's challenge to its exploitative rule. As we phrase it in the pamphlet:

"The 'psychology of Jim Crowism' is itself the result, not the cause, of monopoly capital extending its tentacles into the

(Continued on Page 7)

YOUTH

New Beginnings

By Eugene Walker

Peace Movement Must Be Based on Class Grounds

On Saturday April 14, more than 1,000 people marched for peace in Los Angeles. Students and women marched through the downtown area and then attended a rally. The march, which was sponsored by Women Strike for Peace, was reviled all along the route by about 25 rightists. In addition, five members of the American Nazi Party picketed at the rally.

Freedom Singers

End Segregation Is Show Stopper

Ann Arbor, Mich.—About 200 students and adults attended the Freedom Singers Concert on Sunday, May 5. The Freedom Singers are a group of four very talented Negro youth from SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) who have given many concerts to raise money for the integration movement in the South. They sing the songs of the many movements, the Sit Ins, the Freedom Rides and so forth. Mostly these are songs which the youth made up while they were in jail.

All the songs are very moving, the singers are excellent, and the concert was wonderful.

However, the most exciting part of the afternoon to me was when the audience made the obvious connection between a song and what is happening in Birmingham, Ala. The song is The Freedom Ride Song, and the audience burst into such wild applause at these words written two years ago and still so true, that they almost stopped the show:

"Come Mr. Kennedy, put a stop to misery,

End segregation, see what it has done to me!"

(To the tune of "Day-Oh.")

'A Life We Don't Have—But Want'

Detroit, Mich.—To me religion is something every man believes in. When I use the word religion, I don't mean being a good Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or whatever.

Religion is one of the most creative things about man. Religion is a way of life, and to every man it is different; it is a way of life that should be good for your own needs. Indeed this is a life we don't have, but want very badly.

To me the Socialist way of life is the one for me. To others, Capitalism, Communism, etc., is their way. To Governor Barnett and his followers, segregation is their religion.

When the white churches in Alabama denied their black brothers and sisters the right to worship with them on Easter Sunday, while every one is supposed to be talking to the same God, that made it more concrete to me that God IS a white man's fancy.

It really makes me sick to see so many blind people in the world: all the intellectuals who really think they are the ruling class, the class that knows it all; the smart college kids who ironically think that they can get close to the working people by singing folk songs; and mostly the atheists who rule out God, and mean to rule out all that is spiritual in man—the creative part of him that will overcome this society and make a new human one.

A leaflet was passed out called "This Is Why We Walk For Peace." It had the usual call for a test-ban and disarmament. But in addition it had statements both on Cuba and China. It called for us to resume the Good Neighbor Policy toward Cuba so as to impel "us to want for Cubans the sense of security... that we seek for ourselves"! One wonders: are missiles a sense of security?

The argument of foreign troops in Cuba versus foreign troops in Vietnam was brought up. There was a call for a change in our policy toward China. Thus the banner we walked under was one which attacked the U.S. but barely mentioned the U.S.S.R.

MUST CRITICIZE

It is not enough to say "We must fight the enemy in our own country." If we truly live in one world as is claimed by the Peace Leaflet then it is time that we criticize ruthlessly both sides and not be drawn into a peaceful coexistence trap on one side or the other.

I am greatly concerned about the youth on this peace march. Where are youth getting their education today, from a march such as this? To me, the peace march is stifling youth's instincts. They came to march and think that they have really done something against war. It is a channeling of their feeling about today's society into a path which in all truth appears to be leading into one camp of the two nuclear giants.

YOUTH BEING USED

The peace movement in not basing itself on the class grounds it should and is thus being utilized by one of the two nuclear powers as a weapon against the other. As long as the question of peace predominates over the cause for the threat of nuclear annihilation—private and state capitalist society—this will be so.

Youth, who have more to lose than anyone in a nuclear war, are not given a real opportunity to vent their opposition to it. Instead of being able to identify with their real allies in both countries, the working class, they are thrown together under a "classless" banner and utilized by one side or the other.

FOR A NEW SOCIETY

What is needed is a real education; a different way of looking at and acting in the world—a unifying banner or theory. One which does not unite under the word "Peace" no matter how euphoric it sounds, but one which attempts to analyze the world we live in. One which is not only against both sides of the Iron Curtain, for that is not enough today, but one which is for an entirely different kind of society, which is based on the human being. Unless we strike out in this direction we will always be drawn toward one side or the other.

A Review

The Young Marxist-Humanist

The valiant struggle against segregation waged by Birmingham Negroes and especially the Negro youth there, that greets the publication of *The Young Marxist-Humanist* poses at the same time the urgent necessity of such a publication. This generation is not short on qualities of bravery and self-sacrifice, yet thought, a total philosophy that would give meaning to the day to day activity, blend with it to inspire new activity, is treated by too many as a needless luxury.

A recurrent theme that appears throughout this first issue of *The Young Marxist-Humanist* is that man must realize the necessary unity between theory and practice, the necessary reunification of mental and manual labor, alienated one from another in class divided society before he will ever be able to take a giant step into the future.

CONTENTS OF QUARTERLY

"Letter to a Student" is an article written by a former member of the Young Peoples

Socialist League who tells how inadequate that organization is in meeting the needs of serious young socialists. Freedom Rider Louise Inghram discusses in her essay what could have made the rides more meaningful, if what was implicit in them had been made explicit. An article called "All My Life I Wanted To Be Free" is written by a Negro Detroit teenager who tells how she became involved in the picketing of Woolworth's and traces the logic of her development to Marxist-Humanism.

We state in *The Young Marxist-Humanist*:

"In calling ourselves *The Young Marxist-Humanist* we grasp firmly the hand of the young Karl Marx who still in his mid-twenties broke from bourgeois society and created the now popular three early essays. This profound critique of capitalism, is all the more amazing since capitalism was then in its hey-day with a future which seemed boundless to intellectuals in Marx's time. So

much so, that even capitalism's professed opponents were incapable of freeing themselves from its intellectual bondage. It is these 'opponents' Marx tears to shreds in his essay on 'Private Property vs. Communism' pointing out that those vulgar communists who were satisfied with the abolition of private property were not touching what was most alien to man, the cleavage between mental and manual labor. Already Marx had seen far beyond the nationalization of property. And this unfettered mind pointed out that communism, even in the best sense 'is not the goal of human development, the form of human society'."

This quarterly, in re-establishing the humanism of Marx, seeks not to blur the lines of thought that separate so-called "progressive forces" to revel in temporary precarious unity, but to dig to the roots. It was a 25-year-old Marx who wrote:

"Let us not fear to criticize the existing world ruthlessly. I mean ruthlessly in the sense that we must not be afraid of our own conclusions and equally unafraid of coming into conflict with the prevailing powers. . . . The world has long had the dream of something and must only possess the consciousness of it in order to possess it actually."

There are five pages of quotations from the not easily obtainable writings of the young Marx included in a section called "From the Pen of Karl Marx."

A letter from Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman of the National Editorial Board of *News & Letters*, to *The Young Marxist-Humanist* concisely draws the heritage of Marx and presents the challenge:

"(1) How to break with the mere sloganizing, as well as with the infighting among old radicals, who seem content to live in the outer regions of political gossip that passes for "theoretical discussion."

(2) In moving away from old radicals, toward the new youth struggles, especially those of the Negroes in the South, you meet up with a new challenge: how to draw a distinction between the freedom movement of the youth and the adult leadership that attaches itself to this movement. For this leadership is not digging for the native roots in the Abolitionist movement and the Humanism of Marxism, as you are doing, but prefers to run to India and Gandhi for its 'philosophy'."

It is foolish to expect thought and activity to develop without contradiction. *The Young Marxist-Humanist* requests, "Friend or bystander or even foe let us hear what you have to say." —Robert Ellery

ADC Rehabilitation Center Smacks of Forced Labor

Long Beach, Calif.—I have talked to many people about the ADC mothers. Just as they can hardly believe what they have read about the Kentucky miners and the Freedom Riders, people simply cannot comprehend such treatment of mothers and children in our "modern civilized world." People must begin to know what these mothers are going through.

One mother who has five children at home and is a former tubercular patient was told she must attend the local "rehabilitation" center or her aid would be cut off. She's been working about four or five months now at this rehab center during which time her oldest two children have gone unsupervised, and the oldest failed in social studies, while both have C's, D's and F's on their report cards.

PAID 50c AN HOUR

This "rehabilitation" center is supposed to be a non-profit organization, but I doubt it. This mother, for example, has worked on telephone cables while there, and told me that the last job they had a contract for has left her with a sore neck and arm.

She makes 50 cents hourly at the center and has to pay all her child care costs and transportation. She worked 15 days to have approximately \$20 over and above her welfare check. Her work didn't save the taxpayer, the state or the county a thing.

Another mother who works in the same place told me that they are allowed to keep the recipient there up to three years without ever putting them on the payroll. This woman is 46 years old, and has a boy and a girl still at home. She has suffered from duodenal ulcers and is going through the change of life. She was told that her March check would be held up unless she reported to the "Rehabilitation Center."

She was out one week after she went to work, and they held up her April check. The doctor found cysts on her bladder and they gave her a G.I. series and when a dark spot was seen in the X-rays they decided she had to take the series all over again. I have noticed that since she reported for work she is definitely more tense than ever before.

Another mother of six was told to make arrangements for

her children's care and she'd hear from the so-called "Employment Counselor" in about two months. During the last interview the counselor wanted to know why her 16-year-old daughter was not working. She said that her daughter had worked at that age. Knowing that counselor, it's a miracle her daughter didn't have to go to work at the ripe old age of 16 months!

RIGHTS VIOLATED

These women are all entitled to their checks under the welfare laws. Most of them are willing to work, but too sick to do so and fear the consequences of leaving the kids. To deny their aid is a violation of the Fifth Amendment, since they cannot work if their health is questionable, child care is not available and the results of working are grievous and undermining to their mental health. It is a violation of the Eighth Amendment to take away their check as this is inflicting cruel and unusual punishment. To force them to attend and work at the rehab centers is a violation of the Thirteenth Amendment since it is slavery and/or involuntary servitude.

The condition these officials are trying to create smacks of a Communist state . . . put all the children in nurseries and send all the mothers to work. The female constitution is rarely strong enough to go through such a strain, especially after living in poverty.

The right-wingers love it because they delude themselves that their taxes are going to be lowered. The resultant juvenile (and later adult) delinquency from the actions taken by welfare authorities in enforcing the Kennedy administration's "rehabilitation program" will raise taxes even higher than the welfare costs. The taxpayer would be very smart to stop listening to the anti-welfare wealthy publishers and find out what is really going on.

Just Off The Press

The Young Marxist-Humanist

First of quarterly series of pamphlets in which youth write of their experiences and thoughts in search of philosophic clarification and answers to today's challenging problems.

Order Your Copy From

News & Letters
8751 Grand River Ave.
Detroit 4, Michigan

Price: 25c

Editorial

Peace Movement Needs A Unifying Philosophy

On the very same Easter Sunday that some 100,000 anti-bomb demonstrators converged on Trafalgar Square to climax the sixth Aldermaston March in Great Britain, some 1,500 Negro men, women and children marched through the streets of Birmingham, Alabama, to climax two intense weeks of civil rights struggle in that Southern steel city, and prepare for the even more massive demonstrations that have followed since.

The outpouring of anti-war demonstrations over the week-end alone saw demonstrations in more than 28 countries. In the United States some 6,000 converged in New York City for a parade to the United Nations; 1,500 demonstrated in Chicago, 800 in Detroit, and over 1,500 in Los Angeles. The numbers in the streets throughout the world represented even more millions who are deeply opposed to war — but did not demonstrate that day.

PEACE: ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE

Yet a participant in Los Angeles wrote us sadly, "I am sick at heart about the Peace March and rally I attended here . . . to me the greatest March for Peace today was in Birmingham, where Negroes were jailed for wanting Peace NOW." (See READERS' VIEWS, P-4).

In contrast to the placards that dotted the Los Angeles March — placards that ranged from "Pure Milk" to "Coexistence is better than Non-existence" — the Birmingham Marchers who chanted "Freedom" left no doubt in anyone's mind what sort of freedom they were out to get. The Peace Marchers were for peace "in general"; the Negro masses were for a peace and freedom that is devastatingly concrete.

It is one of the tragedy's of the Peace Movement that, despite the genuine anti-war feelings of the millions throughout the world, the Peace Movement has managed to keep itself separated from the mainstream of both the labor and minority movements for freedom — for these are the only really crucial movements today that challenge the very basis of our crisis-ridden society.

It was a Scottish trade-unionist, for example, who wrote us of the strike of some 71,000 Japanese shipyard workers (See story, P-3). The tremendous upsurge of labor throughout the world is evidenced also by the recent strike of 200,000 French coal miners against De Gaulle and the demonstration of 10,000 workers who massed before the House of Commons to protest the growing unemployment in Britain. The tremendous movement of the Negro people in America grows daily. The Peace Movement has also grown numerically significant by now.

THE URGENCY FOR A UNIFYING PHILOSOPHY

All these could coalesce IF the Peace Movement was truly anti-war and not simply anti-bomb; IF the movement was not merely against the horrors of nuclear warfare, but against the system which breeds war and spawns the H-bomb, capitalism; and IF it was against capitalism on both sides of the Iron Curtain — on this side where it exists as private capitalism, and on the other where it exists as state-capitalism.

It is precisely its lack of any class-basis, and of any unifying philosophy that has made the Peace Movement such easy prey for the Communists. It is to its credit, that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England was organized without the aid of the Communists. It is to its shame, that once it was organized, the Communists have found it such a happy hunting ground.

The day after East German Premier Otto Grotewohl and President Johannes Dieckmann of the East German Parliament sent best wishes to the Easter marchers in Britain, East German secret police expelled five British anti-bomb demonstrators for distributing leaflets in East Germany. Everyone is for peace "in general" — including Khrushchev as he prepares his next monster bomb, and Kennedy as he leads the world to the edge of nuclear holocaust. What matters is what peace means in the concrete.

The spectacle of Bertrand Russell, whose class-less philosophy has made of him so obedient a fellow-traveler that he has actually been led into the fantastic position of defending China's attack upon India, is a warning to all who think they can escape the trap of the Communists without a unifying philosophy which rejects both nuclear orbits and embraces only the oppressed force — the workers, student youth and minorities who are struggling to reconstruct society on totally NEW foundations.

Freedom Occupies Consciousness

(Continued from Page 5)

Caribbean and the Pacific as it became transformed into imperialism, with the Spanish-American War.

THOUGHT AND PRACTICE AND THE FOUNDING OF NEWS & LETTERS

A new form of mass revolt emerged during World War II. In Europe we witnessed the growth of the Resistance movements, and in the United States there was an outburst, in 1943, both of the first miners' strike and the first Negro demonstrations to take place right in the midst of a world war. The struggles in the United States nailed down the lie of workers' rights and full democracy propagated not only by the ruling class, but by the Communists, who, with the Nazi invasion of Russia, had become the most rabid "American patriots." They approved the no-strike pledge to chain workers to the war machine. They opposed any independent movement of Negroes for their democratic rights.

Witness the cynicism of The Daily Worker which wrote: "Hitler is the main enemy and the foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary." The Negroes had no need of the later vicious McCarthy type of anti-Communism; they knew the true nature of Communism and fought against it a full decade ahead of McCarthy's discovery for his own reactionary needs.

The period of new revolts which was initiated in 1943 was the period also of a great clarification of thought. Some of us who were later to found NEWS & LETTERS had developed the

Aldermaston Reports

From London

London, England — This writer made the annual pilgrimage from Aldermaston to London to protest en masse against . . . what?

The peace movement here isn't "at the crossroads" or anything of that meaningless sort. It is sharply—but, alas, hardly radically—divided. There are three blocs vis-a-vis World War III: the pro-Russian faction, including the British and Scottish Peace Councils; the pro-American faction, including Harold Wilson, George Brown, and virtually the whole of the next Government; and the others, comprising the great bulk of CNDers, anarchists, dissident students, some of the unemployed, vegetarians, Gandhian-Zen passive resisters, etc., etc.

The real point is the failure of this third group to influence history. I say this despite a turnout for the March which was numerically staggering: at least 50,000 (Ed. note—Other sources reported up to 100,000) in Hyde Park for that final day, when we were entertained, preached to, and told to go out into the world and . . . influence history.

FAILURE A GIFT

For the pro-Russian faction this failure is a gift. After all, the American menace here is present to all the senses. "Ach, ach, there's a monster in the Loch" exhorts a folk song from Scotland. Polaris swims in from abroad, offering a target but no balm for hungry men on the dole. So one hears such slogans as "Home Rule for Britain," and, to the American contingent

of the March, "Go back and tell it to your own Government!"

There is a great residual anti-Yank feeling over here, a resentment as vulgar as the appeals for freedom of the press by gutter journalists. To exploit this feeling as the CPers and some socialists here do, assailing American missiles in the Loch while vaunting anti-Yank (peace?) missiles in Cuba is as proper for socialists as were Hugh Gaitskell's sentimental encomia of the World War II alliance . . .

But what of group three? Cuba shows us how large our failure has been, for to take sides before the war is to choose sides during it, and the "greater evil" argument is as treacherous as the "third camp" is chimerical.

CLEAR POLITICS ESSENTIAL

Aldermaston now shows us something else: that sheer numbers, divorced from politics, may in some small way cause a tremor in the public conscience and provoke peace overtures from both war camps—but that is all. The peace movement must be prepared to make its doves an extinct species, and seek the human condition in far less spiritual forces, the conditions under which men earn their bread and produce for others those infernal machines which will destroy us all.

Only if we can reach out, in a way that is still frail and inchoate and unfound, to the masses who regard us with hostility and their leaders with sullen contempt, can we alter the doom of mankind. And not by walking from Aldermaston to London, this sixth or any year.

R. K.

From Glasgow

Glasgow, Scotland — On Thursday, 11th April at 12 noon, the sixth and perhaps the last Aldermaston to London March left Falcon Fields at Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Center in its 50-mile journey to London . . .

On the first and second nights of the march, we slept in huge tents because the local council wouldn't let us use schools.

On Easter Sunday we passed through Windsor where the Queen was staying. About 300 police packed a narrow roadway leading to Windsor Castle, probably in case we stole her. But some time later the C.N.D. organizers went back to Windsor Castle with a petition to the Queen against nuclear weapons. This sort of action is a typical piece of insanity practiced by those who seem to think that the bomb will be banned if Kennedy, Khrushchev and Macmillan can sit down and discuss it . . .

POLICE SCUFFLES

On Easter Monday morning, we set out from Acton Green on the outskirts of London, on the way to Hyde Park. All the way up to the park there were scuffles with the police. These arose because the police split up the march into sections with distances of about ¼ mile between them, but there were no arrests except for one man . . .

When we arrived in Hyde Park for lunch, a "March Must Decide" committee held a meeting. This group of Anarchists, Left Wing Socialists, and Committee of 100 members wanted the marchers to decide the climax of the march, instead of the C.N.D. . . . When the lunch break was over, the committee had not arrived at any definite policy, but as we were leaving the park for a circuit of London's west end, about 2,000 decided to disregard the orders of both the police and the C.N.D. marshals (who wanted us to march in threes and in silence.) We broke through a police cordon by sheer weight of numbers and marched 50 abreast down towards Hyde Park Corner.

For about two hours we were in control of Central London. The police were powerless, yet there was no violence except when the police tried to stop us. The mounted police tried to force us back into the side of the road quite a number of times, but eventually we discovered, by accident, that if we clapped our hands in unison the police horses pranced about as if they were circus horses, and completely out of control.

There were some incidents, however. One mounted policeman lost his temper and repeatedly charged the crowd, until everyone started chanting his number at which he went very red and started to behave better. On the whole, the police were pretty brutal. I saw one girl's face being slapped, and sit-downers being thrown about very roughly.

COULDN'T BE STOPPED

But in spite of this, they could do nothing to stop us. As Freedom, the Anarchist paper, said: "The police were expecting a well-disciplined C.N.D. march or a well-disciplined Committee of 100 sit-down." When we did not conform to either of these, they did not know what to do, and eventually they just had to let us go our own way back into Hyde Park. In the end there were 70 arrests.

J. F.

following theoretical analyses: (1) Russia, which had long since stopped being a workers' state, had, with the outbreak of World War II, become a fully state-capitalist society which would challenge its present Allies for world domination. (2) By seeing this new stage of capitalist development—state-capitalism—as a world development, and relating it to new forms of mass revolt, we put ourselves on the alert both to the Middle East, Afro-Asian, Latin American revolutions against Western imperialism, and such phenomenal developments as the first revolt (East Germany, 1953) against Russian totalitarianism. (3) At the same time, by listening closely to the spontaneous remarks of miners in their struggle against the first appearance of Automation in 1950, as well as the continuous struggles of the Negroes, we were led to the discovery of the American and Humanist roots of Marxian philosophy, and therefore to the break with all old radicals.

These three preparatory stages permitted the founding of NEWS & LETTERS as the only paper edited by a production worker (who happened also to be a Negro) in a way in which it became a forum for the rank and file and was, simultaneously, the manifestation of a unique combination of workers and intellectuals. This led to the formation of NEWS & LETTERS Committees and the publication of such diverse books and pamphlets as Marxism and Freedom . . . from 1776 until today, and Workers Battle Automation; Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, and Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves.

The latest pamphlet to come off the press, American Civilization on Trial, does not present itself as a "finished work," but as a living document that cannot be finished until the very foundations of the society it criticizes are uprooted and, in its place, there emerges a classless society on human foundations.

1943 to 1963 indeed comprise the most crucial decades of the 20th century. A new world has arisen in the economically underdeveloped countries, especially on the African continent. A great revolution on the European continent—in Hungary, 1956—so undermined Russian totalitarianism that even its successful bloody counter-revolution has not returned the Russian orbit to its status quo ante. Quite the contrary, the Sino-Soviet conflict first began in earnest. China too has been forced, by the blooming of the "100 Flowers,"* to see the first beginnings of the end of its monolithism.

In the United States, in this centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation, we witness a new stage of Negro struggles within the South itself which will not stop short of Freedom NOW.

All these objective events are reasons enough why, when we do talk of our own activities, whether as part of the rank and file worker's movement, or as participants in the Negro struggles, we present our analysis of American Civilization on Trial, not as a "finished work," but as a contribution to a dialogue with other Freedom Fighters. We ask all to participate with us in developing this dialogue on WHAT TO DO NOW as a dialogue which would refuse to separate theory from practice, and practice from theory, for only in their unity "can all man's innate talents first develop and gain a new dimension that puts an end once and for all to his pre-history in class societies."

*For an analysis of the voices of revolt in China see NEWS & LETTERS, Jan., 1962, special supplement on MAO-TSE TUNG.

Birmingham Negroes

(Continued from Page 1)

to the corner, sergeant. I want 'em to see the dogs at work."

This shame of America is President Kennedy's shame above all. Alabama Negro citizens are asking for: a fair policy for hiring Negroes; desegregation of all public facilities including lunch counters, restaurants and water fountains; the establishment of a bi-racial committee to study broad steps to desegregation, including the public school; the dropping of all charges against Negroes arrested for picketing, parading, and other non-violent demonstrations. To tolerate white Alabama's vicious attacks upon Negro Americans who seek such minimum human rights as those of the Birmingham movement, is to expose the sham of the Administration's tokenism once and for all.

THE SHAME OF THE KENNEDYS

To the Negroes who marked this 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation by marching by the hundreds and the thousands from the movement's headquarters at the 16th Street Baptist Church, singing, "Freedom . . . freedom . . . freedom . . ." U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy dared to say they had "just grievances" but "the timing of the present demonstrations is open to question." To the events that so stirred the nation that national Negro celebrities like Dick Gregory and Al Hibbler willingly added their own persons to the jails, the President, John F. Kennedy, had no comment, other than that he was "dismayed."

So monstrous was his pitiful excuse that no federal statutes had been violated and therefore the Federal Government had no power to act except as a mediator, that even members of his own party—who know that it is in actuality the attempt to hold the political allegiance of the Southern Democrats that stays his hand—were moved to publicly denounce the Administration for not acting.

As if to make sure the learned President, who is supposed to execute the law of land, does not continue so ignorant of the civil rights statutes, Senator Wayne Morse even gave him the Section (242) and Title (18) of the U.S. Code which makes it a punishable offense for anyone "under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom (to) wilfully subject any inhabitant of any state, territory, or district to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or law of the United States."

Yet it was not until after pre-dawn bombings by the Ku Klux Klan—one of which demolished the motel-headquarters of the integrationists, and the other the home of Rev. King's brother—that the President found it expedient to "intervene," and then only because the bombings had "led to rioting, personal injuries, property damage and various reports of violence and brutality."

An alarmingly substantial section of the press also has been quick to give the impression that it is the Negroes who are now causing the violence—or at best, to put "equal blame" on both sides! It will not be easy, however, to brain-wash a world which has seen the pictures of police-dogs and fire-hoses which have swept around the entire world.

ALL ARE INVOLVED

The depth of the movement, as well as its breadth, is seen in the fact that ALL are in-

involved: workers and students; young and old; men, women and children—ALL.

Over half of those arrested were children. Teenagers by the thousands poured into the movement's headquarters asking to be allowed to join the marchers. Children from the first-grade up carried placards and were herded, unafraid, into waiting police paddy-wagons and carted off to jail.

Birmingham's Negro population numbers over 140,000. Rev. King, with evidence that screamed from headlines and was documented by TV cameras for all the world to see, declared that "Not a single Negro in Birmingham is not with us." For every Negro child or adult that was permitted to parade, thousands more stood on the sidelines to cheer him on and wait to take his place as soon as he was arrested.

WHITES ALSO INSPIRED

The depth of the movement of the Negro in the South today is seen also in the response it has inspired in some segment of the white population, North and South. William Moore, the white postman from Baltimore, slain in Alabama on his protest pilgrimage was born in Mississippi. Of the ten Freedom Walkers who took up his Freedom Walk, five were white—and of those five, two were white youth from Alabama.

The Fire-Fighters Association in Detroit sent a telegram to their International denouncing the use of firemen as storm-troopers for the Southern racists. A group of 19 rabbis and two college chaplains from Yale University and Williams College visited Negroes at a mass meeting in Birmingham and told them students from Yale and other schools were ready to take part in the demonstrations if requested.

Protest rallies were called in more than 100 key cities in the North. The one in Boston, where over 10,000 persons thronged Boston Common, was the largest civil rights demonstration in Boston history.

And in Birmingham—ENGLAND—about 150 people demonstrated in behalf of the Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama. They rallied in the city center and sang, "We Shall Overcome," the anthem of the integration movement.

THE LINK WITH LABOR

It is of significance that Rev. King last month, in calling for Northern boycotts of chain-stores that segregate facilities in the South, included telegrams to such union locals as District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. As a result, over 500 pickets showed up at the Woolworth store in Times Square, New York—while still others picketed at different branches. The placards which were carried by both white and Negro union pickets read: "End Segregation Across the Nation" and "Help End Terror in the South."

The link must be made between the labor and the minority struggles, if the Freedom movements are to succeed in reconstructing society.

A DECISIVE TURNING POINT

As we write in American Civilization on Trial: "The Birmingham outburst is not only the latest incident . . . it is the beginning of a most fundamental chapter in the freedom struggle because it involves the South's most industrialized city.

"A American civilization has been on trial from the day of its birth. Its hollow slogans of

Our Life and Times

By PETER MALLORY

EASTER DEMONSTRATIONS

From 1916 on, demonstrations at Easter were confined by the Irish to commemorate the Easter Rising in the struggle for Irish independence. The demonstrations today by the "ban-the-bombers," which provide everything from a forum for the Communists to the "spies for peace" nonsense, are a sharp contrast to the views and ideas of James Connolly, who laid down his life in the struggle for Irish independence.

James Connolly said, in Foward, Aug. 15, 1914, "A great continental uprising of the working class would stop the war; a universal protest at public meetings will not save a single life from being wantonly slaughtered . . . To me, therefore, the socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy. I regard each nation

as the possessor of a definite contribution to the common stock of civilization, and I regard the capitalist class of each nation as the logical and natural enemy of the national culture which constitutes that definite contribution."

Connolly's views on war were very strong. He said "But what is the price of war—the price as it must be paid by a nation? That all the young and vigorous men go out and be killed, and all of the unfit and diseased stay at home to be the fathers of the next generation . . . There are streets in Dublin, in its poorer quarters, where every family has lost a man; there are sections in the country where the toll of death has been so heavy that every man is gone . . . The peoples of Europe have held back from violence because bloodshed and armed strife

have grown repulsive as a result of socialist propaganda. The war madness has swept away that humanitarian feeling and revealed our rulers as what they are, monsters, red in tooth and claw. Yes, revolution is no longer unthinkable in Europe, its shadow already looms upon the horizon." (Workers Republic, Oct. 16, 1915.)

Connolly carried his views to his grave. After the abortive Easter revolt he was jailed by the British, went on a hunger strike which resulted in his death.

The legend and cause of James Connolly, the freedom and liberation of mankind under a socialist society where all men have an equal voice in their destiny, is not served by these modern day demonstrators. They distort his cause and make useless his noble death.

GHANA

Five men, one Nigerian and four Ghanaians, are scheduled to be hanged for treason according to the court of Kwame (Osagyefo) Nkrumah. They were charged and found guilty of the recent bombing attacks on his life. The defendants include H. H. Cofie-Crabbe, the former executive secretary of Nkrumah's own Convention Peoples Party, ex-Foreign Minister Ako Adjei, ex-Information Minister Tawia Adamafio. The group was convicted on the testimony of the Nigerian, Mama Tula, and a 20-year-old youth, Teiko Tagoe.

While there are no available means of checking into the charges against the men involved, the trial and the sentences involved do raise serious questions which the 6,000 word verdict fails to answer. Why, for example, did three of Nkrumah's closest associates find it necessary to resort to assassination as a means of making their views known? And why, on the other hand, does Nkrumah resort to the methods of Stalin to get rid of his political opposition?

The trial and the result raise serious doubts that the

SPAIN

The regime of Fascist Dictator Franco is in trouble from the demands of the underpaid workers of Spain. Unskilled workers achieved a "raise" from 60c a DAY to \$1 a day in January following the long strike of 60,000 Asturian coal miners. In the vineyards, 3,900 workers were on strike for a \$2.50 daily wage. In Barcelona, 150 workers were laid off at an aircraft factory but were rehired when 2,000 workers at the Olivetti factory threatened a sympathy strike. There have been constant strikes throughout Spain over the last year in which even the arch reactionary Catholic Church is forced to side with the workers. A new, nationwide strike is threatened for this summer.

It was undoubtedly because of this growing nationwide unrest over miserable conditions of life under Franco's Fascism, that he found it necessary to execute the Communist, Julian Grimau Garcia, who, 25 years ago, was an anti-fascist fighter in the Spanish Civil War. Franco's

HAITI

The dictatorship of Duvalier is beginning to totter with the aid of a gentle shove from the American C.I.A. When U.S. trained army officers threatened a coup, Duvalier arrested some while others fled to the Embassies of the Latin American countries. With even his own Army opposed to him, his days are numbered.

Haiti has an unemployment rate of 60%, an illiteracy rate of 90%, an average life expectancy of 32.6 years and a national average yearly income per person of only \$70. Duvalier maintains his power through 13,000 thugs called the Tonton Macoute, who collect the graft and kill off his enemies.

Exploit Carriers With Trash Mail

Los Angeles, Calif.—

Serious problems confront most all of us nowadays, not the least of which are facing our own U. S. postal carriers. The volume of junk mail has so increased as to present not only a nuisance to the average householder, but to make the postal carrier's problems insurmountable and his good morale a thing of the past.

Not only on an average day when a reasonable amount of mail must be delivered, but on days when county, state and/or federal checks are being waited upon by the poor, disabled and the elderly, he must take the time to stop at each dwelling and drop off the junk.

This junk consists of anything from catalogs, card ads of anything from income tax service to banks and insurance, and so on to the latest

thing in hair creme.

When letters of protest are sent to these companies, they usually reply that their only motive is to inexpensively introduce as many people as possible to their merchandise.

If you suggest that they hire some unemployed men in the various local areas and pay them to deliver the samples, they answer that they are sure you realize this would be too large an undertaking, etc.

One mission in Los Angeles reports approximately 4,000 men passing through their doors daily, earnestly and sincerely looking for work. How could it be so hard to give some of them some samples to deliver and pay them for it? Is it fair that substitute workers are often called in and worked overtime at straight pay to deliver this junk?

Not all of the items that he delivers can be returned, but I urge you all to speak with your carrier and return all possible items in a mass protest to emancipate him from such an unjustified overload.